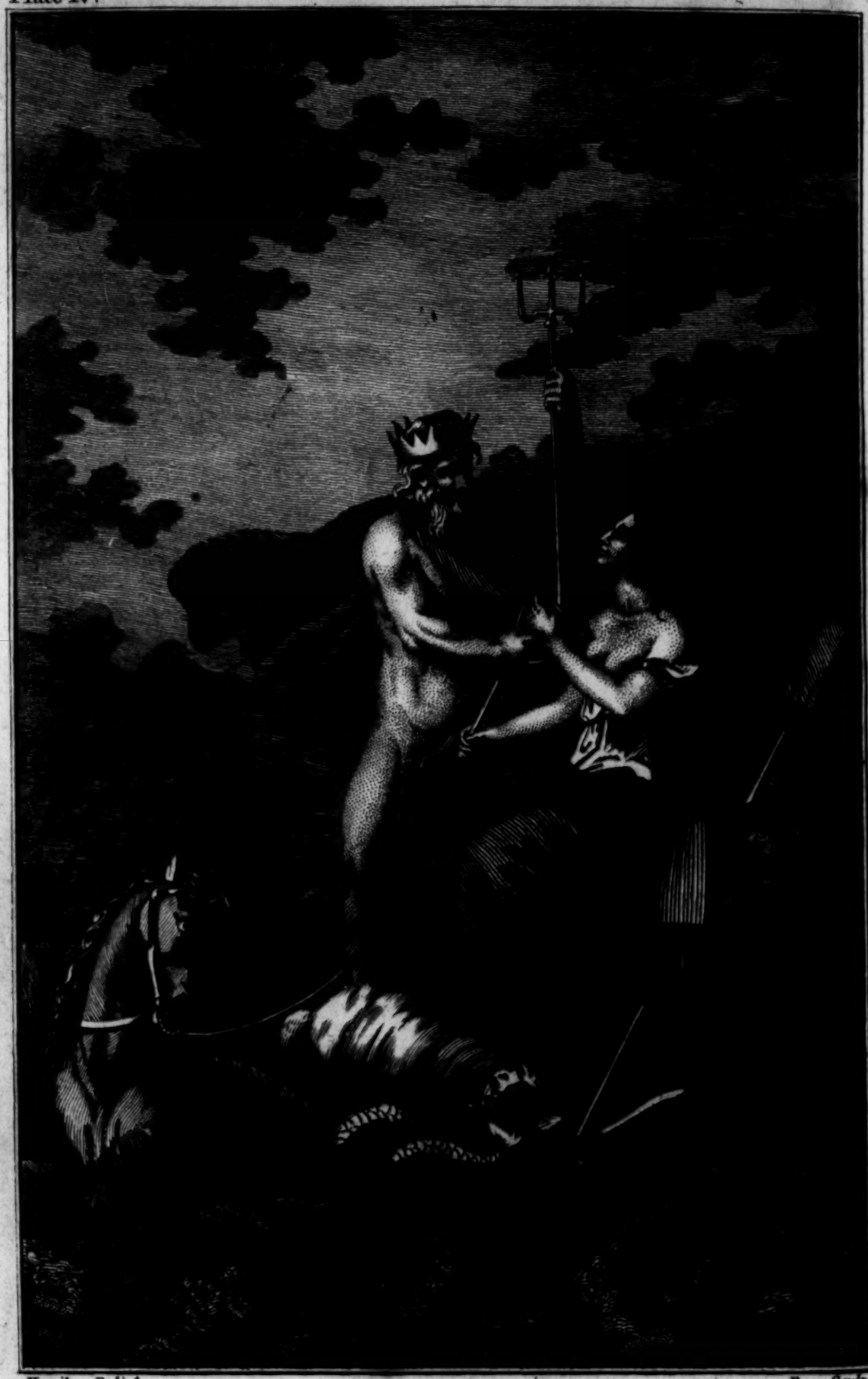
Plate IV.



Hamilton Delin.t *Page Sculp.t*

NEPTUNE resigning the **REINS** of his **CHARIOT** to **BRITANNIA.**

Lond.n Jan.y 1.st 1779. Publish'd as the Act directs. by A Donaldson St.t Pauls Churchyard.

LIVES

OF THE

BRITISH ADMIRALS:

CONTAINING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. J. CAMPBELL.

WITH A CONTINUATION DOWN TO THE YEAR 1779,

INCLUDING THE

NAVAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE LATE WAR, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

WRITTEN UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

DOCTOR BERKENHOUT.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH CORRECT MAPS; AND FRONTISPIECES ENGRAVED FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER NOSTER ROW.

M.DCC.LXXXV.

22

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE LIFE OF DR. CAMPBELL*.

DR. JOHN CAMPBELL, an eminent hiſtorical, biographical, and political writer of the preſent century, was a native of that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and born in the city of Edinburgh, on the 8th of March, 1707-8. His father was Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, Eſq; and captain of horſe in a regiment commanded by the then earl of Hyndford; and his mother, Elizabeth, was the daughter of ——— Smith, Eſq; of Windſor, in Berkſhire †. Our author was their fourth ſon; and, at the age of five years, he was brought by Mrs. Campbell to Windſor, from Scotland, which

* This life is extracted from the new edition of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, written by DR. KIPPIS, DR. TOWERS, &c.

† The Campbells of Glenlyon are a branch of the noble houſe of Breadalbane, of which a diſtinct account may be ſeen in Niſbet's and Douglas's Peerages. For information concerning the reſpectable family of the Smiths of Windſor, recourſe may be had to Aſhmole's Antiquities of Berkſhire, and to N°. 5800, a book of Heraldry, in folio, in the Britiſh Muſeum. Mrs. Campbell likewiſe, and conſequently our author, had the honour of claiming a deſcent from the famous poet, Waller.

country he never ſaw afterwards. It was at Windſor that he is ſuppoſed to have received the firſt principles of his education, under the direction and patronage of his uncle, ——— Smith, Eſq; of that place. At a proper age, he was placed out as a clerk to an attorney, being intended for the law; but whether it was that his genius could not be confined to that dry ſtudy, or to whatever cauſes beſides it might be owing, it is certain that he did not purſue the line of his original deſignation: neither did he engage in any other particular profeſſion, unleſs that of an author ſhould be conſidered in this light. One thing we are ſure of, that he did not ſpend his time in idleneſs and diſſipation, but in ſuch a cloſe application to the acquiſition of knowledge of various kinds, as ſoon enabled him to appear with great advantage in the literary world. What ſmaller pieces might be written by Mr. Campbell, in the early part of his life, we are not capable of aſcertaining; but we know that, in 1736, before he had completed his thirtieth year, he gave to the public, in two volumes folio, "The Military Hiſtory of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; comprehending the Hiſtory of both thoſe illuſtrious perſons, to the time of their deceaſe." This performance was enriched with maps, plans, and cuts, by the beſt hands, and particularly by the ingenious Claude du Boſc. The reputation hence acquired by our author, occaſioned him ſoon after to be ſolicited to take a part in the "Ancient Univerſal Hiſtory," a work of great merit, as well as magnitude, though drawn up with ſomething of that inequality which is almoſt unavoidable, when a number of perſons are engaged in carrying on the ſame undertaking. This hiſtory was publiſhed at firſt, we believe, periodically; and five volumes of it, in folio, were completed in 1740. The ſixth volume was finiſhed in 1742, and the ſeventh in 1744. A ſecond edition of it, in octavo, began to be publiſhed in 1747, and was carried on monthly, with uncommon ſucceſs, till the whole was concluded in twenty volumes. For what parts of it the Republic of Letters was more immediately indebted to Mr. Campbell, it is not in our power to determine, excepting that he is underſtood to have been the writer of the Coſmogony, which affords a diſtinguiſhed proof of his extenſive acquaintance with the ſyſtems of the ancient philoſophers. Whilſt our author was

employed

employed in this capital work, he found leiſure to entertain the world with other productions. In 1739, he publiſhed "The Travels and Adventures of Edward Brown, Eſq;" a book that was ſo well received as to call for another edition. In the ſame year appeared his "Memoirs of the Baſhaw Duke de Riperda," which were reprinted with improvements, in 1740. Theſe Memoirs were followed, in 1741, by the "Conciſe Hiſtory of Spaniſh America," a ſecond edition of which, if we recollect aright, came out in 1756. In 1742, he was the author of "A Letter to a Friend in the country, on the publication of Thurloe's State Papers;" giving an account of their diſcovery, importance, and utility. The ſame year was diſtinguiſhed by the appearance of the firſt and ſecond volumes of his "Lives of the Engliſh Admirals, and other eminent Britiſh Seamen." The two remaining volumes were compleated in 1744; and the whole, not long after, was tranſlated into German. This, we believe, was the firſt of Mr. Campbell's works to which he prefixed his name; and, indeed, he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of ſo doing, for it is a performance of great and acknowledged merit. The good reception it met with, was evidenced in its paſſing through three editions in his own life-time; and two more, beſides the preſent one, have lately been given to the public, under the inſpection of Dr. Berkenhout. When our author had finiſhed the third edition, which is more correct and complete than the former ones, he thus wrote to his ingenious and worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. Hall: "I am certain the Lives of the Admirals coſt me a great deal of trouble; and I can with great veracity affirm, that they contain nothing but my real ſentiments, ariſing from as ſtrict an inquiry into the matters which they relate, as was in my power." In 1743, he publiſhed a very curious and entertaining pamphlet, called "Hermippus Revived;" a ſecond edition of which, much improved and enlarged, came out in 1749, under the following title: "Hermippus Redivivus: or, the Sage's Triumph over Old Age and the Grave. Wherein a method is laid down for prolonging the life and vigour of man. Including a commentary upon an ancient inſcription, in which this great ſecret is revealed; ſupported by numerous authorities. The whole interſperſed with a great variety of remarkable and well-atteſted

relations." This extraordinary tract had its origin in a foreign publication*; but it was wrought up to perfection by the additional ingenuity and learning of Mr. Campbell, and was founded on the following inſcription, ſaid to be preſerved in Reineſius's Supplement to Gruter:

ÆSCULAPIO ET SANITATI
L. CLODIUS HERMIPPUS
QUI VIXIT ANNOS CXV. DIES V.
PUELLARUM ANHELITU,
QUOD ETIAM POST MORTEM
EJUS
NON PARUM MIRANTUR PHYSICI.
JAM POSTERI SIC VITAM DUCITE.

From the circumſtance here mentioned, which is repreſented as having been the means of prolonging the life of Hermippus to ſo great an age, the author raiſes an hypotheſis, and ſupports it in an admirable ſtrain of grave irony, concerning the ſalutary nature of the breath of young perſons, eſpecially girls and young women. Beſides this, he digreſſes largely concerning the hermetic philoſophers and their univerſal medicine; and relates a variety of ſtories concerning them, which are excellently calculated, not only to amuſe his readers, but almoſt to deceive thoſe who are not ſufficiently aware of his intention, and whoſe judgments are not matured. The writer of this article well remembers, that, having read the "Hermippus Redivivus," in his youth, ſuch an impreſſion was made by it upon his imagination, that, though his underſtanding was not convinced, or his belief engaged, by the reaſonings and facts contained in it, he ſeemed for two or three days to be in a kind of Fairy-land. Dr. Mackenzie, a phyſician at Worceſter, and

* This publication appeared at Coblentz, in the beginning of the year 1743, and was entitled HERMIPPUS REDIVIVUS, *ſive exercitatio phyſico medica curioſa, de methodo rara ad* CXV. *annos propagandæ, ſenectutis per anhelitum puellarum, ex veteri monumento Romano, de promptæ, nunc artis medicæ fundamentis ſtabilita, & rationibus atque exemplis, necnon ſingulari chymiæ philoſophicæ paradoxo illuſtrata & confirmata. Autore Jo. Hen. Cohauſen, M. D.* i. e. 'HERMIPPUS REVIVED, or a curious Phyſico-medical Diſſertation on an uncommon method of prolonging human life to one hundred and fifteen years, by means of the breath of young women, copied from an ancient Roman monument, now eſtabliſhed on a phyſical baſis, by arguments and examples, and illuſtrated and confirmed by a very ſingular paradox in chymical philoſophy." By Dr. Cohauſen of Coblentz.

author

author of a Treatiſe on Health, is ſaid to have viewed Mr. Campbell's book in a ſerious light; and to have been ſo far influenced by it, that he went and lived ſome time at a female boarding-ſchool, for the benefit of receiving the ſalutary effects ariſing from the breath of the young ladies. Mr. Thickneſſe, in a late performance, hath gravely adopted the ſyſtem of the "Hermippus Redivivus." It had been aſſerted, that Monſ. Bayle alone poſſeſſed the faculty of treating at large upon a difficult ſubject, without diſcovering to which ſide his own ſentiments leaned, and that his acquaintance with uncommon books extended farther than that of any other man. The Hermippus was an eſſay to ſhew, that ſuch a mode of writing, and ſuch a ſpecies of literature were not confined to Monſ. Bayle. This, as our author himſelf long afterwards informed Mr. Hall, was the true key to the book. In 1756, a tranſlation of it into Italian was publiſhed at Leghorn: in the introductory preface to which, high commendations are beſtowed upon the Hermippus Redivivus.

The ſmaller pieces written by Mr. Campbell were only an occaſional amuſement to him, and never interrupted the courſe of the great works in which he was engaged. In 1744, he gave to the public, in two volumes, folio, his Voyages and Travels, on Dr. Harris's plan, being a very diſtinguiſhed improvement of that gentleman's collection, which had appeared in 1705. So well was this publication of our author received, that a new edition was ſoon called for, which came out in numbers, and was finiſhed in 1749. The work contains all the circumnavigators from the time of Columbus to Lord Anſon; a complete hiſtory of the Eaſt Indies; hiſtorical details of the ſeveral attempts made for the diſcovery of the north-eaſt and north-weſt paſſages; the Commercial Hiſtory of Corea and Japan; the Ruſſian diſcoveries by land and ſea; a diſtinct account of the Spaniſh, Portugueſe, Britiſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh ſettlements in America; with other pieces not to be found in any former collection. The whole was conducted with eminent ſkill and judgment, and the preface is acknowledged to be a maſter-piece of compoſition and information. The time and care employed by Mr. Campbell in this important undertaking, did not prevent his engaging in another great work, with regard

to

to which we have reaſon to record his learned labours with particular pleaſure. The work we mean is the "Biographia Britannica," which began to be publiſhed in weekly numbers in 1745, and the firſt volume of which was completed in 1746, as was the ſecond in 1748. By one of thoſe revolutions to which the beſt deſigns are ſubject, the public attention to the Biographia ſeemed to flag, when about two volumes had been printed; but this attention was ſoon revived by the very high encomium that was paſſed upon it by Mr. Gilbert Weſt, at the cloſe of his poem on Education; from which time the undertaking was carried on with increaſing reputation and ſucceſs. We need not ſay, that its reputation and ſucceſs were greatly owing to our author. It is no diſparagement to the abilities and learning of his coadjutors to aſſert, that his articles conſtitute the prime merit of the four volumes through which they extend. He was not ſatisfied with giving a cold narration of the perſonal circumſtances relative to the eminent men whoſe lives he drew up, but was ambitious of entering into ſuch a copious and critical diſcuſſion of their actions or writings, as ſhould render the Biographia Britannica a moſt valuable repoſitory of hiſtorical and literary knowledge. This end he has admirably accompliſhed, and herein hath left an excellent example to his ſucceſſors. We have formerly mentioned, that he received the thanks of John, the fifth Earl of Orrery, "in the name of all the Boyles, for the honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in ſuch a light as to give a ſpirit of emulation to thoſe who were hereafter to inherit the title." The ingenious Mr. Walpole, ſpeaking of the Campbells, Earls of Argyle, adds, "It is totally unneceſſary for me to enter into their characters, that taſk having been ſo fully performed by one who wears the honour of their name, and who, it is no compliment to ſay, is one of the ableſt and moſt beautiful writers of this country." The like encomium might be extended to many other articles, ſeveral of which are ſo uniformly complete, and ſo highly finiſhed, that it is difficult to aſcertain where the preference ought to be given. Were we, however, to ſelect any ſingle life from the reſt, we ſhould ſay, that the account of Roger Bacon alone would be ſufficient to procure for our author no ſmall degree of reputation. One thing

thing by which he is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, is the candour diſplayed by him with reſpect to thoſe perſons from whom he moſt differed in religious and political opinions. After he had written the Lives of the Calamys, he was waited upon by the Reverend Mr. Edmund Calamy, to thank him for thoſe articles, and eſpecially for the juſtice done to his great-grandfather, the firſt divine of that family. Mr. Calamy was even ſurpriſed to find that Mr. Campbell was a member of the church of England; and ſtill more ſo, when he learned that our biographer had undertaken the articles of Mr. Baxter and Dr. Conant, on purpoſe to prevent their falling into hands that might not equally be diſpoſed to pay the teſtimony due to their reſpective merits. Indeed, our author has been charged with an exceſs of candour, in ſome of the accounts given in the Biographia. But if, in a few inſtances, there ſhould appear to be any ground for this charge, it ought to be remembered, that his error never proceeded from any intention to flatter or deceive, but from the amiable benevolence of his heart, and from his readineſs to diſcern, and to acknowledge, the talents and the worthineſs of men who were of the moſt oppoſite principles and parties. It ought, alſo, to be remembered, that his candour was not unfrequently the reſult of ſuperior knowledge; and that it led him into diſquiſitions, which tended to throw new light on characters and actions.

When the late Mr. Robert Dodſley formed the deſign of that uſeful book, "The Preceptor," which appeared in 1748, Mr. Campbell was one of the ingenious gentlemen applied to, to aſſiſt in the undertaking; and the parts written by him were the introduction to chronology, and the diſcourſe on trade and commerce, both of which diſplayed an extenſive fund of knowledge upon theſe ſubjects. In 1750, he publiſhed the firſt ſeparate edition of his "Preſent State of Europe;" a work which had been originally begun in 1746, in the "Muſeum," a very valuable periodical performance, printed for Mr. Dodſley. There is no production of our author's that hath met with a better reception. It has gone through ſix editions, and fully hath it deſerved this encouragement; for it is not eaſy to find a book which, in ſuch a moderate compaſs, contains ſo much hiſtorical and political information. The perſpicuity, the good ſenſe,

and

and the ſagacity with which it is written, will ever command attention and admiration, even though ſome of Mr. Campbell's conjectures and reaſonings concerning the future views and intereſts of the European powers, ſhould happen to be overturned by the late ſurpriſing revolutions in the politics of the world. In ſuch high eſtimation was "The Preſent State of Europe" held abroad, that the Count de Giſors, one of the moſt amiable young noblemen of his time, and only ſon to the Marſhal Duke de Belleiſle, learned Engliſh, when at Copenhagen, in order to be able to read it. The next great undertaking which called for the exertion of our author's abilities and learning, was "The Modern Univerſal Hiſtory." This extenſive work was publiſhed, from time to time, in detached parts, till it amounted to ſixteen volumes folio; and a ſecond edition of it, in octavo, began to make its appearance in 1759. The parts of it written by Mr. Campbell, were the hiſtories of the Portugueſe, Dutch, Spaniſh, French, Swediſh, Daniſh, and Oſtend ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies; and the hiſtories of the kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, Algarve, Navarre, and that of France from Clovis to the year 1656. It may, without controverſy, be aſſerted, that theſe parts of "The Modern Univerſal Hiſtory," muſt be reckoned among ſome of its brighteſt ornaments. As our author had thus diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the literary world, the degree of LL. D. was very properly and honourably conferred upon him, on the 18th of June, 1754, by the Univerſity of Glaſgow. With regard to his ſmaller publications, there are ſeveral, we apprehend, that have eluded our moſt diligent inquiry. The following is an account of all that have come to our knowledge:

In early life, he wrote a little piece, intitled, "A Diſcourſe on Providence," 8vo. the third edition of which was printed in 1748. He publiſhed in 1746, "The Sentiments of a Dutch Patriot. Being the ſpeech of Mr. V. H***n, in an auguſt ASSEMBLY on the preſent ſtate of affairs, and the reſolution neceſſary at this juncture to be taken for the ſafety of the Republic." The hiſtory of this tract, the deſign of which was to expoſe the temporizing policy of the States of Holland, is ſomewhat amuſing. His amanuenſis, when he was going to write the pamphlet, having diſappointed him, he requeſted, after tea

in

in the afternoon, that Mrs. Campbell, when ſhe had ordered a good fire to be made, would retire to bed as ſoon as poſſible, with the ſervants; and, at the ſame time, leave him four ounces of coffee. This was done, and he wrote till twelve o'clock at night, when finding his ſpirits flag, he took two ounces. With this aſſiſtance, he went on till ſix in the morning, when again beginning to grow weary, he drank the remainder of the coffee. Hence he was enabled to proceed with freſh vigour, till nine or ten o'clock in the morning, when he finiſhed the pamphlet, which had a great run, and was productive of conſiderable profit. Mr. Campbell having ſucceeded ſo well in a performance haſtily written, expected much greater ſucceſs from another work, about which he had taken extraordinary pains, and which had coſt him a long time in compoſing. But when it came to be publiſhed, it ſcarcely paid the expence of advertiſing. Some years afterwards, a book in French was brought to him, that had been tranſlated from the German; and he was aſked, whether a tranſlation of it into Engliſh would not be likely to be acceptable. Upon examining it, he found that it was his own neglected work, which had made its way into Germany, and had there been tranſlated and publiſhed, without any acknowledgment of the obligation due to the original writer.

In 1749, he printed, in octavo, "Occaſional Thoughts on moral, ſerious, and religious Subjects." In 1754, he was the author of a work, intitled, "The Rational Amuſement, comprehending a collection of letters on a great variety of ſubjects, interſperſed with eſſays, and ſome little pieces of humour." "The Shepherd of Banbury's Rules," a favourite pamphlet with the common people, and "The hiſtory of the war in the Eaſt Indies," which appeared in 1758 or 1759, under the name of Mr. Watts, are ſuppoſed to have been of Mr. Campbell's compoſition. Upon the concluſion of the peace at Paris, our author was requeſted by Lord Bute, to take ſome ſhare in the vindication of that peace. Accordingly, he wrote a "Deſcription and Hiſtory of the new Sugar Iſlands in the Weſt Indies;" the deſign of which was to ſhew the value and importance of the neutral iſlands that had been ceded to us by the French. As his book was to be preſented to the King, he was

desired to write a dedication to his Majesty; which he wished to decline, because he had hitherto avoided all political disputes, and because his earlier attachments and sentiments had not led him to pay his devoirs to the Court of St. James's. However, it was at length determined, that he should present the dedication in manuscript. The following is a copy of it:

To the King's most sacred Majesty,
This little WORK,
Undertaken by his Royal Commands,
and honoured by his gracious Approbation,
is humbly inscribed by
His Majesty's most dutiful Subject,
and obliged Servant.
That PEACE,
Which your Majesty's Goodness and Wisdom
have given to this Nation,
is here shewn to be adequate
to the restoring her exhausted Wealth,
to the extension of her Commerce,
through dominions she hath power to keep,
and is inadequate only
in the eye of
FACTION.

In 1772, he printed, in 4to, "A Treatise upon the Trade of Great Britain to America."

His last grand work was "A Political Survey of Britain; being a series of reflections on the situation, lands, inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce of this island. Intended to shew, that they have not as yet approached near the summit of improvement, but that it will afford employment to many generations, before they push to their utmost extent the natural advantages of Great Britain." This work, which was published in 1774, in two volumes, royal quarto, cost Dr. Campbell many years of attention, study and labour. As it was his last, so it seems to have been his favourite production, upon which he intended to erect a durable monument of his sincere and ardent love to his country. A more truly patriotic publication never appeared in the English language. The variety of information it contains is prodigious; and there is no book that better de-

serves

ſerves the cloſe and conſtant ſtudy of the politician, the ſenator, the gentleman, the merchant, the manufacturer; in ſhort, of every one who has it in any degree in his power to promote the intereſt and welfare of Great Britain. An aſſiduous purſuit of the numerous hints and plans of improvement ſuggeſted by our worthy author, would, perhaps, be the only effectual method of preſerving and continuing the proſperity of this iſland, amidſt that combination of enemies and misfortunes, with which ſhe is at preſent ſurrounded. As the "Political Survey" is ſo excellent both in its deſign and execution, it is not ſurpriſing that Dr. Campbell ſhould receive the higheſt teſtimonies in commendation of it, and that it ſhould engage him in a very extenſive correſpondence. The correſpondence occaſioned by it was, indeed, ſo great, that in a letter to Mr. Hall, dated July 21, 1774, he informed his friend, that it had abſorbed a rheam of paper; and that he was about to begin upon another rheam, which would probably ſhare the ſame fate.

In the account which has been given of Dr. Campbell's writings, we have mentioned ſome of the encomiums that have been paſſed upon his literary merit. Several others might be added; but we ſhall content ourſelves with producing one or two, that happen to be at hand. Dr. Smollet, when doing juſtice to the eminent writers who adorned the reign of King George the Second, ſays, "Nor let us forget the merit conſpicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and preciſion." The author of the "Account of the European Settlements in America," which common fame aſcribes to a gentleman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities and character, concludes his preface with the following paſſage: "Having ſpoken perhaps a little too hardly of my materials, I muſt except the aſſiſtance I have had from the judicious collection called Harris's Voyages. There are not many finer pieces than the Hiſtory of Brazil in that collection. The light in which the author ſets the events in that hiſtory is fine and inſtructive; an uncommon ſpirit prevails through it; and his remarks are every where ſtriking and deep. The little ſketch I have given in the part of Portugueſe America, if it has any merit, is entirely due to that original.—Where I differ from him in any reſpect, it is with deference to the judgment of a

writer, to whom this nation is much obliged, for endeavouring every where, with ſo much good ſenſe and eloquence, to rouze that ſpirit of generous enterprize, that can alone make any nation powerful or glorious." Dr. Campbell's reputation was not confined to his own country, but extended to the remoteſt parts of Europe. As a ſtriking inſtance of this, we may mention, that in the ſpring of the year 1774, the Empreſs of Ruſſia was pleaſed to honour him with the preſent of her picture, drawn in the robes worn in that country in the days of John Baſiliowitz, Grand Duke of Muſcovy, who was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth. To manifeſt the Doctor's ſenſe of her Imperial Majeſty's goodneſs, a ſet of the "Political Survey of Britain," bound in Morocco, highly ornamented and accompanied with a letter deſcriptive of the triumphs and felicities of her reign, was forwarded to St. Peterſburgh, and conveyed into the hands of that great Princeſs, by Prince Gregorio Orloff, who had reſided ſome months in this kingdom. The Empreſs's picture, ſince the death of our author, hath been preſented by his widow to Lord Macartney.

Let us now advert a little to Dr. Campbell's perſonal hiſtory. On the 23d of May, 1736, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Vobe, of Leominſter, in the county of Hereford, gentleman, with which Lady he lived near forty years in the greateſt conjugal harmony and happineſs. So wholly did he dedicate his time to books, that he ſeldom went abroad: but to relieve himſelf, as much as poſſible, from the inconveniencies incident to a ſedentary life, it was his cuſtom, when the weather would admit, to walk in his garden; or, otherwiſe, in ſome room of his houſe, by way of exerciſe. By this method, united with the ſtricteſt temperance in eating, and an equal abſtemiouſneſs in drinking, he enjoyed a good ſtate of health, though his conſtitution was delicate. His domeſtic manner of living did not preclude him from a very extenſive and honourable acquaintance. His houſe, eſpecially on a Sunday evening, was the reſort of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of all ranks, and particularly of ſuch as had rendered themſelves eminent by their knowledge, or love of literature. He received foreigners, who were fond of learning, with an affability and kindneſs, which excited in them the higheſt reſpect and veneration; and his inſtructive

inſtructive and chearful converſation, made him the delight of his friends in general. On the 5th of March, 1765, Dr. Campbell was appointed his Majeſty's agent for the province of Georgia, in North America, which employment he held till his deceaſe. His laſt illneſs was a decline, the conſequence of a life devoted to ſevere ſtudy, and which reſiſted every attempt for his relief that the moſt ſkilful in the medical ſcience could deviſe. By this illneſs he was carried off, at his houſe in Queen-Square, Ormond-Street, on the 28th of December, 1775, when he had nearly completed the ſixty-eighth year of his age. His end was tranquil and eaſy, and he preſerved the full uſe of all his faculties to the lateſt moment of his life. On the 4th of January following his deceaſe, he was interred in the New Burying Ground, behind the Foundling Hoſpital, belonging to the pariſh of St. George the Martyr, where a monument, with a plain and modeſt inſcription, hath been erected to his memory. Dr. Campbell had by his Lady ſeven children, one of whom only ſurvived him, Anne, who, on the 22d of Auguſt, 1763, married John Grant, Eſq; of Lovat, near Inverneſs, in North Britain, then Captain in the fifty-eighth regiment of foot, and lately his Majeſty's Commiſſary and Paymaſter of the Royal artillery at New York. Mrs. Grant, who was a woman of excellent underſtanding and taſte, which had been cultivated under her father's eye, and who was poſſeſſed of the moſt amiable virtues, died at New York, on the 2d of July, 1778, in the thirty-ſeventh year of her age. Mr. Grant returning ſome time after to England, departed this life at Kenſington, in the month of November 1780. Three children, left by Mr. and Mrs. Grant, are now under the care of their worthy grandmother, the Doctor's widow, and are her only remaining conſolation.

Dr. Campbell's literary knowledge, was by no means confined to the ſubjects on which he more particularly treated as an author. He was well acquainted with the mathematics, and had read much in medicine. It hath been with great reaſon believed, that if he had dedicated his ſtudies to the laſt ſcience, he would have made a very conſpicuous figure in the phyſical profeſſion. He was eminently verſed in the different parts of ſacred literature; and his acquaintance with the languages extended not only to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin among the ancient, and

to the French, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and Dutch, among the modern; but, likewiſe, to the Oriental tongues. He was particularly fond of the Greek language. His attainment of ſuch a variety of knowledge, was exceedingly aſſiſted by a memory ſurpriſingly retentive, and which, indeed, aſtoniſhed every perſon with whom he was converſant. A ſtriking inſtance of this hath been given by the honourable Mr. Daines Barrington, in his tract, intitled, "The Probability of reaching the North Pole diſcuſſed*." In communicating his ideas, our author had an uncommon readineſs and facility; and the ſtyle of his works, which had been formed upon the model of that of the celebrated Biſhop Sprat, was perſpicuous, eaſy, flowing, and harmonious. Should it be thought that it is ſometimes rather too diffuſive, it will, notwithſtanding, indubitably be allowed, that it is, in general, very elegant and beautiful.

To all theſe accompliſhments of the underſtanding, Dr. Campbell joined the more important virtues of a moral and pious character. His diſpoſition was gentle and humane, and his manners kind and obliging. He was the tendereſt of huſbands, a moſt indulgent parent, a kind maſter, a firm and ſincere friend. To his great Creator he paid the conſtant and ardent tribute of devotion, duty, and reverence; and in his correſpondences he ſhewed, that a ſenſe of piety was always neareſt his heart. "We cannot," ſaid he, in a letter to Mr. Hall, "too much inſiſt on the neceſſity of religion, not only as ſecuring our happineſs hereafter, but as the only ſafe and certain rule of life, and ten thouſand times preferable to the modern notions of philoſophy, and ties of honour. I may with great truth ſay, that the Church Catechiſm is a much better ſyſtem of morals than Tully's Offices. There are many fine things in theſe, and in the works of Seneca; but, in my judgment, none that equal, either in ſpirit or compoſition, ſome of the Collects in our Liturgy." On another occaſion, he wrote to

* The inſtance mentioned by Mr. Barrington, regards the accuracy wherewi h Dr. Campbell, at the diſtance of thirty years, remembered the facts related to him by a Dr. Daillie, concerning a voyage towards the North Pole; in which the navigators, among whom was Dr. Daillie himſelf, went ſo far as to the 88th degree of north latitude; and might eaſily have proceeded farther, had not the captain thought himſelf obliged, by his duty in other reſpects, to return.

the

the ſame friend, that he thought there was more good ſenſe, and far better precepts for the conduct of life, in the Wiſdom of Solomon, and the ſon of Sirach, than in all the Heathen Sages put together; or than could be met with in Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Hume, or Voltaire, It was our author's cuſtom every day, to read one or more portions of Scripture, in the original, with the ancient verſions, and the beſt commentators before him; and in this way, as appears from his own occaſional notes and remarks, he went through the Sacred Writings a number of times, with great thankfulneſs and advantage.

Such was Dr. Campbell as a writer and as a man. By his works he has ſecured not only a laſting reputation, but rendered himſelf highly beneficial to the public; and by his virtues, he became prepared for that happy immortality, which awaits all the genuine followers of goodneſs.

CONTENTS.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME FOURTH.

CHAP XXIII.

THE Naval Hiſtory of Great Britain from the acceſſion of King George II. *to the end of the war in* 1763.

Capitulation of Porto-Bello, Page 9
Unfortunate expedition againſt Carthagena, 17
Engagement between the Britiſh fleet commanded by Mathews and Leſtock, and the French and Spaniſh fleets, 47
Reflections on the conduct of Mathews and Leſtock, 49
Taking of Louiſburg, 54
Capture of Jonquierre's fleet, 63
Defeat of the Breſt fleet by Admiral Hawke, 66
Engagement between the Britiſh fleet under Knowles and the Spaniſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, 69
The French make encroachments on the Britiſh ſettlements in America, 73
Engagement between the Britiſh fleet under Byng, and the French off Minorca, 79
Conduct and fate of Admiral Byng, 84
Hoſtile conduct of Spain, 89
Expedition againſt Rochfort, 92
Engagement between Sir Edward Hawke and M. de la Clue, 109
Expedition againſt the French coaſt, 114
Taking of Louiſburg and Cape Breton, 117
Deſcents upon the French coaſt; the unfortunate affair of St. Cas, &c. 121

Gallant behaviour of the ſquadron under Commodore Forreſt, Page 129
Engagement between Pocock and D'Aché in the Eaſt Indies, 131
Taking of Guadaloupe, 135
Surrender of Quebec to General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders, 138
Second engagement between Pocock and D'Aché, 143
Action between Boſcawen and De la Clue, 146
Engagement between Hawke and Conflans, 148
Action between Elliot and Thurot, 160
Pondicherry taken, 176
Dominica, Grenada, &c. taken, 178
Belleiſle ſurrendered, 181
Hoſtilities with Spain, 193
The Family Compact between France and Spain, 197
Surrender of Martinico, 201
The Havannah taken, 211
Manilla taken and ranſomed, 223
Surrender of the iſland of St. John to the French 235
Retaken by the Engliſh, 236
Unſucceſsful attempt on Nova Colonia, 245
Concluſion of the war with France and Spain, 246

CHAP. XXIV.

The Naval Hiſtory of Great Britain from the end of the war in 1763 *to the year* 1779.

Commodore Byron's voyage round the world, on diſcovery, in 1764, 254
Difference between Great Britain and her colonies in North America, on account of the Stamp act, 266
Repeal of the Stamp act, 270
Captain Wallis and Captain Carteret's voyages round the world in 1766, 272
Captain Cook's voyage round the world in 1768, 288
Diſpute between Great Britain and Spain relative to Falkland's Iſlands, 326
Voyage of the Honourable Conſtantine Phipps (now Lord Mulgrave), towards the North Pole, 343

Voyage

Voyage of Captain Cook and Captain Fourneaux round the world, Page 347
Rebellion breaks out in America, 365
Battle of Bunker's Hill, 373
Surrender of St. John's and Montreal to the Americans, 378
Repulse of the rebels at Quebec, 380
Repulse of Sir Peter Parker at Charleſtown, South Carolina, 384
Defeat of the Americans at Long Iſland, 388
New York taken, 390
Defeat of the Provincials on Lake Champlain, 391
State of the Weſt Indies, 394
Defeat of the Britiſh in the Jerſies, 396
Philadelphia taken, and naval operations in the Delaware, 398
Burgoyne's ſurrender, 404
Operations of General Clinton on the North river, 405
Treaty between France and America, 407
Reſcript given in by the French ambaſſador from the court of France, 409
Seizure of Britiſh ſhips in the ports of France, 410
Evacuation of Philadelphia, and the arrival of D'Eſtaing on the coaſt of America with a French ſquadron, 413
Lord Howe acts on the defenſive againſt the attacks of the French, 414
The two fleets ſeparated by a ſtorm, 420
Hoſtilities commenced in Europe againſt the French by Admiral Keppel, 423
Engagement of the Engliſh and French fleets, 426
Commiſſioners from Britain arrive in America with terms of reconciliation, and their reception, 429
Reflections on the conduct of the war, 433
Trial of Admiral Keppel, 436.

APPENDIX.

No.
I. *Sailing and fighting inſtructions to Admiral Vernon's fleet,* 447
II. *Ships in commiſſion in* 1741, 450
III. *Britiſh and combined fleets in* 1743, 454, 455
IV. *Admiral Byng's inſtructions from the Admiralty,* 456

V. *Royal*

No.		Page
V.	*Royal Navy of Great Britain in* 1756,	458
VI.	*Royal Navy of France in* 1756,	461
VII.	*Secret inſtructions to Sir John Mordaunt,*	462
VIII.	*Intercepted letter from General Lally,*	465
IX.	*Capitulation of Belleiſle,*	466
X.	*Liſt of the Spaniſh navy in* 1762,	470
XI.	*Capitulation of Martinico,*	472
XII.	*Capitulation of the Havannah,*	475
XIII.	*Articles of peace betwixt Britain, France, and Spain,*	478
XIV.	*Declaration of his Catholic majeſty relative to Falkland's iſlands,*	481
XV.	*Proteſt in the Houſe of Lords relative to Falkland's iſlands,*	482
XVI.	*Naval review at Portſmouth,*	484
XVII.	*Fleet of France,* 1778,	486
XVIII.	*Memorial of the admirals to the King, in favour of Admiral Keppel,*	488
XIX.	*Defence of Admiral Keppel,*	491
XX.	*Admiral Keppel's letter to the Admiralty,*	512
XXI.	*Liſt of the Britiſh and French fleets under Keppel and D'Orvilliers,*	514
XXII.	*Admiral Barrington's account of the capture of St. Lucia, and the naval engagement off that iſland,*	516

LIVES

A New Map of the WEST INDIES, from the best Authorities. By John Seidge's.

NEW MEXICO
NEW BISCAY
NAVARRE
NEW LEON
GULF OF MEXICO
GREAT SOUTH SEA
Louisiana
W. Florida
Honduras
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Guatimala
Chiapa
Tabasco
Yucatan
Campeche
Bay of Campeche
Bay of Honduras
Mechoacan
Guadalajara
Xalisco
Culiacan
Panuco
Tlafcala
Guaxaca
Mexico
Puebla de los Angeles
Pl.de los Angeles
Mouths of the Missisipi Riv.
Gulf of Florida
Bahama Channel
Florida Pt.
Cape Florida
Cape Sable
Cape Antonio
Cape Corrientes
Cape Catoche
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Honduras
Cape Blanco
Port Royal
Jamaica
Cuba
Hispaniola
Campeche
Merida
Salinas
Plains with Water
Tabasco
Chiapa
Guatimala
Nicaragua
Honduras
Costa Rica
Bay of Honduras
Bay of Campeche
Gulf of Florida
Mouths of the Missisipi Riv.
Fonseca or Amapalla Bay
Bar of Istapa
Bay of Realejo
Gulf of Dulce
Golfo Dulce
Passion I. discover'd in 1715
Here Ferdinand landed in
Carlos or Juan Pa
Dry Tor
Apalache Bay
Cayo St. Martin
Anclote
Cayo M
Honda
Bayo de Sancho Pardo
C. de St. Antonio
C. de Corinto
Mistic
Guanaja or Benaka I.
Guayama or Xuatan
Quina Sueno
Ascension Bay
Arrecifes
Triangles
Coast of Bacalaos
Tres Marias
Tres Reyes
Revillagigedo I.
Cedros I.
Mugeres or Womens I.
Isle of Pines
Caymanes
Cape Corientes
Cape Catoche
Cape Honduras
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Blanco
Cape Antonio
Cape Florida
Cape Sable
Port Royal
Jamaica
Cuba
Hispaniola
Bahama Channel
Florida Pt.
Louisiana
W. Florida
Gulf of Florida
Mouths of the Missisipi Riv.
Bay of Campeche
Bay of Honduras
Fonseca or Amapalla Bay
Bar of Istapa
Bay of Realejo
Gulf of Dulce
Golfo Dulce
Passion I. discover'd in 1715
Here Ferdinand landed in
Carlos or Juan Pa
Dry Tor
Apalache Bay
Cayo St. Martin
Anclote
Cayo M
Honda
Bayo de Sancho Pardo
C. de St. Antonio
C. de Corinto
Mistic
Guanaja or Benaka I.
Guayama or Xuatan
Quina Sueno
Ascension Bay
Arrecifes
Triangles
Coast of Bacalaos
Tres Marias
Tres Reyes
Revillagigedo I.
Cedros I.
Mugeres or Womens I.
Isle of Pines
Caymanes
Cape Corientes
Cape Catoche
Cape Honduras
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Blanco
Cape Antonio
Cape Florida
Cape Sable
Port Royal
Jamaica
Cuba
Hispaniola
Bahama Channel
Florida Pt.
Louisiana
W. Florida
Gulf of Florida
Mouths of the Missisipi Riv.
Bay of Campeche
Bay of Honduras
Fonseca or Amapalla Bay
Bar of Istapa
Bay of Realejo
Gulf of Dulce
Golfo Dulce

Longitude West from London.

British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree.

50 100 200 300 400 500

Tropic of Cancer

ATLANTIC OCEAN

GREAT CARIBBEE

LUCAYOS or BAHAMA ISLES

CARIBBEAN SEA

LITTLE ANTILLES

WINDWARD ISLES

CARIBBEE ISLES

SOUTH AMERICA

LIVES

OF THE

ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT BRITAIN from the acceſſion of king George II. to the end of the war in the year 1763.

KING GEORGE II. aſcended the throne of Great Britain in the year 1727, and in the forty-fourth year of his age. All the European powers were now at peace; nevertheleſs, ſome of them were ſo little ſatisfied with the terms to which neceſſity had compelled them to accede, that a future war was eaſily foreſeen. The late king had engaged in an unnatural alliance with France, and, under a pretence of adjuſting the balance of power, had burdened the nation with ſubſidies to Sweden and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. The emperor Charles VI. for whom we had ſo lately wreſted Sicily from the Spaniards, was now leagued with the court of Madrid, and the political ſcheme of our miniſtry, ſome time before the death of George I. was to humble this very emperor, in whoſe A.D. 1727.

A. D. 1727. whoſe cauſe we had ſo lately expended ſuch ſums of Britiſh treaſure.

Before I proceed to the occurrences which are the immediate objects of a naval hiſtory, it ſeems neceſſary to bring the reader acquainted with the men in power at the beginning of this reign. Lord Townſend and the duke of Newcaſtle were generally ſuppoſed to conduct the important concern of foreign negociations. The firſt of theſe is allowed to have poſſeſſed knowledge and talents equal to the taſk. As to the latter, he was certainly not a man of great abilities; but he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſteady and indefatigable friend to the houſe of Hanover, and his parliamentary intereſt was very conſiderable. Lord Carteret, though not oſtenſibly in the adminiſtration, was frequently conſulted, and his advice generally followed. He was a man of ſome genius and learning, and, having been much abroad, was ſuppoſed to be well acquainted with the general ſyſtem of Europe. The interior government of the kingdom was principally conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, who was at the head of the treaſury, and leader of the Whigs in the houſe of commons. He was well verſed in the myſtery of financing, funding, and in the effectual application of money, as a powerful engine of government. He ſpoke in parliament, though not elegantly, yet with eaſe, fluency, and perſuaſion. He knew mankind, and on that knowledge he is ſaid to have laid the foundation of that uniform plan of influence, ſo very agreeable to ſubſequent parliaments, and ſo indiſpenſibly uſeful to future miniſters. The principal ſpeakers in the oppoſition were Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Pultney.

The reader has ſeen, in the laſt page of the preceding volume, that the navy of England was, at this period, exceedingly formidable. Our chief naval commanders who were at this time employed, were Sir Charles Wager, Sir John Norris, and admiral Hoſier: the firſt commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, the ſecond in the Baltic, and the third in the Weſt Indies, where he died, about two months after the king's acceſſion. Sir Charles Wager had been ſent to ſecure Gibraltar, then beſieged by the Spaniards. He afterwards continued upon the coaſt of Spain, in order to perſuade that nation, by the *ultima ratio regum*,

regum, if neceſſary, to acquieſce in the general plan of peace A. D.
to which the other conſiderable powers had already acceded. 1727.
[a]Sir John Norris had been ſent with a fleet into the Baltic, with a deſign to protect Sweden from the Czarina, who threatened that country with an invaſion. And admiral Hoſier had ſailed in April 1726, to the Weſt Indies, in order to block up the Spaniſh galleons, and thereby prevent that treaſure from being brought to Europe, without which, it was imagined, the courts of Vienna and Madrid could not proſecute the war.

Such was the ſituation of the Britiſh navy at the acceſſion of George II. who, as I have before obſerved, found his kingdom at peace with all the world. No immediate change was made, either of miniſters or meaſures; but, before the expiration of the year, lord Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty, and the earl of Weſtmoreland made firſt lord of trade [a].

A new parliament was called. The two houſes met on the 1728.
twenty-third day of January. The commons unanimouſly choſe for their ſpeaker Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; member for the county of Surrey; a man whoſe abilities and integrity rendered him ſingularly qualified for that important office. The king, in his ſpeech from the throne, informed his parliament, that the difficulties, which had hitherto prevented the execution of the preliminaries to the eſtabliſhment of a general peace, were now removed, and that a congreſs would ſoon be opened for that purpoſe, in which he hoped the peace of Europe would be effectually ſecured; but that nevertheleſs, in order to prevent the poſſibility of an open rupture, it was neceſſary to continue the preparations for war. He wiſhed that ſome ſcheme might be formed for the increaſe and ſecurity of ſeamen, that they might rather be invited than compelled into the ſervice. He promiſed economy as ſoon as the public ſafety would permit, and concluded his ſpeech, as uſual, with recommending unanimity and diſpatch. The two houſes preſented moſt dutiful addreſſes on the occaſion. They voted 22,955 men for guards and garriſons, and 15,000 ſeamen, for the ſervice of the year. They granted 231,000 l. for the maintenance of 12,000 Heſſians; a ſubſidy

[a] Smollet's hiſt. 3d edition, vol. vii. p. 172.

A. D. 1728. of 50,000 l. to the king of Sweden, and 25,000 l. to the duke of Brunſwick [b].

The congreſs, which met at Soiſſons to eſtabliſh peace, having yet determined nothing, the fate of Europe remained ſuſpended. Spain had ſecretly ſhook hands with France, and was now allied to Portugal by means of a double marriage; ſhe therefore grew indifferent as to peace with England. She continued her depredations on our commerce in the Weſt Indies, where our fleet remained inactive and rotting, and our ſailors periſhed miſerably, inſulted and unrevenged.

1729. The parliament of England met, according to their prorogation, on the 21ſt of January. They voted 15,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the year: the number of land-forces was alſo continued, as were likewiſe the ſubſidies to foreign princes. The merchants of London, Briſtol, and Liverpool preſented petitions to the houſe of commons, complaining of the repeated injuries they had ſuſtained by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies; upon which the houſe ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce every ſimilar memorial which they had received; and they addreſſed the king, praying, that the inſtructions and letters ſent to admiral Hoſier and his ſucceſſors in command, might be laid before them. A committee of the whole houſe took this important affair into conſideration, and after examining evidence, and amply debating the matter, reſolved, that the Spaniards had violated the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns; that they had treated the crews of ſeveral Engliſh ſhips with inhumanity; that the inſtructions given to admiral Hoſier, to ſeize and detain the Spaniſh galleons, were juſt and neceſſary. The houſe of commons then addreſſed the king, requeſting his majeſty to require ſatisfaction of Spain; and he anſwered them by a promiſe to comply with their requeſt [c].

Meanwhile the houſe of lords deliberated on the poſitive demand made by the Catholic king, of the reſtitution of Gibraltar, founded on the contents of a letter written by king George I. to the king of Spain. From an authentic copy of this letter, it appeared, that his late majeſty had actually conſented to this re-

[b] Smollet, vol. vii. p. 173.

[c] Smollet, p. 180.

ſtitution.

ſtitution. Their lordſhips then reſolved, that the houſe did A. D.
firmly rely, that his majeſty would, in ſupport of the honour 1729.
and trade of this kingdom, take effectual care to preſerve his
undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca.

The year 1730 produced nothing worthy the attention of a 1730.
naval hiſtorian. The king, in his ſpeech to parliament, which
met on the 13th of January, informed them, that the peace of
Europe was now eſtabliſhed by a treaty concluded at Seville;
that the uninterrupted commerce of Great Britain was reſtored;
and that the nation was to be amply indemnified for the Spaniſh
depredations in the Weſt Indies. Nevertheleſs, I find, that on
the 2d of March, 1731[d], ſeveral maſters and ſailors of merchant-
ſhips, who had been taken by the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas,
came to London to give an account to parliament of the cruel
treatment they had received from the Spaniards. In 1733
the houſe of commons addreſſed the king, to know what ſa-
tisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations above-
mentioned[e]: and by his majeſty's anſwer it appeared, that the
commiſſioners had not yet made their report. In the ſpeech from
the throne, which put an end to the preceding ſeſſion of parlia-
ment, the nation was told, that all diſputes with foreign powers
were ſettled, and the public tranquillity eſtabliſhed. However,
twelve ſhips of the line were put into commiſſion, and preſs-
warrants were iſſued for manning the fleet. Meanwhile rear-
admiral Stewart demanded of the governors of Campeachy and
the Havannah, reſtitution for three ſhips plundered by Spaniſh
Guarda Coſtas. In conſequence of this peremptory demand,
one of the Guarda Coſtas was ſold at St. Jago de Cuba, and
the money paid to the South-Sea factors. One of the Spaniſh
governors was ſent home, and another confined in the caſtle of
Cuba.

That we may in ſome degree preſerve the chain of ſuch pub- 1733.
lic events as are connected, though indirectly, with our naval
hiſtory, it is neceſſary to inform the reader, that, in the year
1733, the king of France concluded a treaty with Spain and
Sardinia, by which they mutually agreed to declare war againſt

[d] Gent. Mag. March, 1731. [e] Smollet's hiſt. vol. vii. p. 207.

the

A. D. the emperor. Accordingly a war in Germany and in Italy im-
1734. mediately commenced.

In 1734 the navy of England conſiſted of ninety-two men of
1735. war, ſixty of which were of the line. In the following year a miſunderſtanding, on a frivolous occaſion, happening between the courts of Spain and Portugal, the latter applied to Great Britain for protection; in conſequence of which, Sir John Norris ſailed with a powerful fleet, and arrived at Liſbon on the ninth of June, where he was joyfully received as their deliverer.

Regardleſs of the frequent complaints and remonſtrances delivered to the court of Spain by the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid, the Spaniards in America continued audaciouſly to inſult and moleſt our commerce. They pretended that we had no right either to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, or to gather ſalt on the iſland of Tortugas. Their Guarda Coſtas boarded and plundered every Engliſh ſhip they met, under a pretence of ſearching for contraband goods. They even ſeized ſeveral Engliſh veſſels, confiſcated their cargoes, and threw the ſailors into priſon. Fired by ſuch reiterated provocation, the people of England began now to loſe all patience. Petitions to the houſe of commons were tranſmitted from various parts of the kingdom. The houſe again addreſſed the king, and the king again returned a promiſſory anſwer. It is difficult, even at this diſtance of time, to reflect with patience on the puſillanimity of the Britiſh miniſtry at this period; nor is it poſſible to imagine the Spaniards would have carried their inſolence ſo far, if they had not depended on the pacific diſpoſition of Sir Robert Walpole[f]. That able miniſter dreaded the conſequences of a war to himſelf and friends. He had other uſes for the treaſure which fleets and armies would conſume; and therefore he left nothing unattempted to avert, or, at leaſt, to procraſtinate the

[f] One of the moſt ſhocking inſtances of Spaniſh inſolent barbarity, appeared in the caſe of one Jenkins, maſter of a Scots merchant ſhip, who at the bar of the houſe of commons held his ear in his hand, which had been torn from his head by the crew of a Guarda Coſtas, who declared they would do the ſame by his maſter. They tortured him in the moſt wanton humanity, and threatened him with inſtant death. Being aſked by a member, what were his thoughts when he was in the hands of theſe barbarians? he anſwered, "I recommended my "ſoul to God, and my cauſe to my country." This evidence made a ſtrong impreſſion on the houſe.

ſtorm.

ſtorm. For this purpoſe, he patched up a convention with the court of Spain, importing, that the diſputes between the two crowns ſhould be ſettled by two plenipotentiaries. This convention was ſeverely cenſured by the oppoſition in both houſes of parliament. The city of London, the Weſt India merchants, and the merchants of Briſtol, preſented petitions, juſtly complaining, that their indiſputable right to paſs unmoleſted to and from the Britiſh colonies, was, in this convention, left, as a dubitable privilege, to be determined by plenipotentiaries. A. D. 1739.

The convention above-mentioned ſtipulated, that 95,000 l. being a balance due from Spain to the crown and ſubjects of Great Britain, ſhould be paid in London before the expiration of four months after the ratification. The time was now expired, and the money not yet paid. The houſe of lords appointed a day for taking the ſtate of the nation into conſideration, and when the day arrived, Lord Carteret moved for a reſolution, that this failure of payment was a high indignity to the king, and an injuſtice to the nation[g]. The previous queſtion was put, and the motion loſt. But though the miniſter yet retained a ſufficient majority in both houſes, the nation in general was too much exaſperated to afford any hopes of preventing a war with Spain[h]. Letters of marque and repriſal were granted; the army was augmented; an embargo was laid on all outward-bound veſſels; a fleet was aſſembled at Spithead, and a reinforcement was ſent to admiral Haddock, who at this time commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean. Our whole fleet in commiſſion conſiſted of eighty-four men of war, beſides thirty-two ready to be put into commiſſion[i]. The entire navy of Spain amounted to thirty-three ſhips of war, thoſe of the flota, which are properly merchant ſhips, included.

[g] Smollet, vol. vii. p. 268.

[h] Gent. Mag. June, 1739.

[i] The ſhips in commiſſion were,

1	of	90 guns,
5	—	80
12	—	70
20	—	60
19	—	50
9	—	44
18	—	20

Ships ready for commiſſion,

2	of	100 guns,
2	—	90
6	—	80
4	—	70
10	—	50 and 60
3	—	44
5	—	20 and 22

Both

A. D. 1739. Both nations began to make vigorous preparations for war. The court of Spain at this juncture revived its alliance by a marriage between the Infant Don Philip and Madam de France, and the French miniſtry did not ſcruple to declare, that if Spain were oppreſſed by any power whatſoever, they ſhould not remain idle ſpectators. The States-General, on the other hand, did not ſcruple to ſignify by their miniſters at the courts of France and Spain, that they were under certain mutual engagements to England, which, if required, they thought themſelves in honour obliged to fulfil.

Vice-admiral Vernon ſailed on the 20th of July for the Weſt Indies with nine men of war. This gentleman had rendered himſelf conſpicuous in the houſe of commons by his blunt oppoſition to the miniſtry. In the debate concerning the Spaniſh depredations in the Weſt Indies, he had affirmed, that he could take Porto-Bello with ſix men of war. He had formerly commanded a fleet on the Jamaica ſtation, and was therefore ſuppoſed to be well-acquainted with thoſe ſeas. His offer was echoed by the members in the oppoſition, and the whole nation reſounded his praiſe. The miniſter embraced this opportunity of acquiring ſome popularity, and, at the ſame time, of removing a troubleſome opponent in the houſe of commons. Beſides, it was generally imagined that he was not without hopes that the admiral might diſgrace himſelf and his party by not ſucceeding in the adventure. Vernon ſailed for the Weſt Indies.

The Engliſh fleet cruizing on the coaſt of Spain was particularly intended to intercept the Aſſogues ſhips from Vera Cruz[k]. Theſe ſhips, however, arrived ſafe at St. Andero. Having received information of the ſituation of affairs in Europe, inſtead of coming by the Madeiras for Calais, as uſual, they ſailed by the Bahamas, and went north about; then ſteering weſtward, and doubling the Lizard, they made Uſhant, and thence creeping along ſhore, croſſed the bay of Biſcay, and ſo to St. Andero.

On the 23d day of October, Great Britain declared war againſt Spain, and in the ſame month intelligence was received that admiral Haddock had taken two rich ſhips from the Cara-

[k] Gent. Mag. vol. ix. p. 443.

coas,

coas, having on board 2,000,000 pieces of eight. He was ſoon after joined by admiral Balchin, with ſix ſhips of the line. A. D. 1739.

Vice-admiral Vernon arrived at Jamaica the 23d of October, the day on which war was proclaimed in England. On his arrival off Port-Royal in that iſland, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the Diamond man of war ſtanding into the harbour with two Spaniſh veſſels in tow, one of which was a regiſter ſhip with 120,000 pieces of eight, and clothing for 6000 men, on board. The admiral ſailed from Jamaica on the 5th of November, with ſix ſhips of war [m]. Having met with contrary winds, he did not come in ſight of Porto-Bello till the 20th in the evening. He was apprehenſive of driving to the eaſtward during the night; he therefore anchored about ſix leagues from ſhore. Porto-Bello is a town in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, ſo called from the beauty of its harbour. It is ſituated on the north coaſt of the iſthmus of Darien, which divides the kingdom of Mexico from Terra Firma. The town ſtands at the bottom of a ſmall bay, defended by a caſtle and two forts, one of which, called the Iron Fort, is ſituated on the north ſide of the mouth of the harbour, and the other, St. Jeronimo, near the town, with a battery facing the entrance into the bay. The caſtle, called Gloria, ſtands on the weſt ſide of the town.

On the 21ſt, in the morning, the admiral weighed and plied to windward in line of battle [n]. The ſhips entered the bay in the following order, viz. The Hampton-Court, Norwich, Worceſter, Burford, Strafford, Louiſa. Orders had been given for a general attack; but the wind coming to the eaſtward, the admiral was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, cloſe to which the ſquadron was piloted by Captain Rentone. When the Hampton-Court came within about a cable's length of the fort, ſhe was ſuddenly becalmed by the high land to windward, and, before ſhe could bring her guns to bear, was

[m] *Viz.*

Burford of	70 guns and	500 men.	
Hampton-Court,	70	495	Capt. Watſon.
Worceſter,	60	400	Main.
Louiſa,	60	400	Waterhouſe.
Strafford,	60	400	Trevor.
Norwich,	50	300	Herbert.

[n] London Gazette, March 15, 1740.

A. D. 1739. expoſed to a ſmart fire from the enemy. But as ſoon as ſhe was in a ſituation to return the ſalute, after having dropped her anchor, ſhe ſeemed, in a moment, a cloud of perpetual thunder. She appeared to the reſt of the fleet to be all on fire. In the ſpace of twenty-five minutes ſhe is ſaid to have fired 400 balls. The Norwich and the Worceſter were not long before they came up, and fired upon the fort with vaſt alacrity. Theſe were followed by the Burford, on board of which was the admiral, who perceiving that the Spaniards began to fly from ſeveral parts of the fort, made a ſignal for landing. Mean while he luffed up as near the fort as poſſible, and, by means of his ſmall arms, drove the garriſon from the lower battery. As the boats full of ſailors and marines paſſed the admiral, he called to them to land immediately under the walls of the fort, though there was no breach made. The ſailors were no ſooner on ſhore than they ſcaled the wall, and, pulling up the ſoldiers after them, ſtruck the Spaniſh colours in the lower battery, and hoiſted an Engliſh enſign. This was no ſooner perceived by the garriſon in the upper part of the fort, than they hoiſted a white flag, a ſignal for capitulation, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. The garriſon of this fort conſiſted of 300 men, out of which, at the time of ſurrender, there remained only thirty-five privates and five officers.

The ſhips which ſailed in before the admiral, were now fallen to leeward; but the Burford being expoſed to the Gloria-caſtle, it continued firing at her till night, without however doing her any other damage than wounding her fore-top-maſt a little above the rigging. The admiral then pointed ſome of his lower deck guns at this caſtle, and ſent ſeveral ſhot over it into the town, one of which went through the governor's houſe.

On the morning of the 22d the admiral called a council of war, and, it being thought not adviſable to attack the Gloria-caſtle by day, orders were iſſued for warping the ſhips up the following night. This circumſpection proved unneceſſary. The Spaniards hoiſted a white flag, and immediately ſent a boat with a flag of truce, with terms on which they wiſhed to capitulate: in anſwer to theſe the admiral returned other articles, and allowed them a few hours for deliberation. They accepted his

terms,

terms °, and the Britiſh troops took immediate poſſeſſion of the Gloria and St. Jeronimo forts. A. D. 1739.

There were in the harbour of Porto-Bello two Spaniſh guarda-coſtas of twenty guns each, and an armed ſnow. The crews of theſe veſſels, chuſing to anticipate the Britiſh ſailors, plundered the town in the night, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants. The Engliſh ſeamen and ſoldiers, on the contrary, behaved with great decency and humanity, after they became poſ-

° *Articles of capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Weſt Indies, and commodore Brown, to Don Franciſco Martinez de Retez, governor of Porto-Bello, and Don Franciſco de Abarea, commandant of the guarda-coſtas at the ſame place, the 22d of November, 1739, O. S.*

I. That the garriſon be allowed to march out, as deſired, upon condition the king of Great Britain's troops be put into poſſeſſion of the Gloria-caſtle before four o'clock this evening, and the garriſon to march out by ten o'clock to-morrow morning. That the inhabitants may either remove or remain, under a promiſe of ſecurity for themſelves and their effects.

II. That the Spaniſh ſoldiers may have a guard, if they think it neceſſary.

III. That they may carry off two cannons mounted with ten charges of powder each, and their match lighted.

IV. The gates of the Gloria-caſtle muſt abſolutely be in poſſeſſion of the king our maſter's troops by four o'clock, and the Spaniſh garriſon ſhall remain in all ſafety, for their perſons and effects, till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the proviſions and ammunition neceſſary for their ſafety.

V. That the ſhips, with their apparel and arms, be abſolutely delivered up to the uſe of his Britannic majeſty; but that all the officers, ſoldiers, and crews, ſhall have three days allowed them to retire with all their perſonal effects, only one officer being admitted on board each ſhip and veſſel, to take poſſeſſion for the king our maſter, and to ſee this article ſtrictly complied with.

VI. That provided the articles above-mentioned are ſtrictly complied with, and that poſſeſſion is given of Caſtle St Jeronimo, in the ſame manner as is ſtipulated for the Caſtle Gloria, then the clergy, the churches, and town, ſhall be protected and preſerved in all their immunities and properties: and that all perſons already taken ſhall be ſet at liberty before our leaving the port.

Given under our hands on board his majeſty's ſhip Burford, in Porto-Bello harbour, this 22d of November, 1739, O. S.

E. VERNON.
CHA. BROWN.

I preſume it will not be thought inconſiſtent with the dignity of hiſtory to record a piece of genuine wit in a common ſailor, who, when the officer who commanded at the ſcaling of the Iron-caſtle, ordered the troops to *halt*, cried—"Damn my eyes, captain, don't let's *halt* till we are *crippled*."

A. D. 1739. ſeſſed of the town; and, as a reward for their moderation and gallantry, the admiral diſtributed among them 10,000 dollars, which were juſt arrived in order to pay the Spaniſh troops. The admiral, having taken on board his fleet all the braſs cannon and ammunition found in the ſeveral forts, he proceeded to demoliſh the fortifications; which was completely effected in three weeks, at the expence of 122 barrels of Spaniſh gun-powder[p]. On the 27th of November the Diamond, captain Knowles, and on the 29th the Windſor, captain Berkley, and the Angleſea, captain Reddiſh, arrived at Porto-Bello, in conſequence of orders, left by the admiral at the Leeward iſlands, for theſe ſhips to follow him. On the 13th of December the admiral, with his ſquadron, ſailed for Jamaica, and on the 28th, being then off Carthagena, he diſpatched captain Rentone, in the Spaniſh ſnow, with the news to England.

Admiral Vernon, and the fleet under his command, certainly deſerved the honour they acquired by the ſucceſs of this expedition; nevertheleſs, it muſt be confeſſed, that their eaſy conqueſt muſt be in part attributed to the cowardice of the Spaniards in ſurrendering the firſt fort before a breach was made, and the other two before they were attacked. The Gloria-caſtle was garriſoned by 400 men, and was ſo regularly fortified that it might have ſuſtained a long ſiege. Its lower battery had two baſtions, and a curtain which mounted 22 guns, beſides a line of eight guns facing the mouth of the harbour. There were alſo ſeveral other batteries both in the Gloria and St. Jeronimo, in the ſame direction, which, if properly ſerved, would have rendered the entrance into the harbour exceedingly dangerous, if not impracticable.

The taking of Porto-Bello, whilſt it did honour to the Britiſh navy, reflected at the ſame time no inconſiderable degree of praiſe on the Engliſh miniſtry. There was an evident propriety in puniſhing the inſolence of the Spaniards in the offending part. Porto-Bello was an aſylum for the guarda-coſtas, two of which were found in the harbour, and carried off by the admiral. But this was not the only ſervice he rendered to his country in the

[p] The admiral took on board, from the ſeveral batteries, 40 pieces of braſs cannon, 10 braſs field-pieces, four braſs mortars, 18 braſs pattereroes, and ſpiked 80 pieces of iron ordnance.

deſtruction

deſtruction of Porto-Bello. His ſucceſs enabled him to extend his influence to Panama, where ſome of the factors and ſervants of the South-ſea company were confined. He wrote to the preſident of that place in the language of a conqueror, and the factors and ſervants were immediately ſent to Porto-Bello. A. D. 1739.

Captain Rentone, in the Triumph ſloop, arrived in England on the 12th of March, 1740, with the news of this expedition [q]. The whole nation became frantic with joy. Congratulatory addreſſes were preſented by parliament, by the cities of London, Briſtol, *&c.* The commons granted every demand of the crown. They voted 28,000 land forces, beſides 6000 marines; they provided for a powerful navy, and ſeveral men of war were added to thoſe already in commiſſion [r].

There were at this time two conſiderable ſquadrons of Engliſh men of war in the Mediterranean; one at Gibraltar, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, conſiſting of twelve ſail, and the other on the Minorca ſtation, commanded by rear-admiral Haddock. But theſe fleets were only employed in cruizing on the coaſt of Spain and Italy, without any attempt to attack or annoy the enemy, except by now and then ſeizing a poor defenceleſs fly that happened unfortunately to fall into their web. The reader needs not be informed that I allude to the capture of unarmed trading veſſels by ſhips of war. A contemplative mind, reflecting on theſe maritime depredations, is naturally led to inquire, by what law of nature, or of nations, or on what principle of juſtice, princes at war thus ſeize the private property of each others ſubjects, in ſhips trading to other king-

[q] The news was known in England before his arrival. On the 11th Mr. Baker, maſter of Lloyd's coffee-houſe, waited on Sir R. Walpole with a letter, containing an account of Vernon's ſucceſs. It was brought from Jamaica by a ſhip which ſailed from thence, in company with captain Rentone; and arrived at Dover a day before him.

[r] *Viz.*

Colcheſter,	of	80 guns, and	600 men,	Captain Garlington.
Torbay,	—	80 ——	600 ——	Parker.
Cambridge,	—	80 ——	600 ——	Whorwood.
Pr. Frederic,	—	70 ——	480 ——	Clinton.
Oxford,	—	70 ——	480 ——	L.d. Aug. Fitzroy.

Seven fire-ſhips.

doms?

A. D. doms? This procedure ſeems more extraordinary when we
1739. conſider, that their land-forces generally obſerve a different conduct. A general, in marching through an enemy's country, ſo far from robbing and impriſoning every peaſant he meets, gives poſitive orders, that the perſon and property of individuals, not in arms, ſhall not be moleſted. He makes war againſt the prince, and not againſt the people individually. An admiral, on the contrary, takes every trading veſſel he meets, robs the owners of their property, and ſends the crew home to be confined as priſoners of war. Here then is a heavy puniſhment inflicted on perſons who had neither intention nor power to commit any offence, or in any wiſe to injure thoſe by whom the puniſhment is inflicted. I do not obtrude theſe reflections with any hope of influencing the conduct of the rulers of the earth: reaſon, juſtice, and humanity are not the privy-counſellors of kings. But perhaps the reader may not totally diſregard theſe counſellors, and will therefore pardon this ſhort interruption of the thread of our hiſtory.

1740. We now return to admiral Vernon, the hero of this period. I have related above, that in the laſt month of the year 1739, he ſailed with his ſquadron from Porto-Bello to Jamaica. He continued at Port-Royal, in that iſland, till the 25th of February (1740) following, on which day he ſailed for Carthagena, which he bombarded at intervals during three days, with no other effect than that of terrifying the inhabitants, and injuring ſome of their churches and convents[s]. What was intended by this bombardment is not very evident. On the 10th of March the ſquadron weighed anchor, and ſailed in line of battle weſtward along the coaſt. In paſſing by Boca Chica, they were ſaluted with a few ſhot from three ſmall forts near the mouth of the harbour; but they fell ſhort of the ſhips. The admiral, having ordered the Windſor and the Greenwich to cruize off Carthagena, proceeded with the reſt of his fleet to Porto-Bello, in order to repair the damages ſuſtained by the ſmall craft in the late bombardment. This buſineſs being compleated, and the fleet watered in about eight days, he ſailed on the 22d, and ſteering ſouth-weſt along ſhore, entered the river

[s] London Gazette, June 29.

Chegre,

Chegre, which is but a few leagues diſtant from Porto-Bello. A. D.
At the mouth of this river there was a caſtle, or fort, called 1740.
St. Lorenzo, under whoſe protection the guarda-coſtas uſed to ride ſecure. The only two of theſe Spaniſh pirates (for they were little better) which now remained on this coaſt, were at this time in the river. The admiral, in going in, had the misfortune to be retarded by an accident which happened to his fore-top-ſail-yard. He was on board the Strafford. This accident obliged him to make a ſignal for the Norwich to ſail in before him, with the bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders. The Norwich was then commanded by captain Herbert, and the bomb-ketches, *&c.* were conducted by captain Knowles, who came to an anchor at three in the afternoon, and began to bombard the fort that evening. The admiral's ſhip did not come to an anchor till ten o'clock at night. Far be it from me to inſinuate that there was any want of perſonal courage in admiral Vernon. But I beg leave to adviſe all future admirals, to whom ſuch an accident in the fore-top-ſail-yard may happen, immediately to hoiſt their flag on board the leading ſhip. This, however, does not appear to have been a ſervice of much danger. The caſtle mounted only eleven braſs cannon, and as many pattereroes. Nevertheleſs it ſuſtained a furious bombardment, and a continued cannonade from three of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet, till the morning of the 24th, when the garriſon ſurrendered, and the fort was immediately poſſeſſed by the Britiſh troops[t].

[t] *Articles of capitulation between* Edward Vernon, *Eſq; vice-admiral*, &c. *and* Don Juan Carlos Zavellos, *captain of foot*, &c.

I. That, upon his Britannic majeſty's troops being put in poſſeſſion of the fort St. Lorenzo, at the mouth of the river Chegre, the ſaid captain, and all his garriſon, be at free liberty to march out without any moleſtation, and may retire into the village of Chegre, or where elſe they pleaſe.

II. That the inhabitants of Chegre may remain in all ſafety in their own houſes, under a promiſe of ſecurity to their perſons and houſes.

III. That the guarda-coſta ſloops be delivered up in the condition they are, and the cuſtom-houſe.

IV. That the clergy and churches in Chegre ſhall be protected and preſerved in all their immunities.

E. VERNON.

There

A. D. 1740 There were found in the cuſtom-houſe, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, 4,300 bags of Peruvian bark, and other merchandize, which were ſhipped on board the fleet, together with the braſs ordnance above-mentioned. The cuſtom-houſe was then ſet on fire, the two guarda coſtas deſtroyed, and the fort entirely demoliſhed; after which the admiral returned to Porto-Bello, where he arrived on the firſt of April.

Whilſt Vernon was thus employed in the Weſt Indies, our fleets in Europe were unemployed. I mean to ſay, that they atchieved nothing againſt the enemy; for as to employment, they had enough of ſailing and counter-ſailing, and of fighting too, with adverſe winds. On the 23d of July a fleet of 21 ſhips of the line, commanded by Sir John Norris, with two other admirals, *viz.* Sir Chaloner Ogle, and Philip Cavendiſh, ſailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, the duke of Cumberland ſerving on board as a volunteer. But the wind ſhifting, they were obliged, after being three days at ſea, to put back into Torbay. On the 4th of Auguſt they ſailed again, with the wind at north-eaſt, and on the following day were within a few leagues of the Lizard; but on the 6th it blew ſo violently from the weſt, that they were obliged once more to return to Torbay. On the 22d they made a third attempt; and after five days obſtinate contention with tempeſtuous contrary winds, were a third time obliged to return to the ſame place. What was the deſtination of this fleet remains a matter of doubt. Probably the Spaniſh ſquadron, at that time at Ferrol, was the object. But, be the deſign whatſoever it might, it was now relinquiſhed, and the admiral, with the duke of Cumberland, returned to London. Thus began, and thus ended the naval hiſtory of his royal highneſs, who probably concluded, from this inauſpicious eſſay, that he had miſtaken his element.

In this year the celebrated commodore Anſon began his voyage to the South-Seas. He ſailed from St. Helen's with five men of war on the 18th of September. About two months after, Sir Chaloner Ogle ſailed for the Weſt Indies with twenty-one ſhips of the line, and a conſiderable body of land forces, commanded by lord Cathcart. This formidable fleet, which conſiſted of a hundred and ſeventy ſail[u], had ſcarce taken its

[u] Smollet's hiſt. vol. vii. p. 287.

departure

departure from the Land's-end, before it was ſcattered and diſperſed by a violent tempeſt. The admiral nevertheleſs purſued his voyage, and came to an anchor in the neutral iſland of Dominica, in order to take in wood and water. In this iſland the expedition ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of lord Cathcart, a brave and experienced officer, who died of a dyſentery. The command of the land-forces now devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer of no experience, and of very moderate abilities. The admiral, in his voyage from Dominica to Jamaica, ſailing near the iſland of Hiſpaniola, diſcovered four large ſhips of war. He made ſignal for an equal number of his ſquadron to give them chace. The chace refuſed to bring to, and lord Auguſtus Fitzroy, who commanded the Engliſh detachment, gave one of them a broadſide, and an engagement enſued, which continued during part of the night. In the morning they hoiſted French colours, and conſequently the firing ceaſed, there being at this time no declaration of war between the two nations. The commanders apologized to each other for the miſtake, and parted, but with loſs of men on both ſides. A.D. 1740.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived off Jamaica on the 9th of January 1741, where he joined admiral Vernon, who now commanded a fleet of thirty ſhips of the line, with a conſiderable number of frigates, bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, &c[a]. The number of ſeamen was about 15,000, and that of the land-forces at leaſt 12,000, including four battalions raiſed in America, and 500 negroes from Jamaica. This very formidable armament, doubtleſs the moſt tremendous that ever appeared in thoſe ſeas, was certainly equal to any attempt againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements. Their treaſure might have been intercepted, and their colonies eaſily reduced. But the complete humiliation of Spain was prevented by the concurrence of a variety of circumſtances. The Britiſh miniſtry, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, detained the fleet at Spithead much too long. For the credit of human nature, I am willing to believe, that the prime miniſter was not ſo exceedingly wicked as to endeavour, by retarding the fleet, to fruſtrate the expedition: and yet, to the diſgrace 1741.

[a] Vide appendix, N°. I.

A. D. 1741. of human nature, I fear there have been inſtances of miniſters ſo diabolical as to be influenced by very ignoble paſſions, in oppoſition to the intereſt and dignity of the nation, with whoſe weal they were intruſted. It ſeems however a ſafe maxim in politics, not to commit the management of a war to a miniſter who ſhall have repeatedly declared his diſapprobation of the meaſure. But be the deſigns of the miniſter what they might, it is ſcarce poſſible to ſuppoſe that the admiral was not hearty in the cauſe; and yet it was near the end of January before he ſailed from Jamaica, though he certainly was not ignorant that the ſeaſon was already too far advanced, in a climate where the rains, which begin about the end of April, render it impoſſible for troops to keep the field.

I muſt here take occaſion to obſerve, that the admiral's orders were diſcretionary: he might therefore have made his attack on any of the Spaniſh ſettlements. The Havannah, which was certainly an object of the greateſt importance, lay to leeward, and might eaſily have been reached in leſs than three days. Nevertheleſs, Mr. Vernon thought fit to beat againſt the wind to Hiſpaniola, with an intention, as it was ſaid, to obſerve the French fleet. On the 15th of February he learnt, that this fleet had ſailed for Europe, having previouſly ſent an advice-boat to Carthagena, to inform the Spaniards of Vernon's being in thoſe ſeas. The admiral called a council of war, and it was determined to land on the continent of New Spain. Accordingly, after ſpending ſome days in taking in wood and water at Hiſpaniola, the fleet ſailed, and, on the 4th of March, came to an anchor in a bay called Playa Granda, to windward of Carthagena. This fleet conſiſted of one hundred and twenty-four ſail, the ſight of which muſt have ſtruck ſuch terror into the Spaniards, that nothing but want of reſolution and diſpatch could have prevented its ſucceſs. There cannot be a truer maxim in the art of war, than, That heſitation in the aſſailant inſpires the defendant with courage, which augments progreſſively in proportion to the delay. But the commanders of this fleet and army, as if determined to give the enemy time to recover from their ſurprize, remained inactive in the bay till the 9th. On that day the firſt diviſion of the fleet, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, followed by admiral Vernon with all the tranſports, moved forward

towards

towards the entrance of the harbour called Boca Chica, which A. D.
was defended by ſeveral formidable batteries. The third divi- 1741.
ſion, commanded by Mr. Leſtock, remained at anchor. The Norfolk, the Ruſſel, and the Shrewſbury anchored very near two forts called St. Jago and St. Philip, which being ſilenced in leſs than an hour, were immediately poſſeſſed by a detachment of Britiſh grenadiers.

On the 10th, the two regiments of Harriſon and Wentworth, with ſix regiments of marines, landed on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, where, having pitched their tents, they began to erect a battery againſt the caſtle of Boca Chica. Five days more were employed in landing the artillery and neceſſary ſtores. But general Wentworth's want of knowledge in the art of war, ſoon diſcovered itſelf in the choice of his ground; for the tents were no ſooner pitched, than the ſoldiers found themſelves expoſed to the fire of a faſcine battery from the oppoſite ſide of the harbour, on the iſland of Varu. To remedy this evil, the admiral immediately detached a conſiderable number of ſailors under the command of captain Boſcawen, who landed about a mile to leeward of the battery, which mounted fifteen twenty-four pounders, under a raiſed battery of five guns. Theſe intrepid ſons of Neptune ſoon gained poſſeſſion of both batteries, and, having ſpiked the cannon, returned to their ſhips.

On the 22d, general Wentworth opened a battery of twenty twenty-four pounders againſt the caſtle of Boca Chica, and the next day commodore Leſtock with five ſhips was ordered to attack it by ſea. He renewed his attack on the 24th, and on that day fell lord Aubrey Beauclerc, captain of the Prince Frederic, a very brave and experienced officer. Meanwhile the Spaniards had remounted their faſcine battery, which was a ſecond time deſtroyed by a detachment of ſailors. A ſmall breach being now made on the land-ſide of Boca Chica caſtle, the general acquainted the admiral with his reſolution to ſtorm it, who, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, manned his boats under the command of captain Knowles. The ſailors landed near the caſtle, and there waited for the general aſſault. The grenadiers, on the other ſide, marched up in good order; but they no ſooner began to mount the breach, than the garriſon fled without firing a ſingle muſket. The garriſon of another

A. D. 1741. fort, called St. Joſeph, followed their example, and our ſailors took immediate poſſeſſion of it. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, and perceiving the enemy preparing to ſink their ſhips, they boarded the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, the Galicia, on board of which they found the captain and ſixty men. There were in the harbour, when the attack of Boca Chica began, ſix Spaniſh men of war, two of which were now ſunk, and one burnt by the Spaniards themſelves. The ſailors then proceeded to cut the boom, and thus opened a free paſſage for our ſhips into the lake. Next morning the fleet entered without moleſtation, but the wind blowing freſh and contrary, it was ſeveral days before they reached the narrow entrance into the harbour near the town. This entrance was defended by a conſiderable fortreſs, called Caſtillo Grande, mounting fifty-nine guns, which the enemy abandoned as ſoon as the ſhips approached.

Thus far all went well. The caſtles, forts, and batteries, which commanded the lake, were now in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. The entrance into this lake was doubtleſs an enterprize of no ſmall danger and difficulty, the channel being commanded by two hundred cannon, thoſe from the enemy's ſhips included. So far the admiral ſeems to have done every thing neceſſary on his part, by removing all obſtacles in the way to conqueſt; and he was ſo confident of ſucceeding, that, on the *firſt of April*, he ſent an expreſs to the duke of Newcaſtle, with an account of his progreſs; on the receipt of which his grace, with the reſt of the people of England, became frantic with joy and exultation. But with pain I proceed to record, that here our ſucceſs ended. The next expreſs brought a tale as humble as the former was triumphant. On this luckleſs *firſt of April*[c], the ſailors having opened a channel through the ſunken wrecks of the enemy, the bomb-ketches, covered by two frigates, entered the harbour, and were, on the ſucceeding day, followed by three fire-ſhips, which were ſo poſted as to cover the intended landing of the troops. The Weymouth, captain Knowles, got into the harbour on the third, and on the fifth, early in the morning, the troops began to land at a place called la Quinta, from whence general Wentworth, at the head of 1500 men, puſhed forward,

[c] London Gazette, June 20.

through

through a narrow defile, to an open ground about a mile from A. D.
fort St. Lazar, which fort entirely commanded the town of 1741.
Carthagena. He met with ſome interruption in his march from a body of ſix or ſeven hundred Spaniards, and loſt a few of his men; but the enemy ſoon retired, and, in the evening of the ſixth, the remainder of the Engliſh army were diſembarked, and, having joined their general, the whole encamped on the plain above-mentioned.

Fort St. Lazar, the only remaining fortreſs, was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon. The general was of opinion, that any attempt to take it without regular approaches would be attended with much danger and difficulty. The admiral, on the contrary, was poſitive that it was practicable by eſcalade. From this time the demon of diſcord preſided in their councils, and they began to entertain a ſovereign contempt for each other's opinions. The general upbraided the admiral for not cannonading the town, and the latter reproached the former for not ſtorming the fort. It was at length reſolved in a council of war to attack St. Lazar by ſtorm, the ſeaſon being now too far advanced to allow time for erecting a battery of cannon in order to open a breach. In conſequence of this reſolution, on the 9th, before break of day, brigadier-general Guiſe, with 1200 men, marched to the attack. Unfortunately his guides were ſlain before he reached the walls. His ſcaling-ladders, being applied at random, proved too ſhort. The officers were diſconcerted for want of orders. A general confuſion enſued, and the troops were obliged to retire with the loſs of 600 men killed or wounded. By this time the rains began to fall very heavily, and diſeaſe became ſo univerſal in the camp, that it was determined in a council of war to relinquiſh every idea of a farther attempt. The remnant of the army retired to their ſhips, and were re-embarked on the 16th. The admiral, in order to clear himſelf from any imputation of neglect, and to demonſtrate the impracticability of taking the place with ſhips after the ſucceſsleſs attack on St. Lazar, having previouſly converted the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, Galicia, into a floating battery, warped her into the harbour as near to the town as poſſible. In this ſtation ſhe fired upon the town for ſome hours; but it appearing that ſhe was at too great a diſtance to injure the

walls,

A. D. 1741. walls, ſhe was ſuffered to drive, and ſoon ſtruck upon the ſand. This experiment, how plauſible ſoever it might ſeem, was by no means allowed to be ſatisfactory. An hiſtorian [d], who was preſent, affirms, that in another part of the harbour there was ſpace and water ſufficient for four or five men of war to lie within piſtol-ſhot of the walls of Carthagena. If this be true, the admiral was certainly inexcuſable for not bringing his ſhips to bear upon the town during the attack upon St. Lazar.

The ſhattered remnant of this ill-fated army having returned to their ſhips, diſeaſes, peculiar to the climate, raged with inconceivable malignity, and many brave men who had eſcaped the enemy died in their hammocks. The jarring chieftains were unanimous as to the expediency of retiring from this ſcene of deſtruction and diſgrace. A few days were ſpent in deſtroying the forts already taken, and then the fleet ſailed for Jamaica.

As the rational deſign of hiſtorical writings is not merely to gratify the reader's curioſity, but rather to exhibit examples of vice and folly, virtue and ſagacity, for his occaſional abhorrence or imitation, I ſhall endeavour to point out the cauſes of the miſcarriage of this important expedition. Some future commander of an attack upon Carthagena may poſſibly deem this inveſtigation worthy of his attention.

The old adage, that, A bad beginning commonly produces a bad ending, is more frequently verified in the cataſtrophe of naval expeditions, than in any other ſpecies of human tranſactions. It is always in the power of a malignant prime miniſter to fruſtrate the beſt-concerted attempt, if he be influenced by paſſions or policy to wiſh that it may not ſucceed; and I fear there have been very few prime miniſters ſo unintereſtedly diſpaſſionate, as ſincerely to wiſh the ſucceſs of meaſures adopted in oppoſition to their advice. Sir Robert Walpole's conſent to a war with Spain, was evidently an involuntary compliance with the clamour of oppoſition, and of the nation in general. The fleet was not only unneceſſarily retarded at Spithead, but the troops which were put on board, were raw and undiſciplined. The fleet ought certainly to have ſailed at leaſt a month earlier; for though there might be barely time to execute the plan propoſed,

[d] Smollet's hiſt. vol. vii. p. 287.

naval

naval expeditions are, in their nature, liable to ſo many cauſes of delay, that they will not admit of nice calculation in point of time. But if this miniſterial delay was inexcuſable, what ſhall we ſay of the dilatory proceedings of the admiral, who was certainly better acquainted with the climate? A. D. 1741.

From the above account of this unſucceſsful expedition we learn, that our fleet and army were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of all the forts which defended the lake, than the admiral and general began to quarrel; their animoſity daily increaſed, and their mutual contempt became at laſt ſo exceſſive, that the glorious cauſe in which they were engaged ſeemed leſs the object of their attention, than the means of effecting each other's diſgrace. But the miſchief did not end with the commanders: each had his ſeparate cabal, and the ſpirit of diſcord was diffuſed through the whole fleet and army. This fatal, childiſh miſunderſtanding is an evident proof that both the admiral and general, to ſay no worſe of them, were weak men. If either of them had poſſeſſed the ſoul of a great commander, he would not have ſuffered the folly of the other to ruin an enterprize of ſuch importance. Fools, it is true, are ſometimes obſtinate; but it is ſeldom difficult for diſpaſſionate wiſdom to flatter them into compliance; and certainly, on ſuch an occaſion, ſomewhat of punctilio ſhould have been ſacrificed to patriotiſm.

The attack upon St. Lazar was certainly abſurd, and the hope of ſucceeding was doubtleſs founded ſolely on the facility with which the other forts had been poſſeſſed. This was a falſe concluſion; for that facility had rendered this fortreſs more formidable by an accumulation of troops. But in order to give the leaſt degree of probability to the ſucceſs of this attack, the admiral ought at the ſame time to have cannonaded and bombarded the town with all the power of his fleet. He might certainly have brought more ſhips into the harbour, and they might with ſafety have brought up much nearer to the walls. When the French took Carthagena in 1697, the firing from the ſhips contributed eſſentially to their ſucceſs; but they landed a conſiderable train of artillery, with which they made a breach in the walls of the town, and then bravely fought their way into it. I alſo beg leave to remind the reader, that, in the year 1740, admiral Vernon bombarded the town of Carthagena from the ſea,

A. D. 1741. ſea. As therefore he had now ſo many ſhips more than he wanted, why did he not leave ſome of them on the coaſt, with orders to co-operate with the fleet in the harbour and the army, in the moment of a general attack? Upon the whole, Wentworth appears to have done all in his power, and his troops do not ſeem in any wiſe to have diſgraced their country; but, alas! the reſolutions by which they had the misfortune to be directed, were the reſult of jarring deliberations among the incongruous inhabitants of different elements. The general might be culpable in not treating the admiral with that degree of reſpect which his late victory gave him ſome reaſon to expect; but the latter was certainly inexcuſable in not aſſiſting the former in the reduction of the town. This conduct in the admiral will appear exceedingly reprehenſible, if, upon a careful ſurvey of the forts and harbour, it ſhould appear, that, after the reduction of the ſeveral fortreſſes commanding the lake, the town might be reduced by a fleet, without the aſſiſtance of a land army: and the truth of this ſuppoſition ſeems ſo extremely probable, that I verily believe Vernon would have taken it, if the troops had never been landed, or if he had had no troops to aſſiſt him in the attempt. It is very evident that the town of Carthagena may be eaſily bombarded both from the ſea and from the harbour; and it is equally certain, that no town in which there are any number of opulent inhabitants, will ſuſtain that ſpecies of deſtructive inſult for any length of time; they will riſe upon the garriſon, and oblige them to capitulate.

Be this as it may, though the Engliſh ſailors and ſoldiers were diſappointed of their expected ſpoils of the enemy, they retired with the ſatisfaction of having done the Spaniards great injury in the deſtruction of many conſiderable fortifications, in ſpiking a number of cannon, and in annihilating ſix men of war and ſix galleons, beſides many other veſſels.

Let us now follow the Engliſh fleet to Jamaica, where it arrived on the 19th of May. The climate of this iſland did not contribute much towards the recovery of the ſick, many of whom died after their arrival; among the reſt lord Auguſtus Fitzroy, captain of the Orford. Vernon, on his arrival at Jamaica [c], having received orders from England to retain in the

[c] London Gazette, July 25, 1741.

Weſt Indies no more ſhips than were neceſſary, ſent home ſeve- A. D.
ral men of war under the command of commodore Leſtock[f]. 1741.
The remainder of his fleet were deemed quite ſufficient; there being, at this time, but one Spaniſh ſquadron at the Havannah, and a ſmall French fleet at Hiſpaniola. It is very certain that the admiral was ſo exceedingly diſſatisfied with his colleague Wentworth, that he ardently wiſhed to return to England; but the king had conceived ſo high an opinion of his abilities, and the letters which the admiral received from the duke of Newcaſtle were ſo extremely flattering, that he determined to continue in his ſtation. On the 26th of May, he called a general council of war, the members of which were himſelf, Sir Chaloner Ogle, general Wentworth, general Guiſe, and governor Trelawny. The four firſt of theſe gentlemen were unanimous in opinion, that St. Jago on the iſland of Cuba was the proper object of attack. Governor Trelawny, on the contrary, thought Cuba of little importance, and ſtrenuouſly adviſed an expedition againſt Panama on the iſthmus of Darien. The governor, however, acquieſced, and raiſed a corps of a thouſand negroes, which were put on board the fleet with all poſſible expedition.

This armament, which ſailed from Jamaica on the firſt of July[g], conſiſted of eight ſhips of the line, one of 50 guns, 12 frigates, *&c.*[h] and about 40 tranſports, on board of which,

[f] Theſe were, the Carolina, Ruſſel, Norfolk, Shrewſbury, Amelia, Torbay, Chicheſter, Hampton-Court, Burford, Windſor, and Falmouth; beſides five frigates.

[g] London Gazette, Oct. 27.

[h] Viz.

VICE-ADMIRAL VERNON.

Frigates.

Shoreham,	Cheſter, Captain	Long	50 guns.
Alderney,	Grafton,	Rycaut	70
Strombolo,	Boyne, (Admiral)	Watſon	80
Phaeton,	Worceſter,	Cleland	60
Bonetta,	Tilbury,	Dent	60
Princeſs Royal,			
Pompey,			
Triton.			

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR CHALONER OGLE.

Experiment,	Kent,	Mitchel	70
Sheerneſs,	Cumberland, (Adm.)	Norris	80
Veſuvius,	Tyger,	Herbert	60
Scarborough.	Montague,	Chambers	60

A. D. 1741. including blacks, were 3400 land forces. The fleet came to an anchor, on the 18th, in Walthenham harbour, on the ſouth ſide of the iſle of Cuba. The admiral, fully determining to annex for ever this fine iſland to the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, began by changing the name of *Walthenham* into that of *Cumberland* harbour, in compliment to his royal highneſs the duke. With ſubmiſſion to commanders of fleets, invading an enemy's country, I ſhould think it moſt adviſable to avoid this parade of giving names to places which were named before, unleſs they are perfectly certain of being able to maintain their conqueſt; becauſe the ſpurious appellation, after their departure, will be recollected only as a memorandum of their diſgrace. This harbour, howſoever called, was a very capacious and ſecure aſylum againſt the hurricanes ſo frequent in the Weſt Indies at this ſeaſon of the year: it was therefore a deſirable poſſeſſion, particularly as it was acquired without moleſtation. The iſland of Cuba is not only the largeſt of the Antilles, but it is alſo ſaid to be the moſt fruitful and healthy of any in the Weſt Indies.

There were, at this time, twelve Spaniſh ſhips of the line at the Havannah, a populous city on the weſt ſide of the iſland, where the governor reſides, and where there were ſtrong fortifications and a numerous garriſon. For theſe reaſons, though the conqueſt of the whole iſland was ultimately intended, it was thought adviſable to begin with St. Jago, a leſs conſiderable city on the eaſtern coaſt. Walthenham harbour lies about eleven leagues ſouth-weſt from St. Jago, and diſtant by land about ſixty miles, on which ſide the city is almoſt entirely defenceleſs. Its fortifications to the ſea were not formidable, but the entrance into the harbour is ſo extremely narrow, and the navigation ſo dangerous, that nature has ſufficiently ſecured it from a naval attack. On theſe conſiderations it was reſolved, in a general council of war, held on board the admiral, on the 20th of July, to land the troops immediately, and take the city of St. Jago by ſurprize.

The troops were accordingly diſembarked, and meeting with no oppoſition, marched ſome miles up the country, and encamped on the banks of a navigable river. From this encampment general Wentworth detached ſeveral reconnoitring parties, which

which falling in with ſmall bodies of the enemy, repulſed them A. D.
with very little loſs on either ſide. One of theſe reconnoitring 1741.
parties, conſiſting of 150 Americans and negroes, commanded by major Dunſter, penetrated as far as the village of Elleguava, where he continued ſome time; but not being ſupported by the main army, he returned to the camp. Meanwhile admiral Vernon diſpatched part of his fleet to block up the port of St. Jago, and to watch the motions of the Spaniſh admiral at the Havannah, expecting with the utmoſt impatience the progreſs of the army. But, on the 5th of October, he had the mortification to receive a letter from general Wentworth, expreſſing his doubts of being able either to advance farther, or even to ſubſiſt his army much longer in the part which they then poſſeſſed. On the 9th the general called a council of war, the members of which were unanimouſly of opinion, that it was impoſſible to march farther into the country, without expoſing the troops to certain ruin. The army nevertheleſs continued in its encampment till the 7th of November, when another council of war, conſiſting of the land-officers only, reſolved, that the troops ought to be re-embarked with all poſſible expedition; and they were accordingly put on board their tranſports on the 20th, without the leaſt moleſtation from the enemy.

Thus ended the *conqueſt* of the iſle of Cuba, the inhabitants of which were, from the incomprehenſible conduct of the Britiſh troops, at laſt perſuaded that they landed without any hoſtile intentions. The good people of England grew extremely diſſatisfied, impatient of news, and as much aſtoniſhed at the cautious inactivity of general Wentworth, as they are at this moment (October the 5th, 1777 *) at the manœuvres of their general who is to conquer America. But the people of England, who reaſon only from appearance, and are guided ſolely by common ſenſe, are very incompetent judges of the actions of great generals and great miniſters. A general, though abſolute at the head of his army, is a mere inſtrument in the hands of the prime miniſter, and muſt fight or not fight according to his private inſtructions. Some of the politicians, of the period of which I am now writing, were of opinion, that our making

* General Howe ſailed from New York on a ſecret expedition in Auguſt, and no accounts of him had arrived in England at this period.

A. D. 1741. conqueſts in the Weſt Indies was diſagreeable to France, and that a French war was to be avoided at all events: others did not ſcruple to inſinuate, that the miniſter did all in his power to fruſtrate every attempt in the proſecution of a war into which he had been forced by the oppoſition; and a third claſs of people attributed this miſcarriage entirely to the general's want of ſkill and reſolution. Whatſoever might be the real cauſe of this very extraordinary ſupineneſs in the Britiſh troops, there are very few incidents in hiſtory which afford more apparent foundation for cenſure. St. Jago, which was not above four days march, for light troops, from Cumberland harbour, was in a great meaſure defenceleſs on the land ſide, and therefore might have been eaſily ſurprized. There was no army in the country to oppoſe an enemy, therefore why it was not immediately attempted is very difficult to conceive; unleſs we ſuppoſe that the officers had no inclination to make conqueſts in ſo fatal a climate, where, if they had ſucceeded, they would have been left in garriſon. As to their reſolution of returning to their ſhips, after remaining four months on the iſland, it was certainly proper; for by this time their number was ſo exceedingly decreaſed by the diſeaſes of the climate, that probably, in another month, there would ſcarce have been a man left to bring home the tale of their diſaſters.

When we conſider the number of men ſacrificed to the climate in this, and in the preceding attempt againſt Carthagena, one cannot help wiſhing, if humanity be admiſſible in politics, that future miniſters would not wantonly tranſport ſo many thouſands of Europeans to a climate where it is almoſt impoſſible for them to exiſt. Poſſibly the political ſyſtem of Great Britain may ſometimes require ſuch ſacrifices; but one would hope, that nothing but the moſt inevitable neceſſity would authorize ſuch deſtruction of the human ſpecies.

Before we quit this expedition, we cannot avoid inquiring into the deſign of it. That general Wentworth did not act his part in the reduction of St. Jago is pretty evident. But ſuppoſe that town had been taken, what then? Would the iſland have fallen in conſequence? By no means. The Havannah was ſtrongly fortified, well garriſoned, and defended by twelve ſhips of the line: ſo that any idea of reducing the whole iſland ſeems to be entire-

ly

ly out of the queſtion. What poſſible advantage could therefore A. D.
reſult from taking St. Jago? It may be anſwered, That a rein- 1741.
forcement of 2000 marines was expected from England. This ſupply, however, was a precarious expectation. They did not arrive at Jamaica till the 15th of January: and had they even arrived two months ſooner, the army would ſtill have been inadequate to the reduction of the Havannah, and conſequently inſufficient to conquer the iſland, or even to maintain their ground for any length of time; and yet the heroes of this expedition were ſo confident of ſucceſs, that they not only entered upon it by giving Engliſh names to the enemy's harbours and rivers, but they actually invited new ſettlers from North America, and promiſed them grants of land[i].

From theſe conſiderations it follows, that, though general Wentworth may be juſtly cenſured for performing nothing, yet all he could poſſibly have done would have anſwered no rational purpoſe; and the expedition was no leſs injudiciouſly planned than puſillanimouſly executed.

The troops were re-embarked on the 20th of November, and on the 25th it was reſolved in a general council of war, that the general, with the troops under his command, ſhould return to Jamaica, and that the fleet ſhould continue to cruize off Hiſpaniola in ſearch of the expected reinforcement from England. The tranſports ſailed on the 28th, and the admiral on the 6th of December, with the remaining ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line, a fire-ſhip, an hoſpital-ſhip, and two tenders. But before we take an intire leave of Cuba, it is neceſſary, in juſtice to the navy, to inform the reader, that, whilſt the troops were on ſhore, the fleet was not quite inactive. The Worceſter took a Spaniſh man of war of 24 guns, the Defiance took a regiſter ſhip laden with proviſions for Carthagena, and the Shoreham took another veſſel with 70,000 pieces of eight on board.

Having cloſed the naval tranſactions of the year 1741, in the Weſt Indies, I muſt recal the reader's attention to the progreſs of Mr. Anſon, who, I before mentioned, had ſailed from St. Helen's on the 18th September, 1740[k], with a ſquadron of

[i] See governor Shirley's ſpeech to the council at Boſton, Sept. 23, 1741.

[k] Anſon's voyage by Walter, chap. 1.

five

A. D. 1740. five men of war, a ſmall ſloop, and two victuallers[1]. This expedition was originally planned prior to the declaration of war with Spain, and was rationally founded on a deſign of ſeizing the wealth of that kingdom at its ſource, and thereby depriving the enemy of the means of executing their hoſtile intentions. There were indeed at firſt two ſeparate fleets deſtined for this ſervice; one of which was to have been commanded by Mr. Cornwall, and the other by Mr. Anſon. The firſt was to have ſailed round Cape Horn into the South Seas, and the other directly to the Eaſt Indies. Theſe two ſquadrons were to have met at Manilla, where they were to expect farther orders. This project ſeemed well calculated to humble the pride and inſolence of Spain; becauſe their remote ſettlements were, at this time, almoſt intirely defenceleſs, and ſeveral of the moſt important of them might probably have been ſurprized before they had intelligence of a war between the two nations. The original ſcheme, however, was laid aſide, and it was determined that one ſquadron only ſhould be ſent to the South Seas, of which Mr. Anſon ſhould have the command.

This deviation from the original plan was no leſs diſpleaſing to Mr. Anſon than to Sir Charles Wager, by whom it was firſt propoſed, and who was equally ignorant of the reaſons which induced the miniſtry to lay it aſide. However, on the 10th of January Mr. Anſon received his commiſſion as commodore of the ſquadron above-mentioned. The king's inſtructions were dated the 31ſt of the ſame month, which, nevertheleſs, Mr. Anſon did not receive before the 28th of June following. He then went down to Portſmouth, where his ſquadron lay, in full expectation of ſailing with the firſt fair wind; for though he knew that he was at leaſt 300 men ſhort of his complement, he had been aſſured that the deficiency would be ſupplied from Sir John Norris's fleet then at Spithead. But Sir John did not chuſe to part with any of his ſailors. This diſappoint-

[1] *Viz.*

The Centurion,	60 guns,	400 men,	Geo. Anſon commander,
Glouceſter,	50	300	Richard Norris,
Severn,	50	300	Edward Legge,
Pearl,	40	250	Matthew Mitchell,
Wager,	28	160	Danby Kidd,
Tyrrel,	8	100	Hon. Geo. Murray.

ment

ment was another cauſe of delay, and all that Mr. Anſon could at laſt obtain was 170 men, ninety-eight of which were marines, and thirty-two from the hoſpitals. A. D. 1740.

According to the firſt plan, Bland's intire regiment of foot and three independent companies were to have embarked on board this fleet. But it was afterwards reſolved, that the land forces ſhould conſiſt of 500 out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, of which only 259 of the moſt feeble were embarked, all thoſe who were able to walk having deſerted. On ſuch occaſions it is not eaſy to determine which moſt to execrate, the heads or hearts of thoſe who are intruſted with the management of public affairs. It ſurely requires a very moderate degree of underſtanding to know that ſuch troops, ſo far from being ſerviceable, muſt neceſſarily prove a burdenſome obſtruction to the ſucceſs of an expedition, which, from its nature, required health, ſtrength, and vigour, in their utmoſt degree of perfection. As to heart, can any thing be imagined more inhuman, than treacherouſly to drag from their peaceful habitations, and from the enjoyment of the ſcanty reward of paſt ſervices, a number of decrepid old men, conſcious of their inability to render further ſervice to their country, and certain of an inglorious cataſtrophe? To ſupply the place of the 240 invalids who had deſerted, 210 marines, new raiſed and totally undiſciplined, were ordered on board, the laſt detachment of which embarked on the 8th of Auguſt, and on the 10th the ſquadron ſailed from Spithead to St. Helen's, there to wait for a fair wind.

If Mr. Anſon's ſquadron had now been ſuffered to proceed, he might have tided it down the channel without waiting for a fair wind; but the Lords Juſtices (the king being then at Hanover) ordered him to ſail from St. Helen's in conjunction with the two fleets commanded by admiral Balchen and Sir Chaloner Ogle, amounting, in all, to 145 ſail. Now it being impoſſible for ſo numerous a fleet to proceed, with ſafety, without an eaſterly wind, forty days more were ſpent in hourly expectation of a favourable breeze. At laſt, on the 9th of September, Mr. Anſon received orders to proceed with his own ſquadron, independent of the reſt. He ſailed on the 18th, and in four days got clear of the channel.

I have

A. D. 1740. I have dwelt a little upon this very extraordinary delay, and its ſeveral cauſes, becauſe to this very unaccountable conduct of adminiſtration may rationally be aſcribed the many hardſhips, dangers, and diſappointments experienced in the progreſs of this expedition. It ſeems indeed exceedingly inconceivable, that an expedition appointed early in the month of January, ſhould not have proceeded till late in September. But ſo it was, and the conſequences were ſuch as might eaſily have been foreſeen. The ſquadron was not only, by this delay, obliged to double Cape Horn in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year, but the Spaniards, in every part of the globe, were informed of its deſtination.

Having cleared the channel, Mr. Anſon ſteered for the iſland of Madeira; but, as if all nature as well as art had conſpired to retard his progreſs, he was forty days on a paſſage which is frequently made in ten. However, at laſt, after this tedious contention with adverſe winds, he arrived at Madeira on the 25th of October. He immediately viſited the governor, who informed him, that for ſeveral days paſt there had appeared to the weſtward of the iſland ſeven or eight men of war, which he ſuppoſed to be Spaniſh. Mr. Anſon diſpatched a ſloop to reconnoitre this ſquadron, and the ſloop returned without any intelligence. This was in truth a Spaniſh ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of the line and a Patache, which were ſent for the ſole purpoſe of counteracting Mr. Anſon's operations in the South Seas. They had on board a regiment of foot, intended to ſtrengthen ſome of their garriſons, and two of the ſhips were deſtined for the Weſt Indies. Their commodore was Don Joſeph Pizarro. Of the five ſhips that ſailed for the South Seas, but one returned to Europe, the reſt having either foundered at ſea, or were wrecked or broken up in the courſe of the voyage.

On the 3d of November Mr. Anſon left Madeira, and croſſed the line on the 28th. He arrived at the iſland of St. Catherine, on the coaſt of Brazil, on the 21ſt of December, where he repaired ſuch of his ſhips as had ſuffered in the voyage, took in wood and water, regaled his people with freſh proviſions, and recovered ſome of his ſick. But he neither found the climate ſo healthy, nor the Portugueze ſo hoſpitable,

as

as repreſented by former voyagers. The governor of the iſland perfidiouſly diſpatched a veſſel to the Spaniſh admiral, then at Buenos-Ayres, with an account of Mr. Anſon's ſtrength and condition, during his continuance in this neutral port. A. D. 1741.

The ſquadron ſailed from St. Catherine's on the 18th of January, ſteering ſouthward along the coaſt of America, towards Cape Horn, In ſo hazardous a voyage, at this ſeaſon of the year, it was more than probable that the fleet would be ſeparated, the commodore therefore appointed three ſeveral places of rendezvous: the firſt at St. Julian on the coaſt of Patagonia, the ſecond at the iſland of Socoro in the South-ſeas, and the third at Juan Fernandez. Soon after their departure from St. Catherine's, the Pearl was ſeparated, and did not rejoin the ſquadron till near a month after. On her return, lieutenant Salt informed Mr. Anſon, that captain Kidd died on the 31ſt of January; that he had fallen in with the Spaniſh fleet abovementioned, and that, miſtaking one of their ſhips for the Centurion, he very narrowly eſcaped being taken. The Engliſh ſquadron anchored in the harbour of St. Julian on the 18th of February, principally with a deſign to repair the Tryal ſloop, which had loſt her main-maſt in a ſqual. This buſineſs being finiſhed, they ſailed again on the 27th, and paſſed the Streights Le Maire on the 7th of March.

At this time their ſhips were in good condition, and their crews in tolerable health and ſpirits. They flattered themſelves, that, as they were now entering into the Pacific Ocean, their dangers and difficulties would gradually vaniſh, and that Spaniſh treaſures would ſoon reward their labour. But deluſive were theſe expectations. They did not even clear the Streights without great danger, and they no ſooner quitted the land than they found themſelves expoſed to all the horrors of impetuous winds, and waves turbulent and mountainous beyond all conception. They now began emphatically to execrate the cauſes of their late departure from Europe. This formidable ſquadron ſoon ſeparated, never more to unite! After ſtruggling with infinite variety of diſtreſs during two long months, the Centurion, Mr. Anſon's ſhip on the laſt day of April, found herſelf to the northward of the Streights of Magellan, and therefore concluded that ſhe had ſecured her paſſage round Cape Horn. On the 8th of

A. D. 1741. May ſhe arrived off Socoro, the firſt rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She cruized there, in extreme bad weather, above a fortnight, in hopes of rejoining ſome of the ſquadron; but being diſappointed in this expectation, ſtood for the iſland of Juan Fernandez, where ſhe arrived on the 9th of June; but in ſo feeble a condition, that at this time not above twenty hands, officers included, were left capable of aſſiſting in working the ſhip. The ſcurvy had made ſuch terrible havock among the crew, that out of 450, their complement when they paſſed Streight Le Maire, ſcarce half that number were now living, and moſt of theſe were ſick in their hammocks. The Tryal ſloop reached the iſland about the ſame time, in the ſame diſtreſsful ſituation, and they were joined by the Glouceſter on the 23d of July, which ſhip had loſt three fourths of her crew, and would certainly never have been able to reach the iſland, but for the aſſiſtance ſent her by the commodore after ſhe was in ſight. The Anna Pink, their victualler, came in about the middle of Auguſt, and this was the laſt ſhip of the ſquadron they ever ſaw.

The miſſing ſhips were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager ſtore-ſhip. The two firſt parted company off Cape Noir, and put back to the Brazils. The latter purſued her voyage towards the iſland of Socoro, the firſt rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She made the land on the weſtern coaſt of South America, on the 14th of May, in latitude 47, and the next morning ſtruck upon a ſunken rock, and ſoon after bulged. Moſt of the crew were landed on this deſolate iſland, where they remained five months, and then about eighty of the ſailors, in a ſchooner built by lengthening the long-boat, ſailed back for the Brazils, leaving captain Cheap and nineteen other perſons on ſhore. Theſe were by various accidents at laſt reduced to four, who were landed by an Indian on the coaſt of Chiloe, thence conveyed to St. Jago, where they continued a year, and three of them were finally ſent to Europe on board a French ſhip, *viz.* captain Cheap, Mr. Byron *, and Mr. Hamilton.

We now return to Mr. Anſon's ſquadron at Juan Fernandez, conſiſting of the Centurion, the Glouceſter, the Tryal ſloop, and the Anna Pink. The laſt of theſe being found totally unfit for ſervice, was broken up. By the beginning of September

* Now admiral Byron.

the

the crews were pretty well recovered, though the whole number was, by this time, reduced to 335, boys included. A. D. 1741.

On the 19th of September, Mr. Anſon with his ſmall ſquadron ſailed from the iſland of Juan Fernandez, with a deſign to cruize near the continent of Spaniſh America. On this cruize he took three trading veſſels of no great value; but from the paſſengers on board he received ſuch intelligence as determined him to ſurprize the town of Paita, in latitude 50° 12′ ſouth. It conſiſted of about 200 houſes, and was defended by a ſmall fort mounting eight guns. Fearful of alarming the inhabitants by the approach of his ſhips, he reſolved to make the attempt by means of his boats only. Whilſt the ſquadron was yet at too great a diſtance to be perceived by the enemy, about ten at night he detached fifty-eight men, commanded by lieutenant Brett, and conducted by two Spaniſh pilots. They landed without oppoſition, and ſoon took entire poſſeſſion of the place. The governor, with moſt of the inhabitants, having had ſome previous notice from the ſhips in the harbour, fled into the country at their approach, and continued parading on the hills. The Engliſh remained three days on ſhore; during which time they ſent all the treaſure they could find on board their ſhips. They then ſet fire to the town and re-embarked, having loſt only two men in the enterprize. The booty they carried off amounted to about 30,000 l. The loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniards was eſtimated at a million and a half of dollars.

Whilſt Mr. Anſon was thus engaged, the Glouceſter, which had been ſent on a cruize, took two Spaniſh prizes with ſpecie on board amounting to 19,000 l. ſterling. She joined the ſquadron two days after their departure from Paita, and they ſtood to the northward with a deſign to water at the iſland of Quibo, near the bay of Panama. At this iſland they arrived on the 4th of December. The commodore had indeed entertained ſome hopes of being reinforced from admiral Vernon's ſquadron acroſs the iſthmus of Darien; but he learnt, from the papers found on board one of his prizes, that the attack upon Carthagena had failed. Theſe hopes therefore immediately vaniſhed, and he now determined to ſteer for the coaſt of Mexico, in expectation of falling in with the galleon which he ſuppoſed to be on her paſſage from Manilla to Acapulco. The ſqua-

A. D. 1741. dron ſailed from Quibo on the 12th of December, and did not make the coaſt of Mexico till the 29th of January. But, as this brings us to the tranſactions of the year 1742, we muſt now return to Europe, in order to take a view of the Britiſh navy nearer home to the end of the year 1741.

Whilſt Vernon and Anſon were thus employed in America, the admirals Sir John Norris and Haddock commanded two formidable fleets in Europe. The firſt of theſe commanders ſailed from Spithead on the 27th of July with ſixteen ſhips of the line, and, ſteering for the bay of Biſcay, began to cruize upon the coaſt of Spain. With this formidable fleet he might with the utmoſt facility have injured the enemy moſt eſſentially, by ravaging their coaſt and deſtroying their maritime towns, which were almoſt totally defenceleſs. Not only the Britiſh nation in general, but the Spaniards themſelves, and every perſon on board, except the admiral, were confident that ſo powerful a fleet had ſome capital object in view. But, to the aſtoniſhment of all the world, except thoſe who were admitted behind the curtain, in leſs than a month, Sir John Norris returned to Spithead with half his fleet, without having executed, or even attempted, any thing worth relating. Part of the ſquadron continued cruizing on the Spaniſh coaſt, and the Naſſau and Lenox were ſent to join admiral Haddock, who, with thirteen men of war, ſpent the whole ſummer cruizing in the Mediterranean, without atchieving any thing ſufficient to furniſh a tolerable Gazette. The cauſes aſſigned for his being ſtationed in that ſea were, to prevent the junction of the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz with that of France at Toulon, and to intercept the troops which were intended to be tranſported from Barcelona to Italy, in order to act againſt the queen of Hungary. But unfortunately neither of theſe purpoſes were anſwered.

What were the private inſtructions given to Norris and Haddock will probably always remain a ſecret. Their reſpective characters as men of abilities and reſolution ſtand unimpeached; but abilities and reſolution are not ſufficient to complete the character of a naval commander. Probity is an indiſpenſible ingredient. The man who is mean enough to accept of a command with ignominious reſtrictions, merits the obloquy which poſterity will never fail to beſtow.

On

On the 12th of October Sir John Norris ſailed again for the coaſt of Spain with a fleet of ten men of war. The inhabitants of the towns along the ſhore were at firſt a little alarmed at his re-appearance; but, finding him now no leſs harmleſs than before, they beheld the Engliſh fleet as an agreeable ſpectacle, and were at length fully perſuaded that he was ſent to parade along their coaſt merely for their amuſement. A. D. 1741.

Notwithſtanding the formidable ſtate of our navy at this period, our trade was ſo ill protected, that, ſince the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken no leſs than 372 of our trading veſſels. The merchants of London and other ports were convinced that their loſſes were chiefly owing to neglect, and they remembered the declaration of the miniſter, That as the war was their own, they muſt take the conſequences. I have before animadverted on the imprudence of intruſting the conduct of a war to a miniſter who is forced into it by oppoſition. Sir Robert Walpole did every thing in his power to avoid a war with Spain, which, with a little of that ſpirit which Cromwell on a like occaſion would have exerted, he might have avoided. The Spaniards preſumed on a knowledge of Sir Robert's pacific diſpoſition. That nation had indeed great reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the illicit trade carried on by Engliſh veſſels in the Weſt Indies. If, inſtead of guarding their coaſts by armed ſhips, they had complained to the Britiſh miniſtry, and if the Britiſh miniſtry had taken effectual methods to prohibit this illicit trade, in conſequence of ſuch complaint, peace between the two nations might have been preſerved, and Sir Robert Walpole would have remained prime miniſter. He was averſe to the war, becauſe he foreſaw that it would deſtroy his influence, and I am afraid he wanted magnanimity to exert a degree of patriotic zeal ſufficient to render ſucceſsful a war which he did not approve [m].

Sir Robert Walpole, though extremely unpopular, had hitherto ſtood ſecure under the ſhelter of the throne. But the people of England were now ſo diſſatisfied with this unſucceſsful war with Spain, and particularly with his total neglect of the queen of Hungary in her diſtreſs, that, at the general election of a new parliament, a conſiderable majority of the inde- 1742.

[m] For the ſtate of the navy in the year 1741, ſee the Appendix, N°. 2.

pendent

A. D. 1742. pendent voters, throughout the kingdom, oppoſed the court; many of Sir Robert's members were thrown out, and when the parliament met, the complexion of the houſe of commons was ſuch, that a change of miniſtry became unavoidable. Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford; he reſigned all his employments, and found an aſylum in the houſe of lords. The leading patriots in both houſes were either taken into the new adminiſtration, or ſilenced by titles, ſo that all inquiry into the conduct of the late miniſter fell to the ground. Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Newcaſtle and lord Carteret ſecretaries of ſtate, and Mr. Pulteney was created earl of Bath.

Theſe incidental matters being premiſed, we now return to the proper object of our hiſtory. Forty thouſand ſeamen were voted for the ſervice of the current year. The fleet in the Mediterranean, under admiral Haddock, conſiſted of twenty-nine men of war. He reſigned to Leſtock on account of his declining health; but the new miniſtry gave the command to admiral Mathews, who ſailed from Spithead on the 16th of April, with the Namur, Caroline, Ruſſel, and Norfolk. This admiral was alſo inveſted with the character of miniſter-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the ſtates of Italy. As ſoon as he had aſſumed the command, being informed that five Spaniſh gallies lay at anchor in the bay of St. Tropez, he ordered captain Norris to attack and deſtroy them [n]; which ſervice was immediately and effectually performed. The united fleet of France and Spain was at this time in the harbour of Toulon: it conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſhips of the line. The Britiſh fleet, being joined by rear-admiral Rowley, was ſomewhat ſuperior in number of ſhips. Mr. Mathews's inſtructions were to block up the Toulon fleet, and by cruizing on the coaſt to prevent any ſupplies being ſent to the army in Provence. For this purpoſe, on the 2d of June, he ſtationed his two rear-admirals, Leſtock and Rowley, with twenty-four ſhips, off the iſlands of Hieres, with orders to cruize for ſix weeks. Whilſt Mathews continued at Villa Franca, a French man of war, paſſing by that port, in ſight of the fleet, neglected to pay a proper compliment to the Britiſh flag. The admiral fired a gun as a

[n] Smollet's hiſtory of England, vol. vii. p. 314.

ſignal

ſignal for her to bring to, the Frenchman continued obſtinate. A. D.
Upon which Mr. Mathews ordered one of his ſhips to purſue 1742.
and ſink him; which was immediately executed by the firſt broadſide. Meanwhile a part of the Britiſh fleet [o], cruizing on the coaſt of Catalonia, bombarded the towns of Mataro and Palamos, in both which they deſtroyed many houſes and many of their inhabitants. What had theſe wretched inhabitants done to offend the king of England? But ſuch are the laws of war! If Chriſtian princes believed in the religion they profeſs, ſurely they would not wantonly involve their innocent ſubjects in ſuch calamities. But, if they muſt needs quarrel and fight, it were devoutly to be wiſhed, that, by ſome general law of nations, the inoffenſive part of their ſubjects might be ſecured from inſult and devaſtation.

In the beginning of Auguſt, admiral Mathews detached commodore Martin with a ſquadron to the bay of Naples, with orders to compel his Sicilian majeſty to recal his troops from the Spaniſh army in Italy. The Neapolitans were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at the appearance of an Engliſh fleet; expecting every moment a more dreadful thunder than that of Veſuvius. The king, however, to ſave his capital, ſigned a paper delivered to him by Mr. Martin, by which he engaged immediately to recal his troops, and to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war. Having performed this ſervice, the commodore rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which was now the general rendezvous of the Britiſh fleet. Towards the end of Auguſt, Mr. Mathews, being informed that the Spaniards had collected a conſiderable magazine at St. Remo, in the Genoeſe territories, cauſed a party of ſailors to be landed near that town in order to deſtroy it; and they executed their commiſſion without any danger or difficulty. He likewiſe ſent two ſhips with orders to take or deſtroy a Spaniſh man of war of the line, which lay at anchor at Ajaccio in the iſland of Corſica; but the Spaniard ſaved them the trouble, by firſt ſetting his men on ſhore, and then blowing up the ſhip.

Let us now take a temporary leave of Europe, in order to review the Britiſh fleet and army in the Weſt Indies. We are to recollect, that, after the retreat from Carthagena, the troops

[o] Rolt, vol. ii. p. 115.

under

A. D. 1742. under general Wentworth returned to Jamaica, and admiral Vernon with his ſquadron continued cruizing off Hiſpaniola in expectation of a reinforcement from England. But not meeting with the convoy, he returned to Jamaica on the 5th of January, where, on the 15th, arrived alſo the Greenwich, St. Alban's, and the Fox, with the expected reinforcement from England of 2000 marines. The principal officers, both of the army and navy, ruminating, with regret, on their two laſt unſucceſsful expeditions, were unanimouſly of opinion, that they could not with any degree of credit, return to England without ſome farther attempt againſt the enemy. General councils of war were frequently held, and it was at laſt determined to land at Porto-Bello, march acroſs the iſthmus of Darien, and take the rich town of Panama. But, though this reſolution was taken early in January, it was upwards of two months before the troops and tranſports were ready for embarkation. However, they embarked at laſt, and the whole fleet came to an anchor in the harbour of Porto-Bello, in the evening of the 28th of March. This fleet conſiſted of eight ſail of the line, three fire-ſhips, and two hoſpital ſhips, with forty tranſports, on board of which were 3000 land forces, and 500 negroes raiſed by governor Trelawney, who himſelf attended the expedition. As ſoon as the fleet came to an anchor, the governor of Porto-Bello marched directly to Panama with three companies of Spaniards and two companies of Mulattoes. There being nothing to oppoſe the landing of the troops, the admiral imagined that they would proceed without delay; but, to his great ſurprize, a council of the land-officers[p] reſolved that the ſcheme was impracticable, and that it was therefore neceſſary to return to Jamaica. The reaſons aſſigned for this reſolution were, the ſeaſon being too far advanced, their numbers being diminiſhed by ſickneſs and the ſeparation of ſome of the tranſports, and their having received intelligence that the garriſon of Panama had been lately reinforced. Theſe reaſons did not appear quite ſatisfactory to Mr. Vernon; nevertheleſs, as, in their general councils of war, there was a majority of land-officers, his opi-

[p] The officers preſent at this council of war were, general Wentworth, colonel Frazer, governor Trelawney, colonel Leighton, colonel Cope, colonel Duroure, and colonel Martin.

nion

nion was of no importance. That their number was ſomewhat reduced is moſt certain; but there remained yet 2000 effective men; an army more than ſufficient, under a general of ſpirit and abilities, to have ſecured the treaſure of Panama. Nothing can be more contemptible than this prudent timidity, when we conſider that the attempt might have been made without the leaſt riſk, as there was no army in the whole country capable of meeting them in the field, and conſequently, in caſe of a repulſe, they might have returned without the leaſt danger of being haraſſed in their retreat. Poſſibly theſe land officers would have had more reſolution in a colder climate. The animal mercury in the human barometer ſeems to fall in proportion to its approximation to the ſun. Be this as it may, the whole fleet ſailed from Porto-Bello in the beginning of April, and arrived at Jamaica on the 15th of May. On the 23d of September the Gibraltar man of war arrived at Port Royal in that iſland, with a letter from the duke of Newcaſtle, ordering vice-admiral Vernon and general Wentworth to return immediately to England, and they returned accordingly. A. D. 1742.

Thus ended this vaſt enterprize againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in America! in which enormous ſums were expended, and ten thouſand lives ſacrificed, without the leaſt benefit to the nation, or glory to the commanders. To inquire into the cauſe, or cauſes, of ſuch a ſeries of diſappointments cannot, at this diſtance of time, be attributed to partiality or malevolence; and to neglect ſuch inquiry were to fruſtrate the only rational deſign of hiſtory. The death of lord Cathcart was the firſt misfortune, and probably the foundation of all that followed. Though this could neither be foreſeen nor prevented, yet it may teach future miniſters of ſtate, that it is not ſufficient to attend ſolely to the abilities of the commander in chief; the ſecond, and even the third in command, ſhould alſo be men equal to the command of an army. That general Wentworth wanted that determined intrepid alacrity ſo neceſſary in the execution of ſuch enterprizes is ſelf-evident. As to Vernon, he certainly did not want reſolution, but it is pretty certain that his contempt for Wentworth prevented him from acting ſo cordially and vigorouſly as he ought to have done. He wiſhed to have had the ſole direction of every operation, and I muſt do him the juſtice

A. D. 1743. to believe, that, if that had been the caſe, he would generally have ſucceeded.

I muſt now recal the reader's attention to Mr. Anſon, whom we left in the Paciſic Ocean, cruizing on the coaſt of Mexico[9], in hourly expectation of falling in with the annual Spaniſh galleon in her paſſage from Manilla to Acapulco. In theſe hopes he was diſappointed; for he was informed by three negroes whom he ſurprized in a canoe, off the harbour of Acapulco, that the galleon arrived on the 9th of January, about twenty days before the ſquadron fell in with the coaſt. But he had the ſatisfaction to learn alſo, that her return was fixed for the 3d of March. This information was joyfully received, as the ſpecie for which ſhe had ſold her cargo would render her a much more valuable prize than ſhe would have been before her arrival at Acapulco.

All hands were now employed in preparing for the reception of the galleon, not doubting but this immenſe reward of their former ſufferings would ſoon be in their poſſeſſion; for though the crews of the five ſhips amounted in all to no more than 330, boys included, and the hands on board the galleon were generally almoſt double that number; yet there was not a perſon on board the ſquadron who had any other doubt, or fear, than that of her not ſailing at the time appointed. Mr. Anſon's fleet conſiſted of the Centurion, the Glouceſter, the Carmelo, the Carmin, the Tryal's prize, and two cutters. With theſe five ſhips he formed a chain, commanding an extent of about twenty leagues, at ſuch a diſtance from the harbour of Acapulco as not to be ſeen from the ſhore, and ſent the two cutters every night nearer the ſhore, with orders to ſtand off again at the approach of day. In this diſpoſition they expected the appointed day with the utmoſt impatience. The important day dawned at laſt, and every eye in the fleet gazed perpetually towards the land. The ſun ſunk beneath the horizon, and no ſhip appeared. Another day paſſed, and then a third, in fruitleſs expectation. In ſhort, after waiting to no purpoſe till the 23d, the commodore rationally concluded, that the galleon was detained till the year following; and this was really the caſe, in

9 Anſon's voyage, p. 331.

conſequence

conſequence of his barge having been ſeen by the enemy when she was ſent to diſcover the harbour of Acapulco. A. D. 1743.

Having now remained on this ſtation as long as his ſtores of wood and water would allow, Mr. Anſon thought it expedient to prepare for his voyage to China, and it being determined to recruit his ſtores at Chequetan, about 30 leagues weſt of Acapulco, he ſteered directly for that harbour, where he arrived on the 7th of April. The firſt buſineſs here, after a vain attempt to open an intercourſe with the natives, was to unload and deſtroy the Carmelo, the Carmin, and the Tryal's prize, in order to ſtrengthen the crews of the men of war, ſo as to enable them to undertake, with any degree of ſafety, the voyage acroſs the Pacific Ocean. The buſineſs of watering, &c. being now finiſhed, the Centurion and the Glouceſter weighed anchor on the 28th of April, and proceeded on their voyage to China. They loſt ſight of the American mountains on the 8th of May. After contending with repeated gales of contrary winds, the Glouceſter, having loſt moſt of her maſts, became ſo leaky that, on the 15th of Auguſt, it was found impoſſible to keep her any longer above water. The crew was therefore removed to the Centurion, and the Glouceſter was ſet on fire. On the 28th the Centurion arrived at Tinian, one of the Ladrone iſlands, in latitude 15° north, and 115° weſt of Acapulco. At this time ſo many of their people had periſhed, or were ſick of the ſcurvy, that not quite a hundred men remained fit for duty. The number of the ſick amounted to 128, moſt of which recovered ſoon after landing on this fertile, healthy, and beautiful iſland. Here they remained till the 21ſt of October, on which day, the crew being now in good health, the Centurion ſtood out to ſea, ſteering directly for the iſland of Macoa, a Portugueſe ſettlement near the mouth of the river Canton in China. She made the land on the 5th of November, and came to an anchor, on the 12th, in the road near the city of Macoa.

After many provoking delays and difficulties, Mr. Anſon at laſt obtained permiſſion from the Chineſe government to repair his ſhip and repleniſh his ſtore of proviſions. This buſineſs being at length effected to his ſatisfaction, he put to ſea on the 19th of April, 1743, and, though he had given out that he was

A. D. 1743. bound for Batavia, he had reſolved once more to try to intercept the Acapulco ſhip in her paſſage to Manilla. With this intention he returned to the Phillippine iſlands, and cruized off Cape Eſpiritu Santo on the iſland of Samuel, that being the firſt land general made by the galleons. He continued cruizing on this ſtation till the 20th of June, when, early in the morning, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole crew, they diſcovered the long-expected galleon. The engagement ſoon began, and continued about two hours; after which the Spaniard ſtruck, having ſixty-ſeven men killed and eighty-four wounded. The Centurion had only two killed and ſeventeen wounded, who all recovered except one man. The treaſure on board this galleon conſiſted of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin ſilver, beſides ſome cochineal and other merchandize, amounting in the whole to 313,000 l. ſterling.

The commodore being now in poſſeſſion of the reward of his toil, dangers, perſeverance and reſolution, with a crew on board whoſe felicity cannot be eaſily imagined, returned to the river of Canton, where he came to an anchor on the 14th of July. His ſole intention being to lay in the ſtores neceſſary for his voyage to England, he applied immediately to the Chineſe government for leave to victual his ſhip; but ſuch is the ſuſpicious folly and abſurd policy of that people, that after five months delay he was at laſt obliged to inſiſt on an audience of the viceroy of Canton, before he could be ſupplied. Immediately after this audience his ſtores were ſent on board, and on the 7th of December the Centurion and her prize unmoored and fell down the river. On the 12th they anchored before the town of Macoa, where Mr. Anſon ſold the Spaniſh galleon for 6000 dollars, and on the 15th proceeded on his voyage. He arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 11th of March, and ſailing from thence on the 3d of April, came to an anchor at Spithead on the 15th of June, 1744.

Having thus brought the fortunate Centurion ſafe to England, let us inquire into the exploits of our fleet in the Weſt Indies. When admiral Vernon returned home, the command of the fleet devolved on Sir Chaloner Ogle, who in the month of February detached captain Knowles with eight men of war, having 400 land forces on board, with orders to make an attack

on

on the town of La Guira on the coaſt of Caraccas. Mr. Knowles accordingly proceeded[r]; he began his attack on the 18th about noon, and continued firing upon the town till night, without any other effect than that of deſtroying ſome houſes and churches. His ſhips were ſo ſhattered that he was obliged to deſiſt, and to ſail for Curacoa in order to refit. It was ſaid that the Spaniards loſt 700 men on this occaſion; it is however certain that the Engliſh ſquadron had near a hundred men killed, and three times that number wounded. A. D. 1743.

Mr. Knowles having miſcarried in this attack, was unwilling to return without a farther attempt to revive the faded laurels of his country. His ſhips being repaired[s], he reſolved to make an attack upon Porto Cavallo. The Spaniards were apprized of his deſign, and had taken effectual meaſures for their defence. The garriſon, conſiſting of ſailors, Indians, Mulattoes and Blacks, amounted to about 2000 men; and the entrance into the harbour was ſecured by ſunken veſſels, and commanded by ſeveral faſcine batteries. The ſquadron ſailed from Curacoa on the 20th of March, but did not arrive off Porto Cavallo before the 15th of April. It was reſolved to ſend in two men of war to cannonade the batteries, and the Lively and Eltham being immediately ordered upon this ſervice, ſilenced the guns of the enemy before night. As ſoon as it was dark, the firing on both ſides having ceaſed, major Lucas with 1200 men, ſailors and ſoldiers, landed on the beach, and, marching along ſhore, took poſſeſſion of one of the faſcine batteries. The Spaniards being now alarmed, two guns were fired from another battery upon the aſſailants, which throwing them into confuſion, they began to fire upon each other, and with great precipitation retired to their ſhips. The Britiſh ſpirit being not yet quite ſubdued by this miſcarriage, it was reſolved in a council of war to make a general attack upon the caſtle and batteries at the ſame time: accordingly, on the 24th this general attack was begun by ſeven men of war; the Aſſiſtance, Burford, Suffolk and Norwich battered the caſtle; and the Scarborough, Lively and Eltham fired upon the faſcine batteries. The cannonading continued with great fury till nine at night, at which time

[r] London Gazette, June 7. [s] Ibid. June 14.

the

A. D. 1743. the commodore made a ſignal to cut. It was indeed high time, for he had now loſt 200 men, and moſt of his ſhips had ſuſtained conſiderable damage. His diſgrace being now complete, commodore Knowles made the beſt of his way to Jamaica, where he remained inactive during the remainder of the year.

Such were the atchievements of the Britiſh navy in the Weſt Indies during the year 1743. We were indeed peculiarly unſucceſsful in that part of the world, every attempt againſt the enemy, ſince the taking of Porto-Bello, having miſcarried. Our commanders probably were not deficient in point of perſonal courage; but perſonal courage without abilities is frequently productive of diſappointment and diſgrace. In the Mediterranean the fleet under the command of admiral Mathews continued ſtill on its ſtation at Hieres, without performing any ſignal ſervice, except preventing the French and Spaniſh fleets from ſailing out of the harbour of Toulon.

The Spaniards in the courſe of this year took 262 Britiſh prizes, valued at 567,000 l. ſterling; and we took from them 146 ſhips, worth about 754,000 l. including the Acapulco ſhip taken by Mr. Anſon.

The naval promotions in this year were theſe: Sir John Norris made admiral of the red; John Balchen, Eſq; admiral of the white; Thomas Mathews, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red; Nicholas Haddock, Eſq; vice-admiral of the white; Sir Chaloner Ogle, vice-admiral of the blue; James Steuart, Eſq; rear-admiral of the red; Richard Leſtock, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white; Sir Charles Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue.

1744. Though, in the preceding year, the French army was defeated by the king of Great Britain in perſon; though the French and Spaniſh fleets were united in the Mediterranean, yet between England and France there was no war[t]. However, in the beginning of the year 1744, both nations threw off the maſk. The diſſenſions in the Britiſh parliament at this time ran high, and the people in general were diſcontented. The Popiſh emiſſaries and Jacobites, in different parts of the kingdom, perſuaded the French miniſtry, that a revolution in favour of the Pretender might eaſily be effected, and cardinal Tencin gave

[t] Smollet's hiſtory, vol. vii. p. 333.

ear

ear to their project, fully perſuaded that the attempt would, at A. D.
leaſt, cauſe a conſiderable diverſion from the continent. Charles, 1744.
the ſecond ſon of the chevalier de St. George, was accordingly invited to Paris, where he arrived ſome time in the month of January. In the ſame month a fleet of twenty French men of war ſailed up the Engliſh channel, and 7000 men were actually embarked at Dunkirk with a deſign to invade England. Theſe proceedings being immediately known in this kingdom, Sir John Norris was ordered to take the command of the fleet at Spithead, which being joined by ſeveral ſhips from Chatham, became ſuperior to that of France. At the ſame time proper meaſures were taken for defending the coaſt in caſe of an invaſion. The fleets of the two nations came within ſight of each other; but the French admiral, conſcious of his inferiority, thought fit to decline an engagement, and taking the advantage of a hard gale of wind, returned to the port from whence he ſailed. Thus ended this famous invaſion, which was intended to reſtore the unfortunate family of Steuart to the throne of their anceſtors, and the young adventurer was obliged to poſtpone the aſſertion of his pretenſions to a more favourable opportunity.

I muſt now conduct the reader to the grandeſt ſcene exhibited during the whole war: a ſcene which for magnificence and importance hath rarely been equalled in any age, on any ſea. Seventy-four men of war in the Mediterranean, all in view, at the ſame time preparing to pour out their thunder, deſtructive of the human ſpecies, and deciſive of the fate of nations! The great, the anxious expectation raiſed by ſuch a proſpect may be eaſily imagined; but the vaſt machinery was too ſtupendous for human management, and the heroic virtue of former ages was wanting to produce a glorious cataſtrophe.

The French and Spaniſh fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, conſiſted of twenty-eight ſail of the line, and ſix frigates; that of England of twenty-eight ſhips of the line, ten frigates and two fire-ſhips, all moored in the bay of Hieres. The number of guns in the conjunct fleet was 1820, and of men 16,500; the guns on board the Britiſh fleet were 2490, and the number of men 15,000. But the number of ſhips of the line was equal, and theſe were equally manned. However, on a comparative

view

A. D. 1744. view of the whole force of each ſquadron, there was an evident ſuperiority in favour of the Engliſh, in juſtice to whom we muſt nevertheleſs remember, that, having been long at ſea, their ſhips were foul, whilſt thoſe of the enemy were clean, and in fine ſailing condition.

The courts of France and Spain, no longer able to ſupport the diſgrace of having their fleets blocked up in the harbour of Toulon, ſent poſitive orders for them to proceed to ſea at all events. On the 8th of February they were perceived to be under ſail, the French admiral, De Court, having hoiſted his flag on board the *Terrible*. Admiral Mathews immediately made a ſignal for unmooring, and the Britiſh fleet got under way on the 9th, with all poſſible expedition [u]. During this and the following day, theſe two tremendous fleets continued manœuvring in ſight of each other, apparently endeavouring, like two land armies, to gain the advantage of ſituation. It was very evident that the French admiral had no great inclination to fight, and his ſhips ſailed ſo well that he might eaſily have eſcaped; but the Spaniards, either from want of ſkill or want of hands, proceeded ſo tardily, that it was impoſſible to bring them off.

On the 11th, at break of day, the two fleets were at a greater diſtance than on the preceding day, and admiral Mathews had the mortification to find Mr. Leſtock's diviſion conſiderably aſtern. He now imagined that De Court's intention was to draw him towards the Streights, in expectation of a reinforcement from Breſt; he therefore determined to engage the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, notwithſtanding the irregularity of his line, his van and rear being at two great a diſtance from the centre. Accordingly, at half paſt eleven, admiral Mathews made the ſignal to engage; which ſignal Leſtock did not think proper to repeat. Indeed he was, at this time, ſo far aſtern, that he had no enemy to engage. Admiral Mathews, with the centre of the Engliſh, was oppoſite to the enemy's rear, conſiſting of the Spaniſh ſquadron; and rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van, was abreaſt of the enemy's centre. Thus were the two fleets ſituated when admiral Mathews hoiſted the ſignal for engaging. Himſelf in the Namur, and captain Cornwall in the Marlborough, bore down upon the Spaniſh admiral and the

[u] See the Appendix, N°. 3.

Iſabella,

Iſabella, and began the attack about half paſt one o'clock. At the ſame time captain Forbes in the Norfolk engaged the Conſtant, and the Princeſſa, Somerſet, Bedford, Dragon and Kingſton fired at the Poder. About two o'clock, rear-admiral Rowley in the Barfleur, and captain Oſborne in the Caroline, came up with the French admiral and the Ferme, and engaged them ſome time. The brave captain Cornwall loſt both his legs by one ſhot, and was afterwards killed by the fall of a maſt which was ſhot by the board. The Norfolk obliged the Conſtant to quit the line. Meanwhile the Princeſſa and Somerſet were diſabled by the Poder; but ſhe being afterwards engaged by captain Hawke, in the Berwick, was diſmaſted and obliged to ſtrike. A. D. 1744.

This irregular and partial conflict continued till night, when the French admiral, having collected his ſcattered fleet, bore away. The Britiſh fleet purſued them all the next day; but on the 13th, though they were yet in ſight, admiral Mathews, being apprehenſive that they intended to decoy him from the coaſt of Italy, made a ſignal to diſcontinue the chace. The French ſquadron put into Alicant on the 16th, and the Spaniards into Carthagena on the day following. The Britiſh fleet, having ſpent ſome days, to no purpoſe, in looking out for the enemy, and afterwards in vainly attempting to regain their former ſtation off Toulon, were at length obliged, by contrary winds, to bear away for the iſland of Minorca.

Thus ended, chiefly in ſmoke, this memorable battle, which ſeemed to threaten a moſt tremendous conflict, and which, from the ſuperiority of the Britiſh fleet, ought to have annihilated the naval power of France and Spain. How it happened that ſo many of our captains were on that day *faſcinated*, I know not; it is however very certain, that few of them were fairly engaged. Admiral Mathews was ſo diſſatisfied with Leſtock's conduct, that he ſuſpended him from his command and ſent him to England. That Leſtock did not fight is moſt certain. He ſaid in his defence, that he could not have engaged without breaking the line, which he was not authorized to do, becauſe, though the ſignal for engaging was made, yet that for the line of battle was ſtill abroad. That Mathews might be guilty of inattention in this particular without any impeachment of his

D. A. abilities as a naval commander may ſurely be admitted, when we
1744. conſider him bearing down upon the enemy and preparing to engage; but it was an excuſe for declining an attack which an honeſt and brave man would never have pleaded. The misfortune originated in a continued miſunderſtanding between Mathews and Leſtock; the latter of whom ſacrificed his own reputation to the hope of ruining the former. In that hope he was but too ſucceſsful; for, by the ſentence of a court-martial in England, admiral Mathews was diſmiſſed, and rendered incapable of ſerving the king; Leſtock was honourably acquitted. The people of England were however of a very different opinion from the court, and poſterity will do juſtice to both commanders. Mathews was doubtleſs a brave and an honeſt man; Leſtock was an artful, vindictive diſciplinarian. Whether he was really a coward, cannot be poſitively determined; but if he was not deficient in courage, he apparently wanted both honour and honeſty. As ſecond in command, he had no buſineſs with the propriety or impropriety of orders. The laſt order, or ſignal, like a laſt will and teſtament, ſuperſedes all the preceding ſignals, and ought to be immediately obeyed, regardleſs of any apparent impropriety or abſurdity. Every individual in a fleet or army, except the commander in chief, is a mere machine; whoſe buſineſs it is to execute, not to reaſon. The ſignal for the line of battle being abroad, when that for engaging was hoiſted, was a pitiful excuſe for not fighting. Leſtock evidently ſaw, that the enemy was in our power, and though the admiral's ſignals might ſeem ſomewhat inconſiſtent, his intentions were not equivocal. Mathews might want head: Leſtock certainly wanted heart. The one might deſerve cenſure; the other ought to have been ſhot. By what extraordinary evidence, or other inſtigation, the members of the courts-martial who determined the fate of theſe admirals, were influenced, I know not; but their ſentence muſt for ever remain a blot in the annals of this country.

The few naval commanders who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this ſkirmiſh (for it hardly deſerves the name of a battle) were, the admirals Mathews and Rowley, the captains Cornwall, Forbes, Oſborne and Hawke. Few of the reſt were much engaged. The Spaniards loſt but one ſhip, the Poder, and about a thou-

a thouſand men killed and wounded. The Britiſh fleet loſt a fire-ſhip, and in killed and wounded about four hundred. A. D. 1744.

Notwithſtanding this naval engagement in the Mediterranean with the combined fleets of France and Spain, there was yet no declaration of war between Great Britain and France. This ceremony, however, was at laſt performed. On the 20th of March, war was declared at Paris, and on the 31ſt of the ſame month, at London. The navy of France conſiſted, at this time, of forty-five ſhips of the line, ſixty-ſeven frigates and fifty-five gallies: that of England of ninety ſhips of the line, eighty-four frigates and fifty other veſſels; in all two hundred and twenty-four ſhips of war. On the 23d of June the following promotions were made in the navy: Nicholas Haddock, Eſq; and Sir Chaloner Ogle, appointed admirals of the blue; James Stuart, Eſq; and Sir Charles Hardy, vice-admirals of the red; Thomas Davers, Eſq; and the honourable George Clinton, vice-admirals of the white; William Rowley and William Martin, Eſqrs; vice-admirals of the blue; Iſaac Townſend, Eſq; rear-admiral of the red; Henry Medley, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white; George Anſon, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue.

The firſt fleet which ſailed from England after the declaration of war with France, was commanded by Sir Charles Hardy; it conſiſted of eleven ſhips of the line. He ſailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of April, with a number of ſtore-ſhips under his convoy for the relief of the Mediterranean fleet, which was in great want of ſtores and proviſions. Having put into the port of Liſbon, and being there detained by contrary winds, the French miniſtry, acquainted with his deſtination, ſent immediate orders for the Breſt ſquadron, of fourteen ſail of the line, to block him up. This ſervice was effectually performed, and Sir Charles remained in the Tagus.

On the 6th of July the Britiſh navy was reinforced by the arrival of twenty Dutch men of war at Portſmouth, under the command of admiral Bachereſt. On the 15th they were joined by admiral Balchen with fourteen ſail of the line[x]. This united

[x] BRITISH DIVISION.——Sir JOHN BALCHEN admiral.

Hampton-Court,	70 guns,	Victory,	110 guns,
Auguſta,	60	Princeſs Amelia,	80.
Captain,	70		

A. D. 1744. united fleet ſailed from Spithead on the 7th of Auguſt, to the relief of Sir Charles Hardy, and on the 9th of September came to an anchor off the rock of Liſbon. The French admiral having had previous intelligence of Balchen's approach, quitted his ſtation. Sir Charles Hardy, with his convoy, joined the fleet, which immediately proceeded to Gibraltar, and, having reinforced the garriſon, returned in ſearch of the Breſt ſquadron. But Mr. Rochambault, the French admiral, was, by this time, ſafe in the harbour of Cadiz. Sir John Balchen entered the bay of Biſcay, in his return to England, on the 30th of September, and, on the 3d of October, his whole fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm. Several of the ſhips ſuffered conſiderably, particularly the Exeter and the Duke, the firſt of which loſt her main and mizen maſts, and was under the neceſſity of throwing twelve of her guns overboard; and the latter had all her ſails torn to pieces, and ten feet water in her hold. The whole fleet, however, except the admiral, arrived at St. Helen's on the 10th of October. The Victory was ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet on the 4th, after which ſhe was never ſeen or heard of more. It is generally ſuppoſed that ſhe ſtruck upon a ridge of rocks, called the Caſkets, near Alderney, as repeated ſignals of diſtreſs were heard by the inhabitants of that iſland; but it blew ſo violently that it was impoſſible to give her any aſſiſtance. Thus periſhed the fineſt firſt-rate man of war in the world, one of the beſt admirals in the Britiſh ſervice, eleven hundred ſailors, and a conſiderable number of volunteers, many of whom were of families of diſtinction.

Having now concluded the naval tranſactions in Europe during the year 1744, we direct our inquiries towards America,

Vice-admiral MARTIN.		Vice-admiral STEVART.	
Falkland,	50 guns,	Sunderland,	60 guns,
Suffolk,	70	Monmouth,	70
St. George,	90	Duke,	90
Exeter,	60	Prince Frederick,	60
		Princeſs Mary,	60
DUTCH DIVISION.			
Haerlem,	70	Edam,	54
Dordrecht,	54	Aſſendelft,	54
Damiata,	64	Delft,	54
Leeuwenhorſt,	54	Two frigates.	

where

where we left Sir Chaloner Ogle with the Britiſh fleet in the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica, and admiral de Torres, with that of Spain, at the Havannah. In theſe reſpective ſituations they both remained, not otherwiſe employed than in ſending out cruizers to interrupt the trade of each nation; till, on the 4th of November, de Torres, with five men of war and as many galleons, richly laden, ſailed for Europe, and arrived ſafe at Corunna on the 29th of December. Theſe galleons brought a treaſure of fifteen millions of piaſtres. A. D. 1744.

During this year the navy of England ſuſtained ſome conſiderable loſſes. I have before mentioned the fate of the unfortunate Victory. On the 4th of June the Northumberland, a new ſhip of 70 guns and 480 men, commanded by captain Watſon, cruizing in the channel, fell in with three French men of war, *viz.* the Mars of 68 guns and 580 men, commanded by Monſ. de Perrier; the Conſtant of 60 guns and 480 men, commanded by Monſ. Conflans; and the Venus of 26 guns and 250 men, commanded by Monſ. de Dacher. The Northumberland ſuſtained this very unequal conflict for three hours, with amazing activity and reſolution; till, unfortunately, captain Watſon was mortally wounded: ſhe then ſtruck her colours by order of the maſter, who was therefore afterwards ſentenced by a court-martial, to ſpend the remainder of his life in the Marſhalſea priſon. The French ſhips loſt 130 men in the engagement, and their rigging was ſo ſhattered, that they intended to ſheer off as ſoon as it was dark. They carried the Northumberland in great triumph into Breſt, where captain Watſon died. The Seaford, captain Pie, the Solebay, captain Bury, both of 20 guns, and the Grampus ſloop, were likewiſe taken by part of the Breſt ſquadron in the courſe of this year.

Before I conclude the naval hiſtory of the year 1744, it is neceſſary to turn our eyes, for a moment, towards the Eaſt Indies. In conſequence of an application to the lords of the admiralty, from the Eaſt India company, commodore Barnet, with four men of war[y], ſailed from Portſmouth on the 5th of May,

[y] *Viz.*

Deptford,	Commodore Barnet,	60 guns,
Medway,	Captain Peyton,	60
Preſton,	Lord Northeſk,	50
Diamond,	Captain Moor,	20

and,

A. D. and, after his arrival in the Eaſt Indies, took a French fifty-
1744. gun ſhip, and three rich prizes.

At the cloſe of this year it appeared [z], that, ſince the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken 786 Britiſh veſſels, which were valued at 2,751,000 l.; and the Britiſh effects ſeized in Spain on the declaration of war, were eſtimated at 50,000 l. On the other hand, the number of Spaniſh ſhips taken by our men of war and privateers amounted to 850, ſuppoſed to be worth 2,550,000 l. To this if we add 2,181,000 l. the ſuppoſed amount of the prizes taken, fortifications deſtroyed, &c. by admiral Vernon and Mr. Anſon, the loſs ſuſtained by Spain will exceed that of Great Britain 1,930,000 l. By a ſimilar eſtimate of the account with France, there appeared above half a million ſterling in our favour.

1745. Notwithſtanding this balance, the reader has doubtleſs been diſappointed to find our naval hiſtory of 1744 ſo unimportant, and, in the only engagement of conſequence, ſo diſgraceful. The fatal diſagreement between Mathews and Leſtock cannot be remembered without indignation; but the miniſtry, who knew their enmity, muſt have foreſeen, and were therefore anſwerable for the conſequence. That miniſtry was now changed. Lord Carteret reſigned his place of ſecretary of ſtate to the earl of Harrington, and the duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty. Orders were immediately iſſued for every man of war in the ſeveral ports to be fitted for ſervice. Admiral Davers was ſent to protect Jamaica, the Mediterranean fleet was reinforced by admiral Medley, and the coaſt of Great Britain was ſecured by cruizers properly ſtationed.

Meanwhile a project was formed in the general aſſembly of Maſſachuſet in New England, to ſurprize the city of Louiſburg, the capital of Cape Breton, and to drive the French intirely from that iſland. The miniſtry being made ſenſible of the importance of the enterprize, ordered commodore Warren to quit his ſtation at the Leeward Iſlands, and join the American expedition. This armament was raiſed with ſo much ſecrecy and diſpatch, that an army of 3850 volunteers, under the command

[z] Rolt's hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 460.

of

of William Pepperel, Eſq; was ready to embark at Boſton before the French government were apprized of their intention. They arrived at Canſo in Nova Scotia, under the convoy of ten American privateers, on the 2d of April, and on the 25th were joined by commodore Warren in the Superbe of 60 guns, attended by the Lanceſton, the Eltham, and the Mermaid, of 40 guns each. Canſo is within ſight of Cape Breton, and yet the inhabitants of that iſland were hitherto totally ignorant of their danger, till, on the 30th of April, they beheld this hoſtile fleet come to an anchor in Gabarus bay, about a league from Louiſburg. The governor immediately ſent a detachment of a hundred men to oppoſe the landing of the American troops; but the French were ſoon obliged to retire in confuſion, and the invaders diſembarked without the loſs of a ſingle man. General Pepperel immediately inveſted Louiſburg, whilſt Mr. Warren blocked up the harbour, convoyed ſeveral veſſels with ſtores and proviſions from Boſton, and intercepted a French man of war of 44 guns, and other ſhips intended to relieve the city. Meanwhile he was joined by the Canterbury, the Sunderland, and the Cheſter; the two firſt of ſixty guns, and the laſt a fifty-gun ſhip, and on the 11th of June the Princeſs Mary, the Hector, and the Lark, were alſo added to his fleet. On the 15th of June Monſ. Chambon, the governor of Louiſburg, ſent a flag of truce to the Britiſh camp, and the iſland of Cape Breton was ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty. A. D. 1745.

It is impoſſible to conſider, without aſtoniſhment, the rapid ſucceſs of this handful of undiſciplined Northern Americans, againſt a city regularly fortified, with ſeveral very formidable batteries, and defended by twelve hundred regular troops, and ſkilful engineers. But the activity and reſolution of the beſiegers was ſuch, that ſkill and diſcipline fled before them like chaff before the wind. Can theſe Americans be a race of cowards? Are theſe a people to be bullied into obedience? Will the feeble attempts of a general Wentworth in the Weſt Indies bear any compariſon with the conqueſt of Louiſburg? It was indeed a very important conqueſt, as it diſpoſſeſſed the French of the fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, and deprived them of their only ſeaport in North America.

After

A. D. 1745. After the departure of commodore Warren for North America, the Weſt India iſlands were left in a great meaſure defenceleſs, Sir Chaloner Ogle having returned to England with ſix men of war. For this reaſon, vice-admiral Townſend was ordered from the Mediterranean to the Weſt Indies, with a ſquadron of eight ſhips[a]. He ſailed from Gibraltar on the 2d of Auguſt, and arrived off Martinico on the 3d of October, when he was joined by the Pembroke of 60 guns, and the Woolwich of 50. Admiral Townſend having had information that the inhabitants of Martinico were in great diſtreſs for proviſions, determined to remain upon this ſtation in order to prevent their receiving any ſupplies from France: for though it be a maxim of honourable war, among Chriſtian princes, not to murder ſuch of each other's ſubjects as do not bear arms, it is nevertheleſs univerſally allowable to deſtroy by hunger as many peaceable men, women and children as they can. Goſpel and political Chriſtianity are very different religions.

On the 31ſt of October admiral Townſend diſcovered a fleet of forty ſail of French ſhips turning the ſouthern extremity of Martinico. It proved to be a fleet of merchant-men and ſtore-ſhips ſent to the relief of the French Weſt India iſlands, under convoy of four men of war, commanded by commodore M'Namarra; who, perceiving the ſuperiority of his enemy, ſaved himſelf by running under the guns of Fort-Royal. The other three men of war alſo eſcaped; but near thirty of the other veſſels were either taken, burnt, ſunk, or drove on ſhore. The admiral likewiſe took a large privateer and three Dutch veſſels bound from St. Euſtatia to Martinico with proviſions, by which he had the *happineſs* of compleating the famine on that iſland ſo intirely, that many thouſand negroes and other inhabitants periſhed of hunger. Exploits of this nature muſt afford infinite ſatisfaction on reflection; eſpecially when they contribute nothing either to the glory or emolument of the ſtate!

[a] *Viz.* Lenox, 70 guns, Dreadnought, 60, Worceſter, 60, Kingſton, 60, Hampſhire, 50 guns, Argyle, 50, Severn, 50, Gibraltar, 20, Comet bomb.

Such

Such were our naval exploits in the Weſt Indies in the year 1745, excluſive of ſome valuable prizes taken by our men of war and privateers; the moſt conſiderable of which were, the Marquis d'Antin and the Lewis Eraſmus, worth 70,000 l. taken by the Prince Frederic and the Duke privateers. In the courſe of this year the Britiſh navy ſuffered the loſs of one ſloop only, which was taken and carried into Martinico; whilſt the Britiſh cruizers, in that part of the world, made ca tures of five French and two Spaniſh men of war. A. D. 1745.

In Europe nothing material happened to grace our annals. Admiral Martin commanded a ſquadron in the Channel, attending the motions of the Breſt fleet. Rear-admiral Medley ſailed from Spithead, with ſeven men of war, in order to reinforce admiral Rowley, who now commanded in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Minorca on the 10th of April. Thus ſtrengthened, the vice-admiral proceeded, with twenty-four ſhips of the line, to block up the Spaniſh fleet at Carthagena, which he thereby prevented either from tranſporting troops to Italy or from joining the French ſquadron at Breſt. The republic of Genoa having declared againſt the queen of Hungary, admiral Rowley detached a part of his fleet, under the command of commodore Cooper, to bombard the towns upon their coaſt; ſeveral of theſe towns ſuffered conſiderably, particularly St. Remo, which he reduced almoſt to aſhes.

The year 1746 affords not a ſingle example of the naval ſuperiority of Great Britain. It is nevertheleſs neceſſary, in order to preſerve the thread of our hiſtory, to inform the reader where and how our ſeveral fleets were employed. Commodore Barnet, who died in the Eaſt Indies, was ſucceeded in the command of the ſquadron by captain Peyton. This ſquadron conſiſted of ſix men of war[b], which were now ſtationed at Fort St. David. At Pondicherry the French had eight ſhips of 1746.

[b] *Viz.* Medway, Commodore Peyton, of 60 guns
Preſton, Lord Northeſk, 50
Harwich, Captain Carteret, 50
Wincheſter, Lord Thomas Bertie, 50
Medway's Prize, Captain Griffith 40
Lively, Captain Stevens, 20

A. D. 1746. force, under the command of Monſ. Bourdonnais [c]. Commodore Peyton, cruizing between the coaſt of Coromandel and the iſland of Ceylon, on the 25th of June, fell in with Bourdonnais, whoſe ſquadron was ſomewhat reduced by the loſs of the Inſulaire. Both ſquadrons prepared to engage, and about four in the afternoon they began to fire upon each other. The battle laſted till ſeven, it being then almoſt dark. The Engliſh had 14 men killed, and 46 wounded; the French 27 killed, and 53 wounded. Next morning the two fleets appeared at no great diſtance from each other; but neither of the commanders choſe to renew the engagement. At four in the evening, Mr. Peyton called a council of war, which determined, as councils of war generally do, not to fight. When a commander in chief, inveſted with full power to act by his ſole authority, calls a council of war, it creates a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that he wants to divide the blame of an unjuſtifiable action. The hiſtory of mankind affords innumerable examples of cowardice in collective bodies, of which every individual would have been horridly aſhamed. The Engliſh ſquadron proceeded to the iſland of Ceylon, and the French to Pondicherry.

Our principal hiſtorian of theſe times [d] aſſerts, that the Britiſh ſquadron was ſuperior to that of the enemy. This, however, was evidently not the caſe: therefore the imputation of cowardice ſeems to fall more particularly on the French commodore. But Monſ. Bourdonnais had a greater object in view. The reduction of Madras promiſed a better harveſt than diſabling a few men of war. He appeared before that ſettlement on the 18th of Auguſt, and fired upon one of the ſhips belonging to the Engliſh Eaſt India company, chiefly with a deſign to try whether Mr. Peyton meant to defend the place. Our *brave* commodore, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, as ſoon as he was informed of this inſult, and conſequently of the danger of Madras, immediately diſappeared, and ſailed the Lord knows whither. Monſ. Bourdonnais, with his whole ſquadron, re-

[c] *Viz.* The Achil'es, of 74 guns, Phœnix, of 44 guns,
Duc d'Orleans, 56 St. Louis, 44
Bourbon, 56 Inſulaire, 20
Neptune, 44 Lis, 40

[d] Dr. Smollet's hiſtory, vol. vii. p. 387.

turned

turned to Madras on the 3d of September, and in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of that important place. He would probably have ſucceeded in the reduction of every other Britiſh ſettlement on that coaſt, if he had not been prevented by a violent ſtorm, which diſabled a conſiderable part of his fleet. A. D. 1746.

In Europe, great deſigns were formed in the reſpective cabinets of England and France againſt each other's ſettlements in North America. The French determined to retake Louiſbourg, and alſo to ſurprize Annapolis-Royal in Nova Scotia. The Engliſh, on the other hand, planned the reduction of Quebec. Both kingdoms were diſappointed in their expectations. The French fleet, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line, three frigates, three fire-ſhips, and two bombs, came out of Breſt on the 7th of May, but was prevented, by contrary winds, from proceeding on the voyage till the 22d of June. This fleet, which, with privateers and tranſports, made in all ninety-ſeven ſail, was commanded by the duke d'Anville. He had on board 3500 land forces, under the command of brigadier-general Jonquiere. They did not make the coaſt of Acadia till the 10th of September, and on the 13th a ſtorm aroſe, which, continuing ſome days, diſperſed the fleet, and deſtroyed ſeveral of the tranſports; ſo that, on the 27th, they muſtered at Chiboctou, their place of rendezvous, no more than ſeven ſhips of the line, two frigates, one fire-ſhip, one bomb-veſſel, twelve privateers and eighteen tranſports, in all fifty-ſix ſail. Whilſt they lay in the harbour of Chiboctou, the mortality was ſo great, that, in a ſhort ſpace of time, they buried their commander in chief, their ſecond in command, 1500 of the land forces, and 800 ſailors. The number of their ſhips and of their men being thus reduced, they gave up every idea of conqueſt, and ſailed for Europe on the 12th of October, where they arrived without farther accident.

Meanwhile the Britiſh miniſtry, as I have ſaid above, had planned an expedition for the reduction of Quebec. For this purpoſe a conſiderable fleet was aſſembled at Portſmouth, in the month of April, and ſeveral regiments were actually embarked under the command of general Sinclair. The duke of Newcaſtle having previouſly communicated his intention of invading Canada to the northern provinces of America, requiring

A. D. 1746. their assistance, ten thousand men were immediately raised, and waited impatiently for the arrival of the British fleet. But such was the irresolution of the ministry at this period of our history, that the French were not only informed of their design, but had time to equip a squadron sufficient to counteract the entire project. This squadron, as we have seen above, sailed from France on the 22d of June. It was indeed ready to sail six weeks sooner, but was detained by contrary winds.

The British ministry having now relinquished their design against Canada, resolved to make a descent on the coast of Britany, in France, and particularly to destroy *Port l'Orient*, in order to ruin the French East India company. Lieutenant-general Sinclair commanded the land forces, and the command of the fleet was given to admiral Lestock, that very Lestock with whose conduct in the Mediterranean the reader is sufficiently acquainted. This armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and two bomb-vessels, besides store-ships and transports, on board of which were 5800 regular troops, including matrosses and bombardiers. After various unaccountable delays, during which the French were perfectly acquainted with their destination, they sailed at last from Plymouth on the 14th of September, and, steering directly for the coast of Britany, came to an anchor in Quimperlay-bay on the 18th. General Sinclair, with the troops under his command, landed on the 20th in the evening, without the least molestation, and the next morning took possession of a small town called Plemure, about a league from l'Orient, and there fixed his head-quarters. On the 22d, the British army having advanced to a rising ground about half a league from the city, general Sinclair summoned it to surrender; but the governor, not liking the conditions, determined to defend it. On the 25th the besiegers opened a battery of twelve cannon and a mortar, and the next day began to throw red-hot balls into the town, which took fire in several parts. During this time the besieged continued to fire from the ramparts with great alacrity: nevertheless, their fortifications were in such bad condition, that on the 27th they had resolved to beat a parley; when, to their infinite surprize and joy, the firing of the besiegers ceased. General Sinclair and his army retreated to their camp, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon, the mortar, and a considerable quantity

of

of ammunition, and on the 28th reimbarked without moleſta- A. D.
tion. Their loſs during the ſiege amounted, in killed and 1746.
wounded, to eighty men. Why the Britiſh general fled, with ſo much precipitation, from the arms of victory, is difficult to imagine, unleſs he was diſcouraged on finding the enterprize not ſeconded by the admiral, who, according to the original plan, was to have brought his ſhips to bear upon the town. Mr. Leſtock ſaid, in his defence, that the enemy had rendered his entrance into the harbour of Port l'Orient impracticable. Probably the ſignals for advancing, as with Mathews in the Mediterranean, were not made in due form. But the cauſe of their miſcarriage ſeems to have originated in not landing the troops immediately, and ſtorming the town without the loſs of a moment. When the Britiſh fleet came to an anchor, the garriſon of Port l'Orient was very weak, and few of their guns were mounted on the ramparts. Some of our ſubſequent attempts on the coaſt of France have been fruſtrated by the ſame cauſe. The principal damage done to the enemy in this expedition was the deſtruction of the Ardent, a ſixty-four gun ſhip, by the Exeter, who, after an obſtinate engagement, ran her on ſhore, and afterwards ſet her on fire. Admiral Leſtock, with his entire ſquadron, left the coaſt of France on the 8th of October, and returned to England, without having in any degree fulfilled the intentions of the miniſtry, which were, to ruin the French Eaſt India company by deſtroying l'Orient, and, by dividing of the French troops, to facilitate the invaſion of Provence by the Auſtrian army [e].

In the Weſt Indies [f] nothing of importance was attempted by any of the belligerent powers. We find, however, upon record one naval tranſaction, which, though it will not add much to our national renown, ought nevertheleſs to be remembered *in terrorem*. Vice-admiral Davers, who commanded on the Jamaica ſtation, having received intelligence that Monſ. Conflans, with four men of war [g] and ninety merchantmen, from France,

[e] The celebrated David Hume attended general Sinclair, as his ſecretary, on this expedition.

[f] Rolt, vol. iv. p. 360.

[g] *Viz.* The Terrible of 74 guns,
——— — 64
——— ——— 54
——— —— 44

was

A. D. 1746. was hourly expected at Martinico, detached commodore Mitchel with five men of war and a ſloop [h] to intercept him. He fell in with the French fleet on the 3d of Auguſt, and at ſeven in the evening was about a league to windward of them, when, inſtead of engaging the enemy, he made a ſignal to ſpeak with the captains of his ſquadron, a majority of whom were of opinion, that it were beſt to defer the battle till next morning. Theſe councils of war, as I have before obſerved, ſeldom forebode much heroiſm. When a man calls his friends about him, to aſk them whether he ſhall fight to-day or to-morrow, there is great reaſon to believe that he had rather not fight at all. However, general orders were given to keep the enemy in ſight, and to engage as ſoon as day-light ſhould appear. But the French merchant veſſels, being ſo unpolite as not to wait to be taken by the Engliſh, all eſcaped; and Monſ. Conflans, after exchanging a few ſhot with the Britiſh ſquadron, followed his convoy. Mr. Mitchel's caution was ſo great, that when night came on he ordered his ſhips to carry no lights, leſt the French ſhould be ſo rude as to give him chace. Monſ. Conflans, in his return to Europe, fell in with an Engliſh fleet from the Leeward iſlands, under the convoy of the Woolwich and Severn, of 50 guns each, the latter of which, after two hours engagement, he took and carried into Breſt. Mitchel, being afterwards tried by a court-martial, was fined five years pay, and rendered incapable of future ſervice.

The Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean was this year commanded by vice-admiral Medley, whoſe principal tranſaction was the aſſiſtance which he gave to the Auſtrian general at the ſiege of Antibes. Admiral Martin, who commanded in the channel, was in the month of July ſucceeded by admiral Anſon, who was appointed vice-admiral of the blue.

The French, in the courſe of this year, took from the Engliſh one man of war of 60 guns, two ſloops, nine privateers, one Eaſt Indiaman, and 466 merchant-veſſels. The Spaniards took 183 Britiſh ſhips. The Britiſh men of war and privateers

[h] *Viz.* Stafford, of 60 guns, Lenox, 64, Milford, 44, Plymouth, of 60 guns, Worceſter, 60, Drake ſloop.

took

took from the Spaniards twenty-two privateers, ten regiſter- A. D.
ſhips, and eighty-eight merchantmen. From the French we 1746.
took ſeven men of war, ninety-one privateers, and 312 merchant-veſſels.

The French miniſtry, notwithſtanding their late diſappoint- 1747.
ment in North America, were determined to increaſe their force in Canada, and, with the aſſiſtance of Canadians and Indians, to extend their territories by encroachments on the neighbouring provinces belonging to Great Britain. At the ſame time they formed a deſign againſt ſome of our ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. For theſe purpoſes, in the beginning of the year 1747, a conſiderable armament was prepared at Breſt; the ſquadron deſtined for America, under the command of Monſ. Jonquiere, and that for the Eaſt Indies, commanded by Monſ. de St. George. For greater ſecurity, theſe two fleets were to ſail at the ſame time.

The Britiſh miniſtry, being informed of the ſtrength and deſtination of this ſquadron, ſent a ſuperior fleet to the coaſt of France, commanded by vice-admiral Anſon. He ſailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and, cruizing off Cape Finiſterre, on the 3d of May fell in with the French fleet, conſiſting of thirty-eight ſail, nine of which ſhortened ſail and prepared to engage, whilſt the reſt bore away with all the ſail they could make. Admiral Anſon firſt formed his ſquadron in line of battle; but, perceiving the enemy begin to ſheer off, he made a ſignal for his whole fleet to give chace, and engage promiſcuouſly. The Centurion came up with the ſternmoſt ſhip of the enemy about four in the afternoon. She was followed by the Namur, Defiance, and Windſor, who were ſoon warmly engaged with five of the French ſquadron [i]. The Centurion had her main-top-maſt ſhot away early in the action, which obliged her to drop aſtern; but ſhe was ſoon repaired. The battle now became general, and the French maintained this very unequal conflict with great ſpirit and gallantry, till about ſeven in the evening, when the whole fleet ſtruck their colours. The *Diamant* was the laſt French ſhip that ſubmitted, after fighting the Briſtol near three hours. In juſtice to our enemy it is neceſſary

[i] London Gazette, May 16.

to

A. D. 1747. to remember, that the ſquadron commanded by admiral Anſon, conſiſted of fourteen ſhips of the line, a frigate, a ſloop, and a fire-ſhip, with 922 guns, and 6260 men on board[k]; and that Monſ. de la Jonquiere had no more than five line-of-battle ſhips, and as many frigates, 442 guns, and 3171 men[l]. Admiral Anſon in the mean time detached the Monmouth, the Yarmouth, and the Nottingham in purſuit of the convoy, and they returned with the Vigilant and Modeſte both of twenty-two guns, the reſt having made their eſcape. But though we acknowledge the great ſuperiority of the Britiſh ſquadron, it is neceſſary to inform the reader, that no more than eight Engliſh ſhips were engaged. Captain Grenville, of the Defiance, a very gallant officer, loſt his life in this engagement. Our number of killed and wounded amounted to 520; that of the enemy to

[k] Lond. Gaz. May 16.

ENGLISH.			
Prince George,	Admiral Anſon,	Captain Bentley,	90 guns.
Devonſhire,	R. Adm. Warren,	—— Weſt,	66
Namur.	— —	—— Boſcawen,	74
Monmouth,	— —	—— Harriſon,	64
Prince Frederic,	— —	—— Norris,	64
Yarmouth,	— —	—— Bret,	64
Princeſs Louiſa	— —	—— Watſon,	60
Defiance,	— —	—— Grenville,	60
Nottingham,	— —	—— Saumarez,	60
Pembroke,	— —	—— Fincher,	60
Windſor,	— —	—— Hanway,	60
Centurion,	— —	—— Dennis,	50
Falkland,	— —	—— Barradel,	50
Briſtol,	— —	Hon. Wm. Montague,	50
Ambuſcade,	— —	—— Jn. Montague,	40
Falcon Sloop,	— —	—— Guyn[n],	10
Vulcan fire-ſhip,	— —	—— Pattigrew.	

FRENCH.			
Le Serieux,	— —	Monſ. de Jonquiere,	66
L'Invincible,	— —	de St. George,	74
Le Diamant,	— —	Hoquhart,	56
Le Jaſon,	— —	Beccard,	52
Le Rubis,	— —	M'Carty,	52
Le Gloire,	— —	Saleſſe,	44
L'Aolian,	— —	de Santons,	30
Le Philipert,	— —	Cellie,	30
Le Thetis,	— —	Maçon,	20
Le Dartmouth,	— —	Penoche,	18

700

700. Captain Boſcawen was wounded in the ſhoulder by a muſket-ball. Monſ. de la Jonquiere was alſo wounded in the ſame part; one French captain was killed, and another loſt a leg. A. D. 1747.

Admiral Anſon returned to England, and brought the captive ſquadron ſafe to an anchor at Spithead. He ſet out immediately for London, where he was graciouſly received by the king, and afterwards created a peer. Rear-admiral Warren was made knight of the bath. The money taken on board of the French fleet was brought through the city of London in twenty waggons, and lodged in the bank.

About the middle of April, captain Fox in the Kent, with the Hampton-Court, the Eagle, the Lion, the Cheſter and the Hector, with two fire-ſhips, ſailed on a cruize, deſigning to intercept a fleet of St. Domingo-men under the convoy of four French men of war. After cruizing a month between Uſhant and Cape Finiſterre, captain Fox fell in with this French fleet of 170 ſail. They were immediately deſerted by their men of war, and forty-ſix of them were taken.

The Britiſh miniſtry having received intelligence, that nine French men of war of the line [l] had ſailed from Breſt, in order to convoy a large fleet of merchant-men to the Weſt Indies, ordered rear-admiral Hawke, with fourteen men of war [m], to ſail

[l] *Viz.*

Le Tonant,	M. de Letenduer,	80 guns,
L' Intrepide,	Conte de Vaudreuil,	74
Le Terrible,	Conte Dogue,	74
Le Monarque,	M. de Bedoyerre,	74
Le Neptune,	M. de Fromentierre,	70
Le Trident,	M. Demblimont,	64
Le Fougeux,	M. Davigneau,	64
Le Severn,	M. Durourel,	56
Le Content, belonging to the Eaſt India Company,		60

Beſides ſeveral frigates.

London Gazette extraordinary, October 26.

[m] *Viz.*

Devonſhire, (admiral)	Captain Moore,	66 guns,
Kent,	—— Fox,	64
Edinburgh,	—— Cotes,	70
Yarmouth,	—— Saunders,	64
Princeſs Louiſa,	—— Watſon,	60
Windſor,	—— Hanway,	60
Lion,	—— Scot,	60

A. D. 1747. ſail immediately in queſt of them. The admiral, with the fleet under his command, left Plymouth on the 9th of Auguſt. The French fleet, conſiſting of the above-mentioned men of war and 252 merchant veſſels, ſailed from the iſle of Aix on the 6th of October, and on the 14th they had the misfortune to fall in with the Britiſh ſquadron. As ſoon as the French admiral became ſenſible of his ſituation, he made a ſignal for the trade to make the beſt of their way, with the *Content* and frigates, and for the reſt of his ſquadron to prepare for battle. Admiral Hawke firſt made a ſignal to form the line; but finding the French begin to ſheer off, he ordered his whole fleet to give chace, and engage as they came up with the enemy. The Lion and the Louiſa began the conflict about noon, and were ſoon followed by the Tilbury, the Eagle, the Yarmouth, the Windſor, and the Devonſhire, which ſhips particularly ſhared the danger and conſequently the glory of the day.

About four o'clock four of the French ſquadron ſtruck, *viz. le Neptune*, *le Monarque*, *le Fougeux*, and the Severn; at five *le Trident* followed their example, and *le Terrible* ſurrendered about ſeven. Be it however remembered, to the credit of their ſeveral commanders, that they maintained this unequal conflict with great ſpirit and reſolution, and that they did not ſubmit until they were intirely diſabled. Their number of killed and wounded was about 800, and of priſoners 3300 men. *M. Fromentierre*, who commanded *le Neptune*, was among the ſlain, and their commander in chief was wounded in the leg and in the ſhoulder. The Engliſh had 154 killed, and 558 wounded. Captain Saumarez, of the Nottingham, was among the former. We loſt no other officer of diſtinction. On the laſt day of October admiral Hawke brought theſe ſix French men of war to Portſmouth in triumph, and, in reward for his ſervices, was ſoon after honoured with the order of the bath. He was diſſatisfied with the behaviour of captain Fox in the engagement,

Tilbury,	Captain Harland,	60 guns,
Nottingham,	—— Saumarez,	60
Defiance,	—— Bentley,	60
Eagle,	—— Rodney,	60
Glouceſter,	—— Durel,	50
Portland,	—— Stevens,	50

London Gazette extraordinary, October 26.

who

who was tried by a court-martial and deprived of his command; A. D.
but he was reſtored about two years after. 1747.

Vice-admiral Medley, who commanded a fleet of fifteen ſhips of the line in the Mediterranean, died there on the 5th of Auguſt, and was ſucceeded by rear-admiral Byng, who continued to block up the Spaniſh ſquadron in Carthagena, and to act in concert with the Auſtrian general on the coaſt of Italy. Rear-admiral Chambers commanded nine men of war in the channel, and on the 1ſt of November rear-admiral Boſcawen ſailed for the Eaſt Indies with ſix ſhips of the line.

During this year the Engliſh took from the French and Spaniards 644 prizes, among which were ſeventeen French and one Spaniſh men of war. The Engliſh veſſels, including one man of war and a fire-ſhip, taken by the French and Spaniards, amounted to 551. The royal navy of Spain was now reduced to twenty-two ſhips of the line, and that of France to thirty-one; whilſt the navy of Britain amounted to 126 ſail of the line, beſides ſeventy-five frigates.

Being arrived at the laſt year of this general war, I ſhall 1748.
begin with the hiſtory of our naval tranſactions in the Weſt Indies, where the Britiſh fleet was now commanded by rear-admiral Knowles. He ſailed from Jamaica, on the 13th of February, with eight ſhips of the line [n], on an expedition againſt St. Jago de Cuba; but being prevented by contrary winds from approaching that iſland, Port Louis, in Hiſpaniola, became the object of his hoſtile intentions, before which place he arrived on the 8th of March. Port Louis was defended by a ſtrong fort, mounting ſeventy-eight guns, with a garriſon of 600 men, commanded by M. de Chaleaunoye. The admiral began his attack immediately on his arrival, and after three hours violent cannonading, ſilenced the fort, which ſurrendered on the follow-

[n] *Viz.* Cornwall, (admiral) Captain Chadwick, 80 guns,
Plymouth, —— Dent, 60
Eliz-beth, —— Taylor, 64
Canterbury, —— Brodie, 60
Stafford, —— Rentone, 60
Warwick, —— Innes, 60
Worceſter, —— Andrews, 60
Oxford, —— Toll, 50
Weaſel and Merlin ſloops.

A. D. 1748. ing terms, *viz.* The garriſon not to ſerve againſt the king of Great Britain or his allies during a year; that they ſhould march out with their arms, but without cannon, mortars, or ammunition; that the officers ſhould retain their private baggage and ſervants; that the town ſhould be ſpared on certain conditions to be ſettled next morning. The garriſon loſt 160 men killed and wounded, and the fleet ſeventy. Among the ſlain were the captains Rentone and Cuſt, the laſt of whom was a volunteer in the expedition.

Admiral Knowles having entirely deſtroyed the fort, reſumed his former deſign againſt St. Jago de Cuba, where he arrived on the 5th of April. The Plymouth and the Cornwall were ordered to enter the harbour; but finding a boom acroſs, and four veſſels filled with combuſtibles, after firing a few broadſides at the caſtle, they judged it prudent to deſiſt, and the ſquadron returned to Jamaica. Captain Dent of the Plymouth was afterwards, at the requeſt of the admiral, tried by a court-martial for not forcing the boom, and was honourably acquitted.

From this time the Britiſh and Spaniſh fleets were ſolely employed in cruizing in detachments againſt the trade of each nation. Towards the latter end of Auguſt admiral Knowles, having received intelligence that the annual fleet from Vera Cruz was daily expected at the Havannah, began to cruize off the banks of Tortuga. The Spaniſh admiral Reggio, being informed of the vicinity of the Engliſh ſquadron, and of the conſequent danger of the expected fleet, ſailed from the Havannah, determined to give admiral Knowles battle °. On the 29th of September,

° BRITISH SQUADRON.

Cornwall,	(Adm. Knowles),	Captain Taylor,	80 guns,
Lenox,		—— Holmes,	56
Tilbury,		—— Pawlett,	60
Strafford,		—— Brodie,	60
Warwick,		—— Innes,	60
Canterbury,		—— Clarke,	60
Oxford,		—— Toll,	50
		426	—— Men 2,900.

SPANISH

tember, admiral Reggio ſaw, at a diſtance, fourteen ſail of A. D.
Engliſh merchant-men, under convoy of two men of war; he 1748.
gave them chace, but they had the good fortune to eſcape, and the Lenox, having made a ſignal for his convoy to ſave themſelves by flight, joined admiral Knowles, who, on the firſt of October, fell in with the Spaniſh ſquadron near the Havannah.

By a compariſon of the two ſquadrons, it appears that in number of ſhips they were equal; that in number of guns the Spaniards were ſomewhat ſuperior, and that in number of men they exceeded us by 1250[p]. The Engliſh admiral, though he had the advantage of the wind, did not at firſt ſeem over anxious to engage. About two o'clock the Spaniards began to fire at a diſtance. Admiral Knowles then made a ſignal for his ſquadron to bear down upon the enemy, and in leſs than half an hour moſt of the ſhips were engaged. The two admirals fought each other about half an hour, when admiral Knowles, having received ſome damage, fell aſtern and quitted the line. The Conqueſtadore, being likewiſe injured in her rigging, was alſo obliged to quit the line of battle, and before ſhe had time to repair the damage ſhe had ſuſtained, ſhe had the misfortune to be attacked by the Britiſh admiral, who had now replaced the yard and main-top-maſt which he had loſt in his engagement with the Africa. They fought for ſome time with great obſtinacy. The Spaniſh captain was killed, and the Conqueſtadore finally ſtruck to the Cornwall. The general action continued till eight in the evening, when the Spaniards began to edge away towards the Havannah, and got ſafe into port, except the Conqueſtadore and the Africa, which laſt, being entirely diſmaſted, was run on ſhore and blown up by the Spaniſh admiral.

SPANISH SQUADRON.

Africa,	Admiral Reggio,	74 guns,
Invincible,	Rear-admiral Spinola,	74
Conqueſtadore,	Don de St. Juſto,	64
Dragon,	de la Pas,	64
New Spain,	Barella,	64
Royal Family,	Terreſtal,	64
Galga,	Garrecocha,	36
		440——Men 4,150.

[p] Rolt, vol. iv. p. 567.

A. D. 1748. miral. The Spaniards had in this action three captains and eighty-ſix men killed, and 197 wounded; among the latter were admiral Reggio and fourteen other officers. The Engliſh, though they had fifty-nine killed and 120 wounded, were ſo fortunate as not to loſe a ſingle officer.

After this action the Engliſh captains were by no means ſatisfied with each other's conduct. The admiral himſelf was accuſed by ſome of them, and he was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and reprimanded for not hoiſting his flag on board another ſhip after his own was diſabled. It ſeems indeed very probable, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy, that if the Engliſh fleet had been commanded by a Hawke, not a ſingle Spaniard would have eſcaped.

This was the laſt naval action of importance previous to the general peace, which was finally concluded in the month of October 1748. The Engliſh, during this year, took three French and one Spaniſh men of war. The whole number of veſſels taken from the Spaniards ſince the commencement of the war amounted to 1249; from the French to 2185: in all 3434. The entire loſs of the Engliſh amounted to 3238 ſhips.

When we conſider the immenſe value of theſe captures; when we reflect that moſt of this wealth was private property; when we count the number of lives that have been ſacrificed during the war, and recollect that all the people ſacrificed were neither conſulted nor concerned in the conteſt: when we farther reflect, that all the princes who cauſed this horrible deſtruction of life and property, profeſſed the religion of peace, charity, philanthropy and concord, we are diſguſted with human nature, and laugh at the pretenſion of kings to Chriſtianity. But what will the reader think of theſe mighty potentates, when he is told, that, after all this waſte of blood and treaſure, the war ended juſt where it began. None of the contending powers retained any part of their acquiſitions, the 5th article of the treaty of peace having ſtipulated, that all conqueſts whatſoever ſhould be reſtored; conſequently Cape Breton was reſtored to the French, and Madras to the Engliſh. Great Britain had now increaſed her national debt to eighty millions, and her ſole conſolation was her having reduced the navy of France to a ſtate of contemptible inſignificance. As to that nation, the terms

terms of peace were eaſily ſettled, becauſe we fought with her A. D.
without any previous cauſe of quarrel or diſpute; ſhe began the 1748.
war merely in conſequence of her alliance with Spain: but againſt that nation we commenced hoſtilities, ſolely with a deſign to ſecure an uninterrupted navigation to our own ſettlements; nevertheleſs, ſtrange as it may ſeem, this important article was entirely neglected, or forgotten, by our plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle. Our right to cut logwood in Campeachy and Honduras, an article of equal conſequence to this nation, was alſo left undetermined. But theſe were not the only examples of inattention (I cannot ſuppoſe it ignorance) in the Britiſh miniſtry at this very important period. The French, in conſequence of poſſeſſing Canada, had, for many years paſt, been gradually extending the limits of that province, and, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht, their encroachments were now flagrant and oppreſſive to our North American colonies: yet the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded without this notorious cauſe of complaint being mentioned by the Britiſh plenipotentiaries. The limits of Nova Scotia, another doubtful point, were alſo left undetermined.

From this precarious ſtate of affairs it was eaſy to foreſee, that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would be of no long duration; and, from the conduct of the French immediately after, their latent intentions were obvious. But before we proceed to develope the *principia* of the ſucceeding war, it is neceſſary to record certain tranſactions in the Britiſh parliament, which are immediately connected with our naval hiſtory.

The miniſtry [q], for very wiſe reaſons no doubt, brought a bill into parliament, under the title of, "A bill for reducing into "one act the laws relating to the navy;" by which the half pay officers were to be rendered ſubject to martial law. The ſea-officers took the alarm: they aſſembled, and preſented a petition to the houſe requeſting to be heard by their counſel, and though the miniſter muſtered ſufficient ſtrength to reject the petition, he thought proper to relinquiſh his unconſtitutional attempt. Another plan [r], relative to the navy, was alſo offered

[q] Smollet's continuation of the hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 19.
[r] Ibid. p. 32.

to

A. D. to the conſideration of parliament, *viz.* to regiſter a certain
1748. number of ſeamen, who, for an annual ſtipend, ſhould be liable to ſerve when called upon. This project, being calculated to ſuperſede the illegal neceſſity of preſſing, appeared rational; nevertheleſs Mr. Pelham found it to be an unpopular meaſure, and therefore gave it up.

In the courſe of this year, 1748, the earl of Halifax, who preſided at the board of trade, formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing a colony in Nova Scotia. His project was approved, and four thouſand adventurers, under the protection of colonel Cornwallis, ſailed from England, and landed in the harbour of Chebuctou, in the neighbourhood of which they built a town and called it Halifax. The French were diſpleaſed with this exertion of our right, and, by way of counterbalance, attempted to make a ſettlement on the iſland of Tobago in the Weſt Indies; but, in conſequence of a ſpirited remonſtrance to the court of Verſailles, they thought proper to deſiſt. They continued nevertheleſs to aſſert their title to St. Lucia, Tobago, and other neutral iſlands; and in North America their daily encroachments were ſo daring, that the ſubjects of Great Britain bordering on the French ſettlements, became very loud in their complaints to our miniſtry. The French miniſtry, according to cuſtom, endeavoured to exculpate themſelves by throwing the blame on the governor of Canada. After ſeveral ineffectual memorials and remonſtrances delivered by our ambaſſador at Paris, commiſſaries, of each nation, were appointed, in the
1750. year 1750, to ſettle the limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia. Theſe commiſſaries met at Paris, and proceeded with all that deliberate circumſpection which is generally obſerved by ſervants of the public whoſe ſtipends muſt end with their commiſſion. The French commiſſaries, in order to gain time by evading the main queſtion, drew their antagoniſts into a diſcuſſion concerning the iſland of St. Lucia. Meanwhile the Indians bordering on the Britiſh dominions in North America, were inſtigated by the French to commence their barbarous hoſtilities againſt the defenceleſs inhabitants of our back-ſettlements. The Spaniards,
1752. in 1752, began again their former practice, of inſolently interrupting our navigation in the Weſt Indies by their Guarda Coſtas, and in Europe the navy both of France and Spain were

daily

daily augmenting. In 1753 the conference at Paris, concern- A. D.
ing the limits of Nova Scotia, ended without effect; and the 1753.
French continued to extend their dominions in North America, by erecting a chain of forts along the lakes of Erie and Ontario, ſo as to connect their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi with Canada. At length, preſuming on the amazing ſupineneſs of the Britiſh miniſtry, they croſſed Lake Champlain, and built a fort at Crown-Point, in the province of New York. A reader of Engliſh hiſtory, who reflects as he reads, when he meets with ſuch examples of inactivity, ſuch want of vigilance, ſuch impolitic procraſtination, is neceſſarily led to inquire into the cauſe. Is this incelerity (if I may be allowed the word) to be attributed to our natural or political conſtitution? Be this as it may, what we loſe in time, as in mechanics, we ſometimes gain in power.

The French miniſtry, notwithſtanding ſuch flagrant acts of hoſtility in America, continued to amuſe the court of London with repeated aſſurances of friendſhip. But early in the year 1755, certain intelligence was received, that a conſiderable fleet 1755.
of men of war was preparing to ſail from different ports in France, to America, with a formidable number of land forces on board. The Britiſh miniſtry, rouzed at this intelligence, gave immediate orders to equip a ſquadron of men of war, and, towards the latter end of April, admiral Boſcawen, with eleven ſhips of the line, ſailed for America. He was ſoon after followed by admiral Holbourne with ſix line-of-battle ſhips and one frigate, the miniſtry having received ſubſequent intelligence that the French fleet, intended for America, conſiſted of twenty-five ſhips of the line, *&c.* This fleet ſailed from Breſt in the beginning of May; but, after ſailing a few leagues beyond the mouth of the Engliſh channel, Monſ. Macnamara, the commander in chief, returned to Breſt, with nine of the capital ſhips, and the reſt proceeded to North America under the command of Monſ. Bois de la Mothe. Admiral Boſcawen's orders were, to attack the French fleet whereſoever he ſhould meet with it. Being joined by admiral Holbourne, he continued cruizing off the banks of Newfoundland, in hopes of intercepting the French ſquadron in their attempt to enter the gulf of St. Laurence. But the thick fog, ſo frequent on that coaſt,

A. D. 1755 favoured their enterprize, and Monſ. de la Mothe arrived ſafe at Quebec with his whole ſquadron, except the Alcide and the Lys, the firſt of ſixty-four guns and 480 men; the ſecond of twenty-two, though pierced for ſixty-four, with eight companies of land forces on board. Theſe two unfortunate ſhips fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, both ſixty-gun ſhips. After a reſolute engagement of five hours, the French ſhips ſtruck. On board the Lys were ſeveral officers of diſtinction, and about 80,000 l. ſterling.

From the capture of theſe two ſhips the commencement of the war may properly be dated. As ſoon as it was known in Europe, the French ambaſſador left London, and the Britiſh miniſtry iſſued general orders for making repriſals in every part of the globe. In conſequence of this reſolution, three hundred French merchantmen were taken and brought into England before the expiration of this year. On the 21ſt of July, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed on a cruize to the weſtward, with eighteen ſhips of the line, and, on the 14th of October, admiral Byng proceeded to ſea with twenty-two ſhips. Both theſe fleets returned without meeting with any thing worth their attention. The French nevertheleſs bore theſe inſults with a degree of patience which aſtoniſhed all Europe. But they were not yet prepared for war: their alliances were yet unformed, and their fleet was much inferior to that of Great Britain, which, at this time, conſiſted of 213 men of war[s]; that of France, including ſhips upon the ſtocks, amounted to no more than 113[t].

[s] *Viz.* ENGLISH:

1	ſhip of 110 guns	and 1100 men.
5	100	1000 —— each.
13	90	700
8	80	600
5	74	500
29	70	480
39	60	400
3	54	350
28	50	300
4	44	250
35	40	250
42	20	140
31	from 18 to 10	100
213	beſides bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips and tenders.	

[t] FRENCH.

6	ſhips of 80 guns each.
21	74
1	72
4	70
31	64
2	60
6	50
32	frigates.
113	

In

In the beginning of this year major-general Braddock ſailed A. D.
from Corke, with two regiments of foot, for Virginia, with 1755.
orders to diſpoſſeſs the French of the lands they had unjuſtly uſurped. That general was totally defeated, and ſlain, by an ambuſcade of Indians. I have before obſerved, that three hundred French merchantmen were brought into the ports of England; and all this without a declaration of war. The Britiſh miniſtry intended, by this extraordinary conduct, to validate their defenſive alliances, and that the private property of the ſubjects of France might not ſuffer, the ſeveral cargoes of the ſhips taken were ordered not to be touched. But this appearance of ſtrict juſtice was a mere chimera, becauſe many of theſe cargoes conſiſted of periſhable commodities, and conſequently proved a loſs to the owners, without producing any profit to thoſe by whom they were taken. The French had evidently, and flagrantly, broken the bonds of peace by their audacious encroachments in America, ſo palpably contradictory to the tenor of treaties between the two nations. For the credit of England, I wiſh that a formal declaration of war had preceded the firſt act of hoſtility on our part. Previous to ſuch declaration, every act of hoſtility is a piracy againſt the ſubjects of either nation. It is ſurely a ſufficient hardſhip for ſubjects to be ruinouſly involved in the quarrels of their ſuperiors after ſuch quarrels are notorious; but to feel the horrible effects of ſuch quarrels, whilſt theſe ſuperiors wear the maſk of mutual friendſhip, requires a greater degree of patience than any ſubjects can be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs. We now proceed to the naval hiſtory of the year 1756.

About the cloſe of the preceding year [u], overtures of accom- 1756.
modation were made on the part of France by Monſ. Rouille, ſecretary of ſtate, in a private letter to Mr. Fox, ſecretary of ſtate to his Britannic majeſty. But as this application was calculated only to amuſe the Engliſh miniſtry, in order to gain time, it produced no other effect. The French, having now augmented their navy very conſiderably, ordered all the Britiſh ſubjects in France to depart the kingdom, publiſhed an edict for the encouragement of privateers, ſeized every Engliſh veſſel in

[u] Smollet's hiſtory, p. 315.

A. D. 1756. their ports, and ſent their crews to priſon. They then began to threaten us with an invaſion, and, in order to give this project an air of probability, were extremely buſy in their military preparations on the coaſt of the Britiſh Channel. But the deſign of theſe preparations was merely to divert our attention from their armaments in the Mediterranean, where the blow was really intended. The king, the miniſtry, and their adherents in parliament, were, however, ſo completely duped by this French manœuvre, that Heſſian and Hanoverian troops were ſent for to protect us, and the repeated authentic information concerning the equipment and deſtination of the Toulon fleet totally diſregarded. There never was a more flagrant example of obſtinate infatuation.

At length the deſtination of the armament at Toulon was ſo certainly and univerſally known, that the Britiſh miniſtry ſtarted ſuddenly from their apathy, and, like men juſt awoke from a ſound ſlumber, began to act before they had recovered their ſenſes. It was known to all Europe, that the French ſquadron at Toulon conſiſted of thirteen ſhips of the line, and that 15,000 land forces were there ready for embarkation: nevertheleſs, only ten Britiſh ſhips were ordered for the Mediterranean, and the command was given to admiral Byng, a man whoſe courage and abilities were yet untried. With this ſquadron, not completely manned, without either hoſpital or fire-ſhip, he ſailed from Spithead on the 7th of April. He had on board major-general Stuart, lord Effingham, colonel Cornwallis, and about forty inferior officers, whoſe regiments were in garriſon at Minorca; alſo a regiment of ſoldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, and about a hundred recruits.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, where he found the Louiſa, captain Edgecombe, who informed him, that he had been driven from Minorca by a French ſquadron of thirteen ſhips of the line, commanded by Monſ. Galiſſoniere, who had landed 15,000 men on that iſland. Admiral Byng gave immediate orders for the ſhips to complete their proviſions and water with all poſſible expedition. On the third day after his arrival he went on ſhore to confer with general Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, concerning a battalion to be tranſported

to

to Minorca. When the admiral demanded this battalion, the governor produced three ſeveral letters of inſtruction from the war-office, which he could neither reconcile with each other, nor with the order given by the admiralty to admiral Byng. Theſe ſeveral orders, which were then compared and conſidered by a council of war at Gibraltar, being matter of importance to every future commander, whether at land or ſea, I muſt intreat the reader, before he proceeds, to conſider attentively admiral Byng's inſtructions, which he will find in the Appendix, No 4. and then to read carefully the orders ſent from the war-office to general Fowke, which he will find at the bottom of this page [x]. A. D. 1756.

The council of war, after mature deliberation, determined not to part with the battalion required; firſt, becauſe it appeared by lord Barrington's firſt letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar; and, ſecondly, becauſe it was the opinion of the engineers who were well acquainted with Minorca, that to throw ſuccours into St. Philips would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible. But this reſolution of the council of war was certainly wrong: for though it appeared by lord Barrington's firſt letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar, that order was evidently contradicted by admiral Byng's inſtructions of a later date, and the order for ſending a battalion to Minorca was repeated and confirmed. However, the council of war conſented that one captain, ſix ſubalterns, five drums, and 235 privates, ſhould be embarked, to ſupply the deficiency of thoſe left at Minorca by captain Edgecombe, and without which his ſhips would have been of little ſervice in caſe of an engagement. With regard to admiral Byng's orders, though they were in many reſpects conditional, his orders to ſave Minorca, at all events, were poſitive and explicit, and that he ought to have

[x] Lord Barrington's letter to general Fowke, dated the 21ſt of March, ſays, "The king has ordered the royal regiment of Fuzileers to embark immediately for Gibraltar, and that upon their arrival you are to make a detachment equal to a battalion, from the four regiments in garriſon, to Minorca." The ſecond letter, without any reference to the firſt, repeats the order for embarking a battalion on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, in caſe there was any probability of its being attacked; and the third letter, dated April 1ſt, orders the governor to receive ſuch women and children, belonging to the Fuzileers, as admiral Byng ſhould think fit to land.

effected,

A. D. 1756. effected, even at the riſk of ſacrificing his whole fleet. Be this as it may, he ſailed from Gibraltar on the 8th of May, and on the 16th arrived at Majorca, where he was joined by the Phœnix, captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence relative to the French fleet and the ſiege of St. Philips. He then ſteered for Minorca, but having contrary winds, did not make that iſland until the morning of the 19th, when he ſaw the Engliſh flag ſtill flying on the caſtle of St. Philips, and ſeveral bomb-batteries playing upon it from the enemy's works. There have been Britiſh admirals, who, at ſuch a proſpect, would have ſworn to relieve the garriſon, or periſh in the attempt! Early in the morning the admiral diſpatched captain Hervey, in the Phœnix, with the Cheſterfield and Dolphin, with orders to reconnoitre the entrance into the harbour, and, if poſſible, to convey a letter to general Blakeney[y]. Captain Hervey got round

[y] Though this letter from the admiral was not delivered, it is neceſſary that the reader ſhould know its contents; becauſe no circumſtance ought to be concealed which may, in any degree, tend to elucidate a tranſaction attended by ſuch ſerious conſequences.

"To General BLAKENEY.

"Sir, I ſend you this by captain Hervey, of his majeſty's ſhip Phœnix, who "has my orders to convey it to you, if poſſible, together with the incloſed "packet, which he received at Leghorn. I am extremely concerned to find "that captain Edgecombe was obliged to retire to Gibraltar with the ſhips under his command, and that the French are landed, and St. Philips caſtle is "inveſted; as I flatter myſelf, had I fortunately been more timely in the Mediterranean, that I ſhould have been able to have prevented the enemy's getting a footing in the iſland of Minorca. I am to acquaint you, that general "Stuart, lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, with about thirty officers, "and ſome recruits belonging to the different regiments now in garriſon with "you, are on board the ſhips of the ſquadron; and ſhall be glad to know by "the return of the officer, what place you will think proper to have them "landed at. The royal regiment of Engliſh Fuzileers, commanded by lord "Robert Bertie, is likewiſe on board the ſquadron, deſtined, agreeable to my "orders, to ſerve on board the fleet in the Mediterranean, unleſs it ſhould be "thought neceſſary, upon conſultation with you, to land the regiment for the "defence of Minorca; but I muſt alſo inform you, ſhould the Fuzileers be "landed, as they are part of the ſhip's complements, the marines having been "ordered by the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty on board of other ſhips "at Portſmouth, to make room for them, that it will diſable the ſquadron "from acting againſt that of the enemy, which I am informed is cruizing off "the iſland: however, I ſhall gladly embrace every opportunity of promoting "his majeſty's ſervice in the moſt effectual manner, and ſhall aſſiſt you to diſtreſs the enemy and defeat their deſigns to the utmoſt of my power."

the

the Laire before nine o'clock in the morning: he made ſignals A. D.
to the garriſon for a boat to come off; but without effect, and 1756.
the admiral, about this time, diſcovering the French fleet, ordered him to return.

Admiral Byng now ſtood towards the enemy, and about two in the afternoon made a ſignal for the line of battle a-head. He then diſtributed as many ſeamen as could be ſpared from the frigates, on board ſuch ſhips as were moſt in want of hands, and converted the Phœnix into a fire-ſhip. At ſeven in the evening the French ſquadron, being then about two leagues diſtant, tacked, in order to gain the weather-gage; and the Engliſh admiral, not chuſing to relinquiſh that advantage, alſo put his ſhips about.

On the 20th, in the morning, the weather being hazy, the French fleet could not be diſcovered; but it became viſible before noon, and at two o'clock admiral Byng made a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Rear-admiral Weſt was then at too great a diſtance to comply with both theſe orders; he therefore bore away ſeven points from the wind, and with his whole diviſion attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that ſeveral of their ſhips were ſoon obliged to quit the line. Had admiral Byng been equally alert and eager to engage, it is moſt probable that the French fleet would have been defeated and Minorca ſaved; but the enemy's centre keeping their ſtation, and Byng's diviſion not advancing, admiral Weſt was prevented from purſuing his advantage, by the apprehenſion of being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet.

After engaging about a quarter of an hour, the Intrepid, the ſternmoſt ſhip of the van, loſt her fore-top-maſt, which, according to Byng's account of the action[z], obliged his whole diviſion to back their ſails, to prevent their falling foul of each other. But when this matter came to be examined by the court-martial, it appeared, that immediately after the ſignal for engaging, whilſt the van were bearing down upon the enemy, admiral Byng, in the Ramillies, edged away ſome points, by which means the Trident and Louiſa got to windward of him.

[z] Byng's letter to the admiralty.

and

A. D. 1756. and that, in order to bring them again into their ſtations, he backed his mizen-top-ſail, and endeavoured to back his main-top-ſail. This manœuvre neceſſarily retarded all the ſhips in his diviſion, and gave the enemy time to eſcape. M. Galiſſoniere ſeized the opportunity, and, his ſhips being clean, was ſoon out of danger. But admiral Byng, before the engagement, ordered the Deptford to quit the line, in order to reduce his line of battle to the ſame number of ſhips as that of the enemy. For this apparent generoſity he was cenſured by the court-martial: nevertheleſs, there does not appear to be any great impropriety in reſerving one or more ſupernumerary ſhips in readineſs to ſupply the place of thoſe which may happen to be diſabled.

From this relation of facts, the reader will eaſily perceive that admiral Byng's conduct was by no means juſtifiable. The naval reader ſees very clearly, from the ſituation of the two fleets relative to the wind, that he might have fought if he would; and, from a compariſon of the two fleets [a], it will ſeem more than probable, to thoſe who are acquainted with the ſuperior activity and ſkill of our ſailors in time of action, that a deciſive victory might have been expected. Whether admiral

[a]

ENGLISH.			FRENCH.		
Ramillies,	90 guns,	780 men,	Foudroyant,	84 guns;	950 men,
Culloden,	74	600	La Couronne,	74	800
Buckingham,	68	535	Le Guerrier,	74	800
Lancaſter,	66	510	Le Temeraire,	74	800
Trident,	64	500	Le Redoubtable	74	800
Intrepid,	64	480	L'Hipopotham	64	600
Captain,	64	480	Le Fier,	64	600
Revenge,	64	480	Le Triton,	64	600
Kingſton,	60	400	Le Lion,	64	600
Defiance,	60	400	Le Content,	64	600
Louiſa,	56	400	Le Sage,	64	600
Portland,	48	300	L'Orphée,	64	600
	778	5875		828	8350
Frigates.			*Frigates.*		
Deptford,	48	280	La Juno,	46	300
Cheſterfield,	40	250	La Roſe,	30	250
Phœnix,	22	160	Gracieuſe,	30	250
Dolphin,	22	160	La Topez,	24	250
Experiment,	22	160	La Nymph,	24	200
	932	6885		982	9600

Byng's

Byng's conduct is juſtly to be aſcribed to his exceſſive prudence, his want of ſkill, or want of courage, is difficult to determine. Probably theſe three cauſes operated in conjunction to produce the fatal effect. The only plauſible argument that can be urged in extenuation of this admiral's conduct is, that he might be too ſtrongly impreſt by the recollection of Mathews and Leſtock; the firſt of whom was puniſhed for fighting, not according to rule, and the latter not puniſhed, though he did not fight at all. A. D. 1756.

The Engliſh had in this engagement 42 men killed, and 168 wounded; the French, 145 wounded, and 26 killed. Captain Andrews, of the Defiance, was the only officer of diſtinction, on board the Engliſh fleet, who loſt his life on this occaſion. The French fleet ſoon diſappeared, and at eight in the evening admiral Byng made a ſignal for his ſquadron to bring to, at which time the Intrepid and the Cheſterfield were miſſing; the former, being diſabled, had been left to the care of the latter. They joined the fleet next morning, and the admiral then finding that three of his ſquadron were damaged in their maſts, called a council of war, at which general Stuart, lord Eſſingham, lord Robert Bertie, and colonel Cornwallis were requeſted to aſſiſt.

The council of war being aſſembled on board of the Ramillies, the following queſtions were propoſed by admiral Byng:

1. Whether an attack upon the French fleet gives any proſpect of relieving Minorca? *Anſwer.* It would not.

2. If there was no French fleet cruizing off Minorca, whether the Engliſh fleet could raiſe the ſiege? *Anſ.* It could not.

3. Whether Gibraltar would not be in danger by any accident that may befal this fleet? *Anſ.* It would be in danger.

4. Whether an attack with our fleet, in the preſent ſtate of it, upon that of the French, will not endanger the ſafety of Gibraltar, and expoſe the trade of the Mediterranean to great hazard? *Anſ.* It would.

5. Whether it is not for his Majeſty's ſervice that the fleet ſhould immediately proceed for Gibraltar? *Anſ.* It ſhould proceed for Gibraltar.

Here I muſt beg leave to retard the progreſs of our hiſtory a few moments, for the ſake of the naval reader, to whom the

D. A. 1756. conſideration of theſe five reſolutions may prove of infinite importance; theſe volumes being written with an intention, not only to record the heroic virtues of our naval commanders in times paſt; not only to amuſe the gentlemen who in the preſent age have the honour to ſerve on board the Britiſh fleet; but to animate, to inform, to warn them, by example. I have, more than once, obſerved, and the truth of my obſervation hath been frequently confirmed, that councils of war ſeldom forebode much heroiſm. When a commander in chief, whoſe power is abſolute, condeſcends to aſk advice of his inferiors, it is a tacit acknowledgment, that his abilities are inadequate to his power; or, that he is inclined to do that for which he dares not be reſponſible. I do not believe there was one member of this council of war, who, if the five reſolutions had depended upon his ſingle voice, would not have anſwered them all in the negative. I am alſo of opinion, that if admiral Byng had been poſitively ordered to call no councils of war, but to relieve Minorca at all events, he would have deſtroyed the French fleet, ſaved the iſland, and would have returned triumphant to Britain; unleſs we are to ſuppoſe him conſtitutionally a coward; for, on ſuch beings, the *preſent*, though *leaſt*, danger always acts moſt powerfully.

How this council of war could determine, that it was impoſſible to relieve Minorca, without ever making the leaſt attempt for that purpoſe, is incredibly aſtoniſhing! and indeed it afterwards appeared that the troops on board might have been landed at the ſally-port with little danger; for Mr. Boyd, commiſſary of the ſtores, actually went out to ſea in a ſmall boat in ſearch of the Engliſh fleet, and returned ſafe to the garriſon. As to their concern for the ſafety of Gibraltar, their apprehenſions were in the higheſt degree ridiculous. According, however, to the fifth reſolution of the council, admiral Byng returned with his fleet to Gibraltar, and Galiſſoniere to his former ſtation off Cape Mola. How the garriſon of St. Philips muſt have been affected, when they beheld the French ſquadron return triumphant, and afterwards heard a *feu de joye* in the enemy's camp, may be eaſily conceived. The beſiegers had doubtleſs cauſe to rejoice at the ſafe return of their fleet, though not on account of any victory obtained by their admiral; for the

two

two admirals evidently ran from each other. But though the garriſon were not a little diſappointed at Byng's diſappearance, they nevertheleſs defended the caſtle till the 28th of June, when, deſpairing of relief from England, and rationally ſuppoſing that, in the great ſyſtem of politics, they were intended to be ſacrificed, after a gallant defence of ten weeks, the venerable Blakeney, on very honourable terms, ſurrendered Minorca to the *Duc de Richlieu*. A. D. 1756.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 19th of June, where commodore Broderick had come to an anchor four days before, with a reinforcement of five ſhips of the line, which were ſent from England in conſequence of certain intelligence that the French were fitting out more ſhips at Toulon. Thus enforced, admiral Byng determined to return to Minorca, in hopes of being yet in time to relieve the garriſon; but whilſt he was with great activity preparing for this ſecond enterprize, the *Antelope* of 50 guns arrived at Gibraltar. On board of this ſhip were admiral Hawke, admiral Saunders, and lord Tyrawley, who were commiſſioned to ſuperſede and arreſt admiral Byng, admiral Weſt, and governor Fowke. The three delinquents were accordingly ſent on board the Antelope, and returned priſoners to England. Sir Edward Hawke, with the fleet under his command, ſailed immediately up the Mediterranean; but, upon his arrival off Minorca, he had the mortification to ſee the French flag flying on St. Philip's caſtle. As ſoon as the garriſon ſurrendered, Galiſſoniere prudently retired to Toulon, where he remained in ſecurity, whilſt Sir Edward Hawke aſſerted the naval empire of Great Britain, in ſight of an enemy elated with the conqueſt of a ſmall iſland, which they were afterwards obliged to relinquiſh. This conqueſt, though really inſignificant, cauſed ſuch extravagant exultation in France, ſuch an univerſal *Te Deum laudamus*, that one might rationally have ſuppoſed the Britiſh empire totally annihilated.

The people of England, on the contrary, received the intelligence of Byng's retreat with general diſſatisfaction, and, without the leaſt inquiry into the conduct of the miniſtry, pointed all their reſentment againſt that unfortunate admiral. The miniſtry joined in the cry, doing every thing in their power to divert the reſentment of the people from themſelves. That Mr.

A. D. 1756. Byng's conduct was, in many reſpects, extremely reprehenſible, is moſt certain; but it is not leſs certain, that the miniſtry were equally inexcuſable, for not ſending troops to Minorca much ſooner, and for not giving Byng a ſuperior fleet. If the five ſhips, which afterwards ſailed to his aſſiſtance, had made part of his ſquadron, Galiſſoniere muſt have fled at his approach, and Minorca would infallibly have been ſaved. But theſe reflections, whilſt they fix eternal obloquy on the adminiſtration, do not exculpate the admiral. The exigency and importance of the ſervice on which he was ſent, required a ſacrifice of prudence to neceſſity. Our hiſtory affords many examples of Engliſh fleets obtaining a complete victory over an enemy far ſuperior in number of guns and men; but theſe victories were gained by admirals who diſdained to calculate the exact weight of metal in each ſquadron.

Admiral Byng, admiral Weſt, and general Fowke, arrived at Portſmouth on the 3d of July. The two latter were ordered to London, where admiral Weſt was graciouſly received by the king. The general was tried for diſobedience of orders in not ſending a battalion to the relief of Minorca, and ſentenced to be ſuſpended for a year. The king confirmed the ſentence, and afterwards diſmiſſed him the ſervice. Admiral Byng, after continuing ſome time in arreſt at Portſmouth, was eſcorted to Greenwich-hoſpital, where he remained cloſe priſoner till December, the time appointed for his trial, which began on the 28th of that month, on board the St. George in Portſmouth-harbour. The court-martial conſiſted of four admirals, and nine captains of the navy[b]. They ſat a month, daily examining evidence for and againſt the priſoner. Admiral Weſt depoſed, that he ſaw no reaſon why the rear-diviſion might not have engaged the enemy as cloſe as did the van, and that there was no ſignal made for giving chace when the French ſheered off. General Blakeney depoſed, that, on the 20th of May, boats might have paſſed between the fleet and the garriſon with great ſecurity, and that if the troops ordered for his relief had been landed, he could have held out till the arrival of Sir Ed-

[b] *Admirals.* Smith, preſident; Holbourne, Norris, Broderick.
Captains. Holmes, Boys, Simcoe, Bentley, Dennis, Geary, Moore, Douglas, Keppel.

ward

ward Hawke. Captain Young, of the *Intrepid*, declared, that the loſs of his fore-top-maſt did not appear to prevent the rear-diviſion from bearing down upon the enemy. Captain Gardiner depoſed, that he adviſed the admiral to bear down, but without effect, and that, on the day of the action, the admiral took the command of the Ramillies intirely upon himſelf.—— Theſe cogent depoſitions were corroborated by other witneſſes, and not in the leaſt degree invalidated by any counter-evidence in favour of the delinquent. But ſome of the officers who were on board his ſhip, and near him during the engagement, depoſed, that he diſcovered no ſigns of confuſion, or want of perſonal courage, but that he gave his orders diſtinctly and with apparent coolneſs. The admiral's ſpeech, in his defence, was inadequate to the great purpoſe of effacing the impreſſion which the powerful evidence againſt him had made upon the court; they therefore found him guilty of a breach of that part of the twelfth article of war, which ſays,—" or ſhall not do his ut-" moſt to take or deſtroy every ſhip which it ſhall be his duty " to engage; and to aſſiſt and relieve all and every of his Ma-" jeſty's ſhips which it ſhall be his duty to aſſiſt and relieve." He was therefore ſentenced to be ſhot, that being the puniſhment poſitively ordained for a breach of this article. The court, however, being of opinion, that admiral Byng's miſconduct did not proceed from want of courage or diſaffection, added to their report of their proceedings to the lords of the admiralty, a petition, requeſting their lordſhips moſt earneſtly to recommend him to his majeſty's clemency. A.D. 1756.

The lords of the admiralty, having compared the ſentence of the court-martial with the words of the twelfth article of war, which are, " Every perſon in the fleet, who through *cowardice*, " *negligence*, or *diſaffection*, ſhall," &c. and not finding the crime of *negligence* (he being acquitted of the other two) imputed by the court; were in doubt concerning the legality of the ſentence: they therefore preſented a memorial to the king, requeſting that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken. This was accordingly done, and the judges pronounced it a legal ſentence. After the lords of the admiralty had ſigned a warrant for admiral Byng's execution, ſome of the members of the court-martial expreſſed a wiſh to be releaſed, by act of parliament,

A. D. liament, from their oath of ſecrecy. A bill for this purpoſe
1756. accordingly paſſed the houſe of commons; but when it came to a ſecond reading in the houſe of lords, each member of the court-martial was ſeparately aſked, whether he had any thing to reveal which might incline the king to pardon the delinquent, Strange as it may ſeem, they all anſwered in the negative! and, on the 14th of March, admiral John Byng was ſhot on board the *Monarque*, in the harbour of Portſmouth.

This exemplary puniſhment of a Britiſh admiral was an event ſo ſingular, and ſo intereſting to every gentleman of the navy, that it ſeems to require a few reflections before we diſmiſs the ſubject. That the admiral did not exert his utmoſt power againſt the enemy, is very evident; and it is equally apparent, his fleet having the advantage of the wind, that his fighting or not fighting was matter of choice. Hence it neceſſarily follows, (allowing that he ought to have fought), that he either wanted judgment or reſolution. As to judgment, it certainly required very little, to comprehend the importance of the ſervice on which he was ſent, and ſtill leſs knowledge of the hiſtory of human events, not to know, that, when great atchievements are required, ſomething muſt be left to fortune, regardleſs of the calculation of chances. In all battles, whether at ſea or in the field, fortuitous events have vaſt influence; but in naval combats moſt frequently, where a ſingle accidental ſhot from a frigate may diſable a firſt-rate man of war. This conſideration is alone ſufficient to determine any commander of a king's ſhip never to ſtrike ſo long as he can ſwim, be the force of his antagoniſt ever ſo ſuperior. Upon the whole, I believe we may equitably conclude, that admiral Byng was conſtitutionally deficient in that degree of perſonal intrepidity, by no means eſſential to the character of a private gentleman, but which is the *ſine qua non* of a Britiſh admiral. The juſtice of puniſhing a man for a conſtitutional defect, reſts ſolely on his accepting his commiſſion with the articles of war in his hand. But admitting we are ſatisfied in regard to the juſtice of his execution, in conſequence of the ſentence of the court-martial, we are not at all ſatisfied with the conduct of that, or thoſe members of that court, who were ſo anxious to be releaſed from their oath of ſecrecy as to puſh an act for that purpoſe through the houſe of commons,

commons, and who afterwards ſpoke another language at the bar of the houſe of lords. Truth or calumny, I know not which, have whiſpered, that lord Anſon's private remonſtrances deprived Byng of that laſt ray of hope which ſome ſcruples of conſcience gave him reaſon to expect, and the public of that ſatisfaction which they have ſtill a right to demand. I ſay this, on a preſumption that the perſon alluded to is now living. A. D. 1756.

The purſuit of this tragedy to its cataſtrophe having carried us ſomewhat beyond the limits of the year 1756, it is neceſſary that we ſhould now reſume the thread of our relation of ſuch public tranſactions as were connected with the naval hiſtory of this kingdom. Hitherto we have ſeen Great Britain and France actually at war, without the ceremony of an open declaration. Why this formality was ſo long deferred, muſt be aſcribed to political conſiderations, by which the miniſters of both countries were influenced; but how cogent ſoever theſe conſiderations might ſeem to a cabinet-council, a piratical war between two poliſhed nations is unjuſt to the ſubjects of both: the reaſon is obvious. However, in the beginning of May, the Britiſh miniſtry being no longer in doubt concerning the invaſion of Minorca by the French, determined to throw off the maſk; accordingly a declaration of war with that nation was publiſhed in London on the 18th, and on the 9th of June war with England was proclaimed at Paris. The ſtate of the navy of Britain and of France, at this period, the reader will find in the Appendix, N° V. and VI.

One principal deſign of this hiſtory being to perpetuate the names of ſuch naval commanders, as, by their gallant actions, deſerve to be recorded in the annals of Britain, I cannot omit an engagement which happened on the 17th of May off Rochfort, between the Colcheſter of 50 guns, commanded by captain Obrian, and the Lime of 20 guns, with the Aquilon of 48 guns, M. de Maurville, and the Fidelle of 36 guns, M. de Litardais. They were within gun-ſhot about ſix in the evening, and ſoon came to ſo cloſe an engagement, that the fore-ſail of the Lime was ſet on fire by the wads of the Fidelle, againſt whom, notwithſtanding the great inequality of ſtrength, ſhe maintained a glorious conteſt upwards of five hours; when the Fidelle retreated firing ſignals of diſtreſs, and the Lime was ſo

ſhattered

A. D. 1756. ſhattered as to be totally incapable of making any ſail a-head. The Colcheſter and the Aquilon fought with equal intrepidity till paſt midnight, and then parted with mutual honour and ſatisfaction. Previous to this action, the Warwick of 60 guns, captain Shuldham, off Martinico, falling in with three French men of war, was taken after an obſtinate running fight, in which ſhe loſt her captain and a conſiderable number of men.

Our fleet in North America was, during this year, not totally inactive. A French man of war of 50 guns, called *L'Arc-en-ciel*, with troops and military ſtores for Louiſbourg, was taken off that port by the Norwich and Litchfield, both 50 gun ſhips, belonging to admiral Spry's ſquadron. On the 26th of July, off the harbour of Louiſbourg, commodore Holmes on board the Grafton, with the Nottingham, and the Hornet and Jamaica ſloops, fell in with two French men of war, *Le Hero*, *L'Illuſtre*, and two frigates, which were returning from Canada. The enemy being to windward, commodore Holmes ſtood towards them, as near the wind as he could lye. The French ſquadron bore down upon him till within about two leagues diſtance, when the Engliſh tacked with a deſign to cut the enemy off from the port of Louiſbourg; but they hauled in for it, and came to an anchor about noon. Commodore Holmes purſued them till within a league of the harbour, where he laid to till four in the afternoon, and then made ſail to the eaſtward. As ſoon as it was dark, he diſpatched the Hornet ſloop to Halifax, to requeſt a reinforcement, being much inferior to the enemy. At eight next morning, the four French ſhips, abovementioned, weighed anchor, ſailed out of the harbour, and gave him chace. The Engliſh ſhips ſtood from the enemy at firſt, and fought them for ſome time with their ſtern chace only; but the Grafton at length hauled up her courſers, bunted her main-ſail, and bore down upon the French commodore, who was alſo attacked by the Nottingham. *L'Illuſtre* was prevented from aſſiſting his partner, by a ſudden calm; but a breeze ſpringing up ſoon after, the French were again united about ſeven in the evening. At duſk the battle ended, and the two ſquadrons ſeparated. According to the French account of this engagement, the two Engliſh ſhips ſheered off when they ſaw the *Illuſtre* coming up; and next morning Monſ. Beauſier, the commodore,

commodore, finding the Engliſh at too great a diſtance, returned to Louiſbourg, with the loſs of eighteen men killed and forty-eight wounded. The Engliſh account, on the contrary, aſſures us, that, before it grew dark, the French ſheered off, and next morning prevented a renewal of the action, by bearing away right before the wind for Louiſbourg. The *Hero* was conſiderably injured. The Grafton had ſix men killed and twenty-one wounded. A. D. 1756.

Spain, at this time, affected to entertain ſentiments of ſincere friendſhip towards England, and declared herſelf determined to maintain the ſtricteſt neutrality: nevertheleſs, ſhe had ſo continued to augment her navy, that ſhe had now forty-ſix ſhips of the line and twenty-two frigates almoſt fit for ſervice. Notwithſtanding the pacific declarations of the Spaniſh miniſtry, they were certainly determined, as ſoon as they were ready, if not to break with England, at leaſt to try her patience to the utmoſt. Their guarda coſtas began again to inſult our trade in the Weſt Indies, and private orders were ſent to prevent our cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. But theſe inſults being inſufficient to provoke the Britiſh miniſtry, the haughty Spaniard reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of inſulting us nearer home. A French privateer, having taken an Engliſh veſſel on the coaſt of France, brought her to an anchor under the guns of Algezire, a Spaniſh fort in the bay of Gibraltar. Sir Edward Hawke, whoſe ſquadron was at this time riding in the bay, and lord Tyrawley governor of Gibraltar, immediately ſent to demand the reſtitution of the prize, which the governor of Algezire poſitively refuſed. The Engliſh officer who carried this demand, being attended with a number of armed boats, with orders to cut the ſhip out and to bring her off at all events, proceeded to execute his orders, and carried his point; but the caſtle gave him ſo warm a reception, that above a hundred of his men were either killed or wounded. The court of Spain approved of the governor's conduct, and pretended to be violently offended with that of Sir Edward Hawke. England bore this outrage with Chriſtian patience; and the impreſſion it made was ſoon obliterated by a greater.

Human nature, collected into ſtates and kingdoms, is influenced by the follies, paſſions, and vices, by which individuals

A. D. 1756. are generally governed. The man who wants ſpirit to reſent the firſt affront, muſt ſoon expect a ſecond; ſo it is with nations. The Antigallican, an Engliſh private ſhip of war, of thirty carriage and ſixteen ſwivel guns, commanded by captain William Foſter, cruizing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with *Le Duc de Penthievre*, a French Eaſt Indiaman, on the 26th of December, about ſeven leagues from Ferrol. The Indiaman, mounting fifty guns, being to windward, bore down upon the Antigallican, and fired a gun to bring her to. She then hoiſted her colours. The Frenchman fired a broadſide, and half another, with conſiderable effect, before the Antigallican returned the compliment. A cloſe engagement enſued, and continued three hours, when the Indiaman ſtruck, her captain and twelve men being killed, and her ſecond captain and twenty-ſeven men wounded. They were, at this time, five leagues and a half diſtant from the light-houſe at Corunna. Captain Foſter attempted to carry his prize into Liſbon; but, finding it impoſſible to make that port, he bore away for Cadiz, where, as ſoon as he came to an anchor, the officers of the Indiaman depoſed upon oath, that their ſhip was in all reſpects a legal prize. Nevertheleſs, incredible as it may ſeem, it was not long before orders were ſent from Madrid, to the governor of Cadiz, to detain both the ſhips, under pretence that the Indiaman was taken ſo near a Spaniſh fort, as to be within the diſtance preſcribed by the law of nations: a palpable falſehood! The Spaniards pretended to inſtitute a legal inquiry; but their proceedings were a diſgrace to all law and equity. Sir Benjamin Keene at Madrid, and Mr. Goldſworth, the Engliſh conſul at Cadiz, in vain remonſtrated. The court of Spain ſent a poſitive order for the prize to be delivered to the French conſul, and the governor of Cadiz, on captain Foſter's refuſing to ſtrike the Engliſh colours, ſent a ſixty-gun ſhip and a thirty-gun frigate to reduce the Penthievre to obedience by force. They continued firing upon her near two hours without a ſingle ſhot being returned. They ſhot away his enſign, killed the ſailor who was ſent to ſtrike his pendent, and wounded ſeven of his men. When the Spaniſh commodore had thus amuſed himſelf as long as he thought fit, captain Foſter was told that he was not a priſoner, and ſuffered to go on ſhore, and was afterwards told by

by the governor, that he had no farther commands for him: nevertheleſs, he was next morning dragged to priſon, and his crew, after being robbed and abuſed by the Spaniſh ſoldiers, were thrown into a lothſome dungeon, where they muſt inevitably have periſhed of hunger, but for the humanity of the Britiſh conſul. Theſe unhappy men were not releaſed till the 5th of March. A. D. 1756.

It is as painful to the Britiſh hiſtorian as to the Britiſh reader to contemplate the inſolent cruelty and injuſtice of Spain, in this and the preceding example. In ſome periods of our hiſtory, not a nation under heaven would have dared thus to provoke the growling lion. If this had happened in the reign of Eliſabeth, or during Cromwell's uſurpation, Cadiz would have been laid in aſhes in leſs than a month. But the political ſyſtem of the Britiſh miniſtry prompted them rather to ſubmit to any inſult, than riſk a Spaniſh war. The people of England grew diſſatisfied. Braddock's defeat, the reduction of Oſwego and other forts in America; the loſs of Minorca, and the abſurd diſpoſition and employment of the navy, convinced them, that the miniſtry were unequal to the importance of their ſeveral offices. The nation became clamorous, and the king at laſt conſented to a partial change in the adminiſtration. Mr. Pitt was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, and Mr. Legge nominated chancellor of the exchequer.

The people in general were extremely delighted with this change of men, in full confidence that a change of meaſures would follow; but too much of the old leaven ſtill remained, to ſuffer the full exertion of heroic patriotiſm. Theſe new miniſters began to act upon principles ſo diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of their colleagues in adminiſtration, that they were hardly ſeated in their places before it was determined to remove them. They were repreſented to the king as two obſtinate, wayward ſervants of the people, rather than of the crown, and totally ignorant of that political ſyſtem by which Hanover could poſſibly be preſerved. This artful appeal to his majeſty's natural affections produced the deſired effect. On the 5th of April Mr. Pitt[c], by the king's command, was diſmiſſed the office of 1757.

[c] London Gazette.

A. D. 1757. ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Legge, having alſo reſigned, was ſucceeded by Lord Mansfield in the office of chancellor of the exchequer. This ſudden diſmiſſion of the two popular miniſters, ſurprized and alarmed the nation, and, inſtead of diſgracing them with the people, added infinitely to their popularity. Many of the principal cities in England complimented them with their freedom in gold boxes, and the whole nation became at laſt ſo clamorous, that it was ſoon thought adviſable to ſolicit their re-acceptance of the places from which they had been ſo lately diſmiſſed. Mr. Pitt reſumed his office of ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department on the 29th of June, and Mr. Legge that of chancellor of the exchequer a few days after. From this time Mr. Pitt became prime miniſter, though the principal perſons who compoſed the late adminiſtration remained in office. The duke of Newcaſtle was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, Mr. Fox paymaſter-general of the army, and lord Anſon firſt lord of the admiralty.

The firſt expedition in which the navy bore a part, after Mr. Pitt's reſtoration, was that againſt Rochfort on the coaſt of France. This miniſter conceived, that the moſt effectual means of ſtopping the progreſs of the French armies in Germany, was, by ravaging their coaſt, to call their attention to the ſecurity of their own dominions. Rochfort became the firſt object of his attention in conſequence of certain intelligence which he had received from a captain Clerk, who informed him, that, returning from Gibraltar in the year 1744, he viſited Rochfort, with a deſign to make himſelf acquainted with its ſtrength, in caſe of a war with France, and that he found its fortifications in ſo ruinous a ſtate, that the town might be eaſily taken by a *coup-de-main*; preſuming that it remained in the ſame ſituation, becauſe the fortifications had not been repaired during the two laſt wars with England. Captain Clerk's information was afterwards laid before the cabinet, and Tierry, a French pilot, was cloſely examined, concerning the practicability of landing and protecting the troops.

The miniſtry being now perfectly ſatisfied, as to the feaſibility and importance of the enterprize, a formidable fleet was immediately ordered to Spithead, and ten regiments of foot encamped on the Iſle of Wight. Sir John Mordaunt, knight of the

the bath, commanded the troops, and Sir Edward Hawke the fleet of men of war ordered for this ſervice. The deſtination of this formidable armament remained a profound ſecret for ſome time; it was, however, at laſt, generally underſtood to be intended againſt ſome part of the coaſt of France. Mr. Pitt, perfectly ſenſible of the neceſſity of proceeding with all poſſible expedition, repeatedly urged the departure of the fleet; but, either by ſome unaccountable fatality, or by the malignant influence of men who would damn their country to thwart the meaſures of an envied miniſter, the tranſports did not arrive at St. Helen's till the 4th of September. The troops were embarked with all poſſible expedition, and the fleet got under ſail on the 8th. This entire armament conſiſted of ſixteen ſhips of the line, ſeven frigates, two bomb-ketches, two fire-ſhips, two buſſes, one horſe-ſhip[d], and fifty-five tranſports, beſides the

A. D. 1757.

[d] *Viz.* Royal George,	Captain Buckle,	100 guns.	
Ramilies, (Adm. Hawke),	Hobbs,	90	
Neptune,	Galbraith,	90	
Namur,	Dennis,	90	
Royal William,	Taylor,	84	
Barfleur,	Graves,	80	
Princeſs Amelia,	Colby,	80	
Magnanime,	Howe,	74	
Torbay,	Keppel,	74	
Dublin,	Rodney,	74	
Burford,	Young,	70	
Alcide,	Douglas,	64	
America,	Byron,	60	
Achilles,	Barrington,	60	
Medway,	Proby,	60	
Dunkirk,	Digby,	60	
Frigate Southampton,	Gilchriſt,	32	
Coventry,	Scrope,	28	
Cormorant,	Clive,	18	
Poſtillion,	Cooper,	18	
Beaver,	Gaſcoigne,	18	
Pelican,	O'Hara,	16	
Eſcort,	Inglis,	14	
Bomb Firedrake,	Edwards,	8	
Infernal,	Kenzie,	8	
Fire-ſhip Pluto	Lindſay,	8	
Proſerpine,	Banks,	8	
Buſs Canterbury,	Lampriere,	6	

Jaſon,

A. D. 1757. Jaſon, a forty-gun ſhip, in the capacity of a tranſport, and the Cheſterfield man of war for the purpoſe of repeating ſignals. On board of this fleet were ten regiments of foot, two regiments of marines, ſixty light horſe, and a formidable train of artillery. The admirals under Sir Edward Hawke were Knowles and Broderick, and under Sir John Mordaunt were the generals Conway and Cornwallis.

This fleet ſailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, and bore away to the weſtward. The troops on board were totally ignorant of their deſtination till the 15th, when the orders iſſued by Sir John Mordaunt relative to the nature of the ſervice on which they were ſent, put the matter out of doubt. They ſtood into the bay of Biſcay, and on the 20th made the iſle of Oleron. Sir Edward Hawke ſent immediate orders for admiral Knowles to proceed with his diviſion to Baſque road, and to attack the fort on the iſle of Aix; but the execution of this order, though poſitive, was ſuſpended by a very extraordinary accident. Admiral Knowles, as ſoon as he received theſe orders, made ſail with his diviſion, and prepared his ſhips for action; but he had ſcarce taken leave of Sir Edward Hawke, before a French man of war was obſerved ſtanding in towards the centre of the Engliſh fleet. When this ſingular phenomenon appeared[e], admiral Knowles was ſo deeply engaged in the important occupation of exhibiting the entertaining ſpectacle of a clear ſhip between decks to general Conway, that he could not poſſibly attend to the firſt information brought by his lieutenant. However, in conſequence of a ſecond meſſage, the admiral came upon deck, and, with his ſpy-glaſs, diſcovered this ſtrange ſail to be a two-decked ſhip. Admiral Knowles recollecting that he was ſent on a different ſervice, but not recollecting the comparative importance of that ſervice, was in doubt whether he ſhould make a ſignal for any of his diviſion to chace, during this heſitation the French ſhip diſcovered her miſtake, tacked and bore away with all the ſail ſhe could crowd. The admiral continued ſtill to doubt, and doubted ſo long, that all poſſibility of coming up with her before night vaniſhed. At laſt, however, admiral Knowles ordered the Magnanime and the Torbay to give chace.

[e] Knowles's anſwer on Sir John Mordaunt's trial.

They

They chaced as long as they could ſee their object, and next morning rejoined the fleet. A. D. 1757.

On the 21ſt admiral Knowles, with the diviſion under his command, made ſail towards the land; but the weather proving hazy, the pilots refuſed to carry the fleet in. This evening the troops were in full expectation of landing; but about ſeven o'clock the ſhips tacked, and came to an anchor near the Iſle of Rheè. On the 22d the fleet entered the bay called the Road of Baſque, between the iſlands of Rheè and Oleron, and there remained at anchor during the night. About eight next morning, admiral Knowles in the Neptune, with the Magnanime, the Barfleur, America, Alcide, Burford, and Royal William, made ſail towards Aix, a ſmall iſland in the mouth of the river leading up to Rochfort. Captain Howe in the Magnanime led the van. At half paſt twelve, the fort upon the iſland began to fire upon him, and his people ſoon grew impatient to return the compliment. But he continued to advance with the utmoſt compoſure, without firing a ſingle ſhot, continually urging his pilot to lay the ſhip as cloſe to the fort as poſſible. The moment he came abreaſt of the battery, he let go his anchors, and fired a broadſide, which drove moſt of the Frenchmen from their guns. From this time the fire from the battery gradually ceaſed. It was, however, near an hour before ſhe ſtruck her colours. That this iſland ſhould prove ſo eaſy a conqueſt will not appear ſurpriſing, when the reader is informed, that the battery ſo furiouſly attacked by the Magnanime conſiſted of no more than ſix iron cannons, mounted *en barbet*; ſo that the gunners were ſo entirely expoſed, that captain (now lord) Howe might have taken the fort in his long-boat. There were indeed near thirty pieces of cannon upon the iſland; but the ſix above-mentioned were all that were brought to bear upon the ſhips. The fortifications of Aix were planned by the great Vauban; but the execution of that plan had been ſo totally neglected, that the iſland was, at this time, entirely defenceleſs.

As ſoon as the French colours were ſtruck, an Engliſh regiment landed and took poſſeſſion of the *important* conqueſt. Aix is an iſland about five or ſix miles in circumference, entirely covered with vines, which yield a meagre wine, the common beverage

A. D. 1757. beverage of the country. The garriſon conſiſted of about five hundred men, part ſoldiers and part ſailors, moſt of which had been landed from the continent on the day preceding the attack, and were now made priſoners of war. As to the behaviour of the Engliſh regiment which took poſſeſſion of the fort, I will tell it in the language of a writer, who ſerved as a volunteer on this expedition[f].—"I wiſh," ſays the author, "I could with "truth report, that our people behaved with the moderation "they ought to have done: and I am ſorry, for the cre- "dit of our diſcipline, that the ſevere orders iſſued by the ge- "neral were not as ſeverely executed. Both our ſoldiers and "ſailors were ſuffered to get abominably drunk, and, in con- "ſequence of that, cruelly to inſult the poor ſufferers. This "little iſland became, in a very few hours, a moſt ſhocking "ſcene of devaſtation; even the church was ſuffered to be pil- "laged, the poor prieſt robbed of his little library, and his "robes became a maſquerading habit to the drunken tars." Such behaviour is not ſurpriſing in a claſs of men who act without reflection, and in whom reflection would be a misfortune to themſelves and to their country; but that ſuch conduct ſhould have been ſuffered by their ſuperiors, is wonderful indeed! That men fluſhed with wine and victory are with difficulty reſtrained, I readily acknowledge; but the difficulty of preventing a crime, which admits of no paliation, is a very feeble apology.

The conqueſt of the iſle of Aix[g], though of little importance, conſidered as an omen of ſucceſs, gave vaſt ſpirits to the whole fleet, and inſpired the troops with ſuch ardour, that, if they had been immediately landed on the continent, they would probably have ſucceeded in any poſſible attempt. Five days from this period were ſpent in ſounding the depth of water, in prudential deliberations and ſage councils of war; ſo that eight days were now elapſed ſince the firſt appearance of the fleet on the coaſt of France, during which time, we may rationally ſuppoſe, that the enemy had made no inconſiderable progreſs in preparing for a vigorous defence. But before we proceed to the concluſion of this grand expedition, it is neceſſary to relate,

[f] Genuine account of the late expedition, p. 44. [g] Ibid.

more

more particularly, the tranſactions of the five days from the taking of the iſle of Aix. A. D. 1757.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, immediately after the *glorious* conqueſt of that *important* fortreſs, Sir Edward Hawke ſent admiral Broderick, with captains Dennis, Douglas, and Buckle, to reconnoitre and ſound the coaſt, in order to find a proper place for landing the troops which were intended to deſtroy the ſhipping, docks, and naval ſtores at Rochfort. Theſe gentlemen, having ſpent the remainder of that day, and the following night, in the laborious execution of their commiſſion, returned to the fleet about four in the evening of the 24th, and reported, that from Angolin to Chataillon there was a hard ſandy beach; alſo a ſmall bay farther to the eaſtward, at either of which places troops might be conveniently landed, and that there was ſufficient depth of water, and clear ground for the tranſports to anchor at the diſtance of a mile and a half from the ſhore. They alſo reported, that on the ſouth ſide of the bay there was a ſquare fort, on the north-weſt ſide of which were nine embraſures, and two on the north-eaſt. This fort had been previouſly reconnoitred by colonel Wolfe, who was of opinion, that it might be eaſily ſilenced by a ſingle ſhip, or, at leaſt, ſo engaged, that the troops might land on each ſide of it with very little interruption. The pilot of the Magnanime made no doubt of carrying his ſhip near enough to batter the fort. From theſe ſeveral reports Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt ſeemed determined to proceed to the execution of colonel Wolfe's plan. But this reſolution was afterwards ſtaggered by general Conway, who, after a tedious examination of ſeveral priſoners from the iſle of Aix, reported that, according to the information of theſe priſoners, the attempt againſt Rochfort would be attended with danger and difficulty[h]. This ſuſpicious information determined the two commanders to have recourſe to that bane of our national glory, a council of war. If Wolfe had commanded theſe brave troops, would he, on this occaſion, have called a council of war? The report of priſoners ought not to be entirely diſregarded; but a wiſe general, or admiral, will liſten to their information with the utmoſt

[h] Entick, vol. ii. p. 321.

A. D. 1757. ſuſpicion. Be this as it may, if theſe priſoners produced the council of war, they ought to have been amply rewarded by the king of France as the ſaviours of Rochfort.

The members of this memorable council were, Sir Edward Hawke, Sir John Mordaunt, admiral Knowles, general Conway, admiral Broderick, general Cornwallis, captain Rodney, colonel Howard. They met on the 25th, on board the Neptune, and, after mature deliberation, determined, unanimouſly, that an attempt upon Rochfort was neither *adviſable* nor *practicable*. That it was unadviſable, if impracticable, no body will preſume to doubt. Nevertheleſs, admiral Knowles was ſent next morning with two bomb-ketches and other ſmall veſſels to bombard the fort, and to ſound the entrance into the river Charante; who on his return reported, that one of the bombs ran a-ground, and that the Coventry touched five times in attempting to protect her from two French row-gallies. This report by admiral Knowles can no otherwiſe be reconciled with that of the officers firſt employed in ſounding, and with the evidence of the pilot of the *Magnanime*, than by ſuppoſing that the French pilots now employed, choſe to ſacrifice their reputation as pilots to the ſafety of their country. But notwithſtanding this report, orders were iſſued that night for the troops to hold themſelves in readineſs to land next morning; yet that day paſſed in perfect inactivity. However, another council of war, conſiſting of the ſame members, being called, it was now unanimouſly reſolved, that it *was* adviſable to land the troops.

In conſequence of this reſolution, on the 28th in the afternoon, the *Ramillies* hoiſted a ſignal for the commanders of regiments to come on board, and at eight the ſame evening orders were iſſued [1] for the troops to prepare for landing in the night.

Twelve

[1] *Viz.* "Ramillies, Sept. 28.

"The troops are to be ready to go from the tranſports into the boats at "twelve o'clock at night; a number of men of war's boats will be appointed "to every regiment, under the command of a lieutenant: theſe, with the "tranſport boats, (who are to be under the direction of a lieutenant of foo), "are to receive the grenadiers, the piquet companies, one, two, or more, as the "boats can contain them; the commander of every regiment lands with the "firſt detachment, if it amounts to three companies.

"Particular care to be taken that the ſoldiers be not too much crowded in "the boats.

"The

Twelve hundred men were accordingly crowded into boats, in full expectation of a ſignal at midnight to put off. Indeed ſuch was the alacrity of the troops on this occaſion, and ſuch their eagerneſs to land, that the boats were filled an hour before the time. In this ſituation they remained, the boats beating againſt each other, for it blew rather freſh, till about three in the morning; when, inſtead of a ſignal to put off, a laconic order came for the troops to return to their reſpective tranſports. A. D. 1757.

"The crews of the boats that row the tranſports long-boats, are to be chiefly "compoſed of ſoldiers, who are to return to the corps after the firſt landing, "and row backwards and forwards till the whole diſembarkation is completed, "and till the proviſions, tents, baggage, *&c.* are landed, according to the orders "of the 15th.

"When the firſt part of every regiment is embarked, it is to proceed ſilent- "ly and quietly to the place of rendezvous appointed for the diviſion, and "there the whole diviſion receives their orders from a captain of a ſhip of "war, which orders they are in every particular ſtrictly to obey.

"The troops have had a great example before their eyes, and the general is "confident that they will endeavour to imitate the coolneſs and determined "valour that appeared in the attack of the iſle of Aix.

"No ſoldier is to fire from the boats upon any account, but to wait for the "moment to join the enemy with their bayonets.

"Eight mantlets *per* regiment will be diſtributed, and the commanding offi- "cers will diſpoſe of them, ſo as to cover the landing boats and rowers from "the muſquetry, in caſe it be neceſſary.

"The troops are to land ſilently, and in the beſt order the nature of the "thing allows of.

"The companies to form, and be ready to attack whoever appears before "them.

"The chief engineer, the quartermaſter-general, and his deputies, are to go "on ſhore with the firſt body that lands.

"All the intrenching tools are to be landed immediately after the ſecond "embarkation.

"Mr. Boyd, the comptroller of the artillery, is appointed to carry orders to "the chief engineer, captain of the artillery, and to every branch of the ord- "nance, and is to be obeyed.

"Each regiment to ſend a return immediately of the number of tents they "have remaining after the calculating a tent for eight men, as ordered on "the 15th.

"Colonel Kingſly to be ready to march with the grenadiers upon their land- "ing, with two field-officers, major Farquhar, and lieutenant-colonel Sir Wil- "liam Boothby.

"The regiments are each of them to receive from the ſtore-keeper of the "ordnance, ten cheveaux-de-frize, and to ſend for them forthwith."

A. D. 1757. This order was obeyed, but not without a general murmur of diſſatisfaction.

If the reader be unacquainted with the real hiſtory of this expedition, he will doubtleſs be at a loſs on what martial principle to account for all theſe apparent dilatory, irreſolute, incongruous, and even contradictory proceedings: in juſtice, therefore, to the commanders on each element, I will endeavour to develope the motives by which they were influenced in their various reſolutions, and, if poſſible, to point out the ſeveral cauſes to which the miſcarriage of this enterprize is to be attributed.

Thoſe who are acquainted with the hiſtory of Great Britain, muſt recollect many inſtances of our naval expeditions having failed for want of alacrity in the preparation. It requires very little nautical knowledge or experience to conceive, that the ſucceſs of naval enterprizes depends almoſt intirely upon the proper ſeaſon of the year. This diverſion on the coaſt of France ſeems to have been firſt ſuggeſted by the king of Pruſſia and the duke of Cumberland, who were at this time overpowered by numerous French armies in Germany. Mr. Pitt adopted their idea, becauſe he thought it rational; but he was principally influenced by the proſpect of giving a mortal ſtab to the naval power of France, in the deſtruction of Rochfort. When he firſt determined to carry this project into execution, there appeared to be time ſufficient. The troops, and the fleet of men of war, were aſſembled early in the month of Auguſt, and their not ſailing till the 8th of September was intirely owing to the miſconduct of the contractors for the tranſports: ſo much is it in the power of little beings to fruſtrate the deſigns of the wiſeſt of the human ſpecies!

That the fleet did not make the iſle of Oleron till the 20th, was chiefly owing to contrary winds; but, from the above narrative, it is evident that they might with great eaſe, have anchored in Baſque road next morning; that the remainder of that day would have been ſufficient for reconnoitring the coaſt, and that the troops might have been in poſſeſſion of Rochfort on the evening of the 22d. The attack upon the iſle of Aix was a mere waſte of time, nor would the taking of fort Fouras have anſwered any better purpoſe; becauſe neither of theſe forts were ſo ſituated as to prevent the landing of the troops, or impede their

their march to Rochfort, or render their retreat leſs ſecure. A. D.
By the king's private inſtructions to Sir John Mordaunt[k], it ap- 1757.
pears, that the firſt and principal object of the expedition was, to deſtroy the docks, magazines, arſenals and ſhipping at Rochfort. This was to be effected by ſurprize, or *coup de main*: therefore every hour of unneceſſary delay was a fault, as it not only gave the enemy time to recover from the conſternation into which the appearance of ſuch an armament muſt have thrown them, but alſo gave them time to collect their troops, and add ſtrength to their fortifications.

We have ſeen above, from the report of admiral Broderick, that the tranſports might ſafely ride at anchor within a mile and a half of a firm beach, where the troops might have landed without the leaſt moleſtation from any fort or battery. Why were not the tranſports, immediately upon this report, ordered to that ſtation, and the army landed upon the beach? If the tranſports had been thus ſituated, the intire diſembarkation would have been effected in the ſpace of a few hours, and the firſt diviſion landed would have been ſupported by the ſecond in leſs than an hour. This ſeems to have been an obvious, eaſy, and rational method of proceeding, and probably would have been purſued, but for general Conway's interrogation of the French priſoners which were taken on the iſle of Aix. The report of theſe priſoners produced a council of war, and that council, on the information of theſe and other Frenchmen, were perſuaded, that, if the troops ſhould land on the continent, they would certainly all be drowned, for that, by opening certain ſluices, the whole country might be laid under water. With theſe terrible apprehenſions, the council unanimouſly determined, that any attempt upon Rochfort was neither *adviſable* nor *practicable*. For this determination ſome reaſons were aſſigned; but it may be ſomewhat difficult to find any reaſon for an apparent contrary determination at their next meeting, eſpecially when we conſider, that the report of admiral Knowles, ſubſequent to the firſt council, tended rather to increaſe than diminiſh the horrible chimeras which guarded the coaſt of France. But it is neceſſary to obſerve, that this ſecond reſolution meant nothing more

[k] Vide Appendix, N°. 7.

than

A. D. 1757. than an attack upon fort *Fouras*, if it had any preciſe object farther than that of mere bravado; for, at this time, every idea of attempting Rochfort was entirely relinquiſhed.

We have ſeen above, that, in conſequence of the reſolution of the council of war of the 28th, the troops were ordered to land the ſame night, and that, after remaining four hours in the boats, they were ordered to return to their ſhips. The only reaſon that can be aſſigned for this counter-order is, that, after the firſt order had been iſſued, and in part executed, the commanders diſcovered the abſurdity of attempting to land a numerous army from ſhips which were at the diſtance of two leagues from the ſhore. It is alſo probable that they now recollected, that, at this time, they had no motive, no object, which could either diſtreſs the enemy or ſerve their country in the ſmalleſt degree. We find, in the fourth article of the king's private inſtructions to Sir John Mordaunt [1], that Mr. Pitt's plan extended to other towns on the coaſt of France, particularly L'Orient and Bourdeaux; but we ſee in the following article of theſe inſtructions, that the end of September was fixed for the return of the fleet. Nevertheleſs, leſt a ſcrupulous obedience to theſe orders might fruſtrate the intent of the expedition, Mr. Pitt, on the 15th of September, wrote to Sir Edward Hawke and to Sir John Mordaunt, informing them, that his majeſty's commands were to continue upon the coaſt of France as many more days as might be neceſſary to the completion of any operation in which they were engaged.

Having thus endeavoured to give the reader a clue which may enable him to paſs through this labyrinth of delays and councils, to the ſeveral apparent cauſes of our diſappointment, I will now preſume to aſſign the real cauſe. The very able and patriotic miniſter who planned this admirable enterprize, notwithſtanding his ſuperior ſagacity, was miſtaken in the character of Sir John Mordaunt, of general Conway, and of general Cornwallis. In military knowledge and perſonal courage they were by no means deficient; but there was in them all a want of that conſtitutional ſpirit of enterprize, that impetuoſity of reſolution, bordering upon imprudence, without which an expedition of this

[1] Appendix N°. 7.

nature

nature will never ſucceed. If the miniſter himſelf, or any ge- A. D.
neral of equal conſtitutional heroiſm, had commanded this army, 1757.
Rochfort would have been deſtroyed in twenty-four hours after the fleet came to an anchor on the coaſt of France.

We now reſume the thread of our narrative. Sir Edward Hawke, at length diſguſted with the irreſolute proceedings of the army, on the 29th of September, informed Sir John Mordaunt, by letter, that if he had nothing farther to propoſe, he intended to proceed with the fleet to England. The land officers approved his reſolution, and, on the firſt of October, the fleet ſailed with a fair wind for England, and came to an anchor at Spithead on the ſixth of the ſame month.

The people of England were exceedingly diſappointed and diſſatisfied at this inglorious return of ſuch a fleet and ſuch an army. But no man in the kingdom had ſo much reaſon to be diſpleaſed as the miniſter himſelf. He now plainly perceived that he had miſtaken his generals, and, to ſatisfy the people, conſented to an inquiry into their conduct. Accordingly, a board of inquiry was appointed, conſiſting of the duke of Marlborough, lord George Sackville, and general Waldegrave. Theſe gentlemen, after much examination, deliberation, and reflection, preſented to the king ſo vague, ſo unſatisfactory, ſo ſilly a report, that it was afterwards thought neceſſary to bring Sir John Mordaunt to a formal trial by a court-martial. But before we proceed to ſpeak of that court-martial, it is impoſſible to avoid taking ſome farther notice of this court of inquiry, the firſt article of whoſe report to the king was, that—"The "not attacking fort Fouras by ſea, at the ſame time that it "would have been attacked by land, was one cauſe why the "expedition failed."—That is, the expedition failed, becauſe ſomething was not done in conjunction with ſomething which was never attempted. The ſecond article of their report was—"That "the council of war of the 28th was not juſtifiable in the reſo- "lution not to make an attack upon Rochfort, becauſe they af- "terwards reſolved to attack fort Fouras." Their third article of report was, "That the expedition failed, becauſe the fleet re- "turned to England without any previous regular meeting of "the council of war." If the three members of this board of inquiry had been well informed as to the ſituation of Rochfort,

Aix,

A. D. 1757. Aix, and Fouras, they would have diſcovered that the firſt ought to have been attacked without any attention to either of the latter. Sir John Mordaunt was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. The miniſter and the admiral were alſo acquitted by the general voice of the people; ſo that this grand expedition miſcarried without a cauſe.

Having, I hope, ſatisfied the reader concerning the employment of the Britiſh navy in Europe, let us now follow our fleets and armies to other parts of the world. In the Eaſt Indies we behold a ſcene extremely different from that which we have juſt quitted; unanimity, reſolution, and the genuine ſpirit of enterprize in our commanders; intuitive military genius, and victory its natural attendant. Admiral Watſon ſailed from Bombay on the 30th of April, 1756. He arrived at St. David's on the 29th of May; ſailed from thence on the 20th of June, and anchored in Madras road the day following [m]. Here he firſt learnt the dreadful fate of Calcutta. Having taken colonel Clive and his ſmall army on board his ſquadron, he ſailed on the 6th of October, determined to revenge the horrid murder of his countrymen. They anchored in Balaſore road on the 5th of December, reached Fulta on the 15th, and on the 28th proceeded to Calcutta, with the Kent, Tyger, Saliſbury, Bridgewater, and King-fiſher ſloop. Next day colonel Clive, with a ſmall body of men, landed, in order to attack a fort called Buſbudgia, which, being at the ſame time cannonaded by the ſhips, was ſoon abandoned by the garriſon. Other forts and batteries were likewiſe deſerted as the ſhips proceeded up the river, and, on the 2d of January, 1757, after a ſmart cannonade from the Kent and Tyger, the enemy were driven from their guns, and the town of Calcutta reſtored to the Eaſt India Company. No more than nine ſeamen and three ſoldiers were killed, and about thirty men wounded. Ninety-one pieces of cannon were found in the place, with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition and military ſtores.

This important conqueſt being finiſhed, the Britiſh commanders reſolved to attempt Hughly, a city of great trade, higher up the Ganges. The Bridgewater of twenty guns, and a ſloop,

[m] Smollet's continuation, vol. ii. p. 46.

with

with a detachment of troops under the command of captain Kirkpatrick, were deſtined for this ſervice. This armament proceeded up the river on the 5th of January, and reduced the place without much difficulty. Twenty pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts, beſides a conſiderable quantity of ſaltpetre and magazines of grain, which were immediately deſtroyed by the conquerors. The nabob of Bengal, enraged at being thus rapidly driven from his moſt important poſſeſſions, aſſembled an army of ten thouſand horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, and, on the 2d of February, encamped about a mile from Calcutta. Colonel Clive, though very inferior in number, reſolved to attack the nabob in his camp, and requeſted the admiral to aſſiſt him with all the ſailors he could ſpare. Six hundred ſeamen were landed, under the command of captain Warwick, on the 5th, at one in the morning; at three colonel Clive marched his little army, and about five the attack began. The nabob, after a feeble reſiſtance, retreated, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, wounded and taken. This action, though not deciſive, obliged the nabob to ſign articles of capitulation, very advantageous to the Eaſt India company. A. D. 1757.

Having thus humbled this inſolent nabob, the conquerors turned their attention towards Chandenagore, a capital French ſettlement above Calcutta, on the ſame river. Colonel Clive with ſeven hundred Europeans, and about ſixteen hundred Indians, marched towards the place, and, after gaining poſſeſſion of the principal outpoſts, waited for the arrival of the fleet. On the 18th of March, the admirals Watſon and Pocock, with the Kent, Tiger, and Saliſbury men of war, came to an anchor two miles below Chandenagore. They found their paſſage obſtructed by booms and chains acroſs the river. Theſe obſtacles being removed, on the 24th in the morning they began to batter the fort, whilſt colonel Clive continued his approaches by land, and after three hours cannonading the enemy hoiſted a flag of truce, and ſurrendered by capitulation. The garriſon conſiſted of five hundred Europeans and twelve hundred Indians, well provided with ammunition and ſubſiſtence, and a hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts. This important conqueſt coſt the victors no more than forty men. Colonel Clive's ſubſequent atchievements are foreign to

A. D. 1757. the purpoſe of this hiſtory. It is ſufficient to ſay, that he totally defeated the nabob Sulajud Dowla at the head of twenty thouſand men, cauſed him to be ſolemnly depoſed, and his prime miniſter Ali Khan to be proclaimed viceroy in his ſtead.

We now take our leave of the Eaſt in order to inquire how our fleets in the Weſt Indies and in North America were employed. We are to remember that Mr. Pitt's firſt adminiſtration, which commenced with the year 1757, was of ſhort duration. It continued however long enough to convince the nation of his ſpirit and political ſagacity. Aſtoniſhed at the negligence of his predeceſſors in adminiſtration, he immediately conceived, and in part executed, a plan of operation wiſely calculated to revive the faded laurels of Britain. He ſent a ſquadron of men of war under the command of commodore Stevens to the Eaſt Indies, another to Jamaica under admiral Cotes, and a third was ordered to be equipped for North America, the command of which was to be given to Sir Edward Hawke. This third ſquadron was deſtined, with a body of troops under lord Loudoun then in America, for the reduction of Louiſbourg; but the deſign was ſcarce revealed to the privy-council, before it was known in the French cabinet, and the preparations at Portſmouth ſo flagrantly retarded, that the enemy had ſufficient time to render the expedition abortive. One French fleet of nine ſhips ſailed from Breſt in January, a ſecond, of five men of war, ſailed from Toulon in April, and a third, of fourteen ſail, left France on the third of May. The laſt of theſe ſquadrons arrived at Louiſbourg in June. The Engliſh fleet, intended for Sir Edward Hawke, was given to admiral Holbourne, who ſailed from Corke a week after the departure of the laſt French ſquadron from Breſt, and arrived at Halifax in North America on the 9th of July. Admiral Holbourne being joined by lord Loudoun with the troops from New York, councils of war were frequently held, and, according to the general iſſue of ſuch councils, it was reſolved to poſtpone the attack upon Louiſbourg to a more favourable opportunity. Thus ended the naval expedition of admiral Holbourne. The troops under the command of lord Loudoun were 12,000 effective men, and the fleet conſiſted of fifteen ſhips of the line, and eighteen frigates, &c.

We

We have ſeen above, that early in this year a ſquadron ſailed A. D.
to the Weſt Indies, under the command of admiral Cotes. 1757.
Soon after his arrival on the Jamaica ſtation, he detached captain Foreſt with three frigates to cruize off Cape François, in order to intercept the trade from the French iſlands. Captain Foreſt had ſcarce made his appearance on that coaſt before he fell in with four French men of war commanded by Monſ. Kerſaint. An engagement immediately enſued, which was ſuſtained with mutual courage and obſtinate reſolution for two hours and a half; after which the enemy retreated to Cape François, and the Engliſh frigates to Jamaica. Thus ends our naval hiſtory of the year 1757: a hiſtory equally unſatisfactory to the writer and to the reader; a year diſtinguiſhed ſolely by our conqueſts in the Eaſt Indies, which are to be attributed entirely to the genius and intrepidity of one man. Our fleets and armies in Europe and in America were either totally inactive or failed in their attempts. Notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of our fleet, the number of prizes taken by the French exceeded the Engliſh liſt of captures by more than two hundred. Let us now haſten to the year 1758, where we may expect to find the 1758.
patriotic zeal, political abilities, and heroic ſpirit of enterprize, ſo conſpicuous in the character of the new miniſter, in full exertion of their influence. This intrepid miniſter was ſo extremely diſguſted at the behaviour of ſome of our commanders, that, in one of his ſpeeches in the houſe of commons, he did not ſcruple to declare, that, though the king would readily embrace any rational meaſure for the honour of his crown, he doubted whether a man could be found, who might ſafely be truſted with the execution of any enterprize of danger or difficulty.

The parliament voted, for the ſervice of the year 1758, ſixty thouſand ſeamen, fifteen thouſand marines included; and for the land ſervice, near fifty-four thouſand men. Our fleet, at this period, conſiſted of three hundred and twenty ſhips of war, one hundred and fifty-ſix of which were of the line. Beſides theſe, there were on the ſtocks, four ſhips of 74, two of 70, four of 64, ſix of 36, and ten of 28 guns. The ſupplies were raiſed with the utmoſt facility, and at a moderate intereſt. The languid, latent ſpirit of the nation, inflamed by that of the new miniſter, was ſuddenly rouſed from the diſgraceful apathy which,

A. D. 1758. except in the Eaſt Indies, characteriſed the operations of the preceding year. The navy of France, at this time, conſiſted of ſeventy-ſeven ſhips of the line, and thirty-nine frigates; that of Spain of fifty-two line-of-battle ſhips, twenty-ſix frigates from 30 to 16 guns, thirteen xebeques of 24, and four packet-boats of 16 guns.

The reduction of Louiſbourg being a principal object in Mr. Pitt's plan of military operations, a naval armament, adequate to the purpoſe, was prepared with all poſſible expedition, and the command given to admiral Boſcawen, an officer of approved abilities. The formidable French fleet which had protected Louiſbourg the preceding year, had returned to France in a ſhattered condition. Theſe ſhips being repaired, were intended to return to their former ſtation in North America; but their intentions were effectually anticipated and prevented by the vigilant alacrity of the Britiſh miniſter. Admiral Boſcawen ſailed from St. Helen's on the 19th February, with forty-one men of war[n]. Meanwhile, a fleet under the command of Sir Edward

[n] *Viz.*

Namur,	(Adm. Boſcawen),	Capt. Buckle,	90 guns,
Royal William,	(Sir Cha. Hardy),	Evans,	80
Princeſs Amelia,	(Philip Durell),	Bray,	80
Dublin,	— —	Rodney,	74
Terrible,	— —	Collins,	74
Northumberland,	— —	Lord Colvil,	70
Vanguard,	— —	Swanton,	70
Oxford,	— —	Spry,	70
Burford,	— —	Gambier,	70
Somerſet,	— —	Hughes,	70
Lancaſter,	— —	Edgecombe,	70
Devonſhire,	— —	Gordon,	66
Bedford,	— —	Fowke,	64
Captain,	— —	Amherſt,	64
Prince Frederic,	— —	Man,	64
Pembroke,	— —	Simcoe,	60
Kingſton,	— —	Parry,	60
York,	— —	Pigot,	60
Prince of Orange,	—	Ferguſon,	60
Defiance,	— —	Baird,	60
Nottingham,	— —	Marſhal,	60
Centurion,	— —	Mantel,	54
Sutherland,	— —	Rous,	50

Beſides eighteen frigates.

Hawke,

Hawke, blocked up the French ports in the bay of Biſcay, and another ſquadron, commanded by admiral Oſborne, was ſent to cruize between Cape de Gatte and Carthagena on the coaſt of Spain. There were, at this time, three ſmall ſquadrons of French ſhips of war in the different ports of Toulon, Carthagena and Breſt, which ſquadrons, under the command of Monſ. du Queſne and Monſ. de la Clue, had orders to ſteal away for Louiſbourg, jointly or ſeparately. The former of theſe commanders, in order to join the latter at Carthagena, ſailed from Toulon on the 25th of April, on board the Foudroyant of 80 guns, attended by the Orphèe of 64, the Oriflamme of 50, and Pleiade of 24 guns. Admiral Oſborne, expecting the departure of this ſquadron from Toulon, had ſtationed the Gibraltar frigate in the offing of that harbour to watch their motions. As ſoon as du Queſne's ſquadron appeared, the Gibraltar ſheered off, and gradually decoyed the enemy ſo effectually, that on the 27th, about two in the morning, du Queſne found himſelf in the midſt of Oſborne's fleet. In this critical ſituation, the French admiral made a ſignal for his ſquadron to diſperſe: each ſhip immediately ſteered a different courſe, and were as immediately purſued by detachments from Oſborne's fleet, who, with the remainder of his fleet, continued to block up the harbour of Carthagena. The Pleiade, being a prime ſailer, eſcaped. The Oriflamme was chaced by the Monarque and Montague, and eſcaped deſtruction by running under the guns of a ſmall Spaniſh fort. The Orphèe was purſued by the Revenge and Berwick, and was taken, by the firſt of theſe ſhips, in ſight of Carthagena. The Foudroyant was chaced by the Monmouth, Swiftſure and Hampton-Court. About ſeven in the morning the Monmouth and Foudroyant began to fire at each other, the reſt of the fleet being then totally out of ſight. The diſproportion between the two ſhips was very great. The Foudroyant had a thouſand men on board, and mounted eighty guns, 42 and 22 pounders; the Monmouth mounted only ſixty-four 12 and 24 pounders, and her complement of men was no more than four hundred and ſeventy. This remarkable diſparity notwithſtanding, captain Gardiner, who commanded the Monmouth, reſolved, at all events, to vanquiſh his enemy. Thus determined, he brought his ſhip within piſtol-ſhot of his antagoniſt, A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758. antagoniſt, and now the battle raged with infernal fury. About nine o'clock captain Gardiner was ſhot through the head by a muſket-ball [o]. He lingered till the day following, and then died, univerſally regreted and lamented, particularly by the officers and crew of his own ſhip. The death of ſuch a man was a very great loſs to his country. Soon after the captain fell, the Monmouth's mizen-maſt came by the board; on which the enemy gave three cheers. The crew of the Monmouth returned the compliment a few minutes after, on the mizen-maſt of the Foudroyant being alſo ſhot away. This diſaſter was ſoon followed by the fall of her main-maſt, which giving freſh ſpirits to the Engliſh, their fire became ſo inceſſant and intolerable, that the French ſailors could no longer be kept to their guns, and the mighty Foudroyant ſtruck a little after one o'clock. This action, which is one of the moſt glorious in the naval hiſtory of Britain, and which muſt ever remain an inconteſtable proof of our naval ſuperiority, I beg leave to recommend to the conſtant recollection of ſuch of our ſea-officers as may be inclined to calculate their comparative weight of metal before they venture to engage.

The Orphèe and Foudroyant being taken, and the commander in chief being a priſoner, Monſ. de la Clue gave up all thoughts of paſſing the Straits of Gibraltar, and returned from Carthagena to Toulon, where his ſquadron was laid up. But the French miniſtry, not depending entirely on their Mediterranean fleet for the protection of Louiſbourg and the reinforcement of their army in North America, had prepared a conſiderable fleet of tranſports and ſtore-ſhips at Rochfort, Bourdeaux, and other ports in that neighbourhood. Theſe tranſports, with three thouſand troops on board, were ordered to rendezvous in April, and to ſail under convoy of ſix ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates. Such however was the intelligence and alacrity of the Engliſh miniſter, that effectual meaſures were taken to fruſtrate the deſign. Sir Edward Hawke, with ſeven ſhips of

[o] It is ſaid that captain Gardiner, before he expired, ſent for his firſt lieutenant, and made it his laſt requeſt, that he would not give up the ſhip. The lieutenant aſſured him he never would, and inſtantly went and nailed the flag to the ſtaff. He then took a piſtol in each hand, and ſwore if any man in the ſhip ſhould attempt to ſtrike the colours, he would put him to death.

the

the line and three frigates, ſailed down the bay of Biſcay, and A. D.
on the third of April brought up in Baſque-road, where he diſ- 1758.
covered five French ſhips of the line and ſeven frigates at anchor near the iſle of Aix. They no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh fleet than they began with the utmoſt precipitation to ſlip their cables, and fly in great confuſion. Some of them eſcaped to ſea; but far the greater number threw their guns and ſtores overboard, and, running into ſhoal water, ſtuck in the mud. Next morning ſeveral of their men of war and tranſports were ſeen lying on their broadſides; but being out of the reach of his guns, Sir Edward Hawke left them to their fate, perfectly ſatisfied with having fruſtrated their intention of ſailing to America.

I have before obſerved, that ſome of the ſtore-ſhips and tranſports deſtined for North America were to ſail from Bourdeaux. Theſe tranſports were twelve in number. They ſailed under convoy of the Galathèe, a frigate of twenty-two guns, and a letter of marque of twenty guns. In the bay of Biſcay they had the misfortune to fall in with the Eſſex of ſixty-four guns, and the Pluto and Proſerpine fire-ſhips, which were on their paſſage to join Sir Edward Hawke. After a ſhort, but ſmart conflict, the French frigate, the letter of marque, and one of the tranſports, were taken. But this advantage was dearly purchaſed with the death of captain James Hume, who commanded the Pluto. Two more of theſe tranſports were afterwards taken by the Antelope and Speedwell ſloops.

Having ſeen every attempt of France for the protection of Louiſbourg intirely fruſtrated, we now proceed to projects more directly offenſive, planned and executed by Mr. Pitt. But a melancholy event intervenes. On the 13th of April the Prince George of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his paſſage to the Mediterranean, took fire between one and two in the afternoon, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertion of human ſkill and labour, aided by deſpair, burnt with ſuch rapidity, that in the ſpace of a few hours ſhe burnt down to the water-edge. A little before ſix in the evening ſhe ſunk intirely, and more than two thirds of her crew periſhed in the ocean. The admiral, after buffeting the waves near an hour [p],

[p] Annual regiſter, p. 306.

was

A. D. 1758. was at length taken up by a boat belonging to one of the merchantmen under his convoy. Captain Payton and the chaplain were alſo among the few that were ſaved.

We now proceed to the circumſtantial relation of an expedition to the coaſt of Africa; an expedition which, extraordinary as it may ſeem, was planned and executed by a Quaker. Thomas Cuming, the projector of this enterprize, having made a voyage, as a merchant-adventurer, to Portenderrick, on the coaſt of Africa, became perſonally acquainted with Amir the Mooriſh king of Legibelli. This prince, being prejudiced in favour of the Engliſh nation, and extremely diſſatisfied with the French, wiſhed eagerly for an opportunity to drive them from their ſettlements on the river Senegal, and promiſed all the aſſiſtance in his power to the arms of Britain. Mr. Cuming, during his reſidence on the Gum-coaſt, became perfectly acquainted with the nature, extent, and importance of the trade, and was very aſſiduous in his inquiry concerning the ſituation and ſtrength of the French forts. On his return to England he communicated his obſervations and ideas to the board of trade, by whom his project was approved, and finally adopted by the miniſtry. This was in the year 1757. A force which was deemed adequate to the expedition, was ordered to be prepared; but before the ſhips were ready to ſail, the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced that it was thought adviſable to poſtpone the deſign. In the beginning of the following year, Mr. Cuming revived his application; the miniſter approved his plan, and a ſmall ſquadron was equipped with all poſſible expedition. The ſhips ordered for this ſervice were the Naſſau of ſixty-four, the Harwich of fifty, and the Rye of twenty guns, attended by the Swan ſloop and two buſſes. They had on board two hundred marines, commanded by major Maſon, and a detachment of matroſſes, under captain Walker; ten pieces of cannon and eight mortars.

This ſmall ſquadron [q], commanded by captain Marſh, and conducted by friend Cuming, ſailed from Plymouth on the 9th of March, and on the 24th of April came to an anchor in the mouth of the river Senegal, and in ſight of fort Louis,

[q] Smollet's continuation of the hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 272.

which

which is ſituated on the iſland of Senegal, about four leagues within the bar. The French governor of this fort, as ſoon as he diſcovered the Engliſh ſquadron, ſent down an armed brig and ſix ſloops to diſpute the paſſage of the bar. A briſk but ineffectual cannonading enſued. Meanwhile the channel being diſcovered, and the wind blowing up the river, captain Millar of the London buſs paſſed the bar and came to an anchor, where he remained all night expoſed to the fire of the enemy. He was followed next morning by the other ſmall veſſels, ſome of which ran a-ground and bulged. The troops on board theſe veſſels immediately took to their boats, and landed on the eaſt ſhore of the river. Apprehenſive of being attacked by the natives, they threw up an entrenchment and diſembarked their ſtores. Next morning they were reinforced by a detachment of 350 ſeamen, and now began to meditate an attack upon fort Louis. But the governor, not chuſing to wait the event, ſent two deputies with offers of ſurrender. His propoſals, after a little deliberation, were accepted by captain Marſh and major Maſon. By the articles of capitulation, the natives of France were to be ſent home with all their private effects. On the firſt of May the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of fort Louis, and all the ſettlements belonging to France on the river Senegal were at the ſame time ceded to the king of Great Britain. Thus this important conqueſt, which was planned and conducted by a Quaker, was atchieved in a manner perfectly conſonant with the principles of his religion, namely, without ſpilling a ſingle drop of human blood. It is alſo worthy of remark, that it was our firſt ſucceſsful expedition ſince the commencement of the war. There were found in the fort ninety-two pieces of cannon, ſome treaſure, and a conſiderable quantity of goods. This buſineſs being accompliſhed, and fort Louis garriſoned by Engliſh troops, the men of war proceeded to attack the iſland of Goree, about thirty leagues diſtant from Senegal; but their force being inſufficient, the attempt miſcarried. A.D. 1758.

On the 29th day of May, the Dorſetſhire, captain Dennis, of 70 guns, cruizing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with the *Raiſonable*, a French man of war of 64 guns and 630 men, commanded by *le Prince de Mombazon*, who defended his ſhip with great reſolution till one hundred and ſixty of his men were

A. D. 1758. killed or wounded, and his hull and rigging conſiderably damaged.

Mr. Pitt's comprehenſive plan of operation was too rational to be diſconcerted by ſuch miſcarriages as were juſtly to be attributed to a want of ſpirit in the execution. The expedition to the coaſt of France, of the preceding year, having failed, made no alteration in the miniſter's opinion, that a diverſion of the like nature was a proper meaſure. For this purpoſe, in the month of May, near fourteen thouſand men were encamped on the Iſle of Wight. This army, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, conſiſted of ſixteen battalions of infantry, four hundred artillery-men, and five hundred and forty light horſe. One of the regiments of infantry, being deſtined for another ſervice, did not embark; ſo that the number employed in this expedition amounted to about thirteen thouſand. The ſubordinate general officers were lord George Sackville, the earl of Ancram, major-generals Waldegrave, Moſtyn, Drury, Boſcawen and Elliot. Two diſtinct fleets were aſſembled at Spithead: the firſt commanded by lord Anſon, of twenty-two ſail of the line; the ſecond under commodore Howe, conſiſting of ſeveral frigates, ſloops, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, tenders, cutters, and tranſports.

This tremendous fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of June[r]. Lord Anſon with the line-of-battle ſhips ſtood away to the weſt, and proceeded to block up the French fleet at Breſt; whilſt commodore Howe ſteered athwart the channel with the wind at ſouth-eaſt. The night proved ſo tempeſtuous, notwithſtanding the ſeaſon of the year, that one of the ſtore-ſhips rolled away her maſts. About eight next morning they made Cape la Hogue, and that night anchored in the race of Alderney. On the third, about noon, one of the tranſports ſtruck upon a rock, near the iſland of Sark, and was loſt, but the troops on board were ſaved. On the fourth, Mr. Howe came to an anchor within three leagues of St. Malo. Next morning he weighed before break of day, and ſtood into the bay of Cancalle, ſo called from a village of that name, where the troops were intended to land. At four in the evening the

[r] Account of the enterprize by an officer.

whole

whole fleet brought up, and in a ſhort time after ten companies of grenadiers landed near the village above-mentioned. The only oppoſition was from a battery of two guns fired by a brave old Frenchman and his ſon, who maintained their poſt till the poor old man was wounded by a ſhot from one of our frigates. If others of his countrymen had behaved with equal reſolution, the diſembarkation would have been more difficult; for there were at this time ſeven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons at Cancalle: but theſe troops retired to St. Malo. The Britiſh grenadiers landed a little before ſunſet, attended by five volunteers of diſtinction, whoſe names ſhould be recorded and remembered with gratitude. Such ſpirit in young men of rank and fortune, raiſes the military character of a nation more effectually than a victory over the enemy. Lord Down, Sir John Armitage, Sir James Lowther, Mr. Francis Blake Delaval, and Mr. Berkley, were the men. The entire diſembarkation was compleated on the ſixth, and the whole army encamped near Cancalle; the grenadiers and the light horſe being advanced about a mile in the front of the line. A. D. 1758.

The duke of Marlborough, ſenſible of the ravages which are generally committed by the common ſoldiers on their landing in an enemy's country, iſſued ſtrict orders to prevent marauding. Nevertheleſs, ſome irregularities were committed. The offenders were brought to immediate trial, and two or three of them executed. This rigorous exertion of military law ſaved the inoffenſive peaſantry from many acts of brutal licentiouſneſs which they would otherwiſe have experienced.

On the 7th, at break of day, the army marched towards St. Malo in two columns. The left column, commanded by lord George Sackville, fell into the great road; but the lanes through which lord Ancram's column marched were ſo narrow, and the country ſo incloſed and woody, that notwithſtanding the previous labour of two hundred pioneers, the men were frequently obliged to paſs in ſingle files; ſo that a ſmall number of the enemy might eaſily have deſtroyed this column, or at leaſt have made it impoſſible for them to advance. But, ſo far from meeting with any oppoſition, they found the villages and hamlets through which they paſſed intirely deſerted. The army proceeded in good order without beat of drum, and, after a

A. D. 1758. march of ſix miles, encamped at the diſtance of little more than a mile from the town of St. Malo. Whilſt they were employed in pitching their tents, the light horſe, with the piquets of the whole army, marched towards the town, and were ſaluted by a few ſhot from the cannon on the ramparts. As ſoon as it was dark the piquets marched down to the harbour, where they found a conſiderable number of privateers and other ſmall veſſels, moſt of which, it being low water, were laid dry. Having ſet fire to all the ſhipping, they proceeded to communicate the flames to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which were intirely deſtroyed, except one ſmall ſtore-houſe, which, if it had been ſet on fire, muſt from its ſituation have deſtroyed moſt of the houſes in the ſuburbs. This building was ſpared from a noble principle of humanity, worthy the imitation of all future invaders. The number of ſhips deſtroyed was about one hundred and twenty. The piquets now rejoined the army, which continued unmoleſted in its encampment till the 10th, when the tents were ſtruck, and the army in one column marched back to Cancalle. Whilſt the main body of the troops were employed as I have related, a battalion of the guards, under the command of colonel Ceſar, marched twelve miles up the country, to a town called Dolle, where they were politely entertained by the magiſtrates. As their deſign was merely to reconnoitre, they continued one night in the town without committing the leaſt act of hoſtility, and then returned. A party of the Engliſh light horſe penetrating a few miles farther, fell in with the *videts* of a French camp, two of which they took, and brought priſoners to Cancalle.

The purpoſe of this invaſion being fully accompliſhed, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet ſailed on the 16th early in the morning, and, after beating againſt the wind during that whole day, came to an anchor off the harbour of St. Malo. The night proved ſo tempeſtuous, that many of the ſhips drove, and ſome parted their cables. Next morning, the wind continuing contrary, the fleet returned to Cancalle bay, and there remained till the 22d, when they ſailed again, and next day paſſed the iſlands Jerſey and Guernſey. On the 25th they made the Iſle of Wight, and on the 26th, the wind veering to the northward, they ſteered again for the coaſt of France, and ran

in

in with the land near Havre; but towards evening it blew ſo A. D.
freſh, that, to avoid the danger of a lee-ſhore, they ſtood out 1758.
to ſea. On the 27th, the weather becoming more moderate, they ran in with the land a ſecond time, and the duke of Marlborough and Mr. Howe went out in a cutter to reconnoitre the coaſt. At their return, orders were given for the troops to prepare for immediate diſembarkation: nevertheleſs, the 28th paſſed without any attempt to land, and on the 29th the fleet bore away before the wind, and anchored within a league of Cherbourg. Some of the tranſports which brought up nearer in ſhore, were fired at from ſeveral batteries, but received no damage. A few troops were ſeen parading on the ſtrand, moſt of which appeared to be militia.

Soon after the fleet came to an anchor, the duke of Marlborough ſignified his intention of making an attack upon the town that night, and ordered the firſt battalion of guards to be in their boats at eleven o'clock. The reſt of the troops received orders in what manner, and at what time, they were to proceed, and every neceſſary preparation was made for immediate diſembarkation. But as night approached, the wind off ſhore gradually increaſed, and, before the appointed hour, became ſo violent as to render the attempt impracticable. Next morning, the duke of Marlborough, upon inquiry into the ſtock of proviſions, hay, and water, found theſe ſeveral articles ſo nearly exhauſted, that it would be dangerous, in ſo variable a climate, to remain any longer on an hoſtile coaſt. He therefore reſolved to return to England. The fleet accordingly weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and arrived at St. Helen's the next day in the evening. The troops were encamped on the Iſle of Wight, that they might recover the effects of ſo long a confinement, on board of tranſports by no means ſufficient for the accommodation of ſo numerous an army. Theſe troops were deſtined for more expeditions of the like nature, the ſucceſs of which will be ſeen in due time; but a regular attention to a chronological ſeries of naval events now calls us to North America.

I am to remind the reader, that admiral Boſcawen ſailed from England, with a conſiderable fleet, on the 19th of April[s]. He

[s] Smollet's continuation, vol. ii. p. 297.

arrived

A. D. 1758. arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia on the 9th of May; from whence he ſailed on the 28th, with an army of fourteen thouſand men, under the command of major-general Amherſt[t]. This fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail, anchored, on the ſecond of June, in the bay of Gabarus, about two leagues weſtward of Louiſbourg. The French governor, *le chevalier Drucour*, had taken every poſſible precaution to prevent a ſurprize. He had thrown up ſeveral entrenchments, erected batteries, and formed a chain of redoubts for two leagues and a half along the coaſt. There were in the harbour ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates, three of which were, during the ſiege, ſunk at the entrance. The fortifications of the town were not in good repair; the garriſon conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred regular troops, beſides ſix hundred burghers and Canadians. When the fleet firſt came to an anchor, and during ſeveral ſucceeding days, the ſurf ran ſo high, that it was impoſſible for the boats to come near the ſhore. Theſe ſeveral obſtacles appeared ſo tremendous to many of the officers, that they adviſed the admiral to call a general council of war. Fortunately for the ſervice, and for his own reputation, he diſregarded ſuch advice, and determined to land the troops at all events.

On the 8th of June, the weather being more moderate, the grenadiers and light infantry were in the boats before break of day. The frigates and armed ſloops began to ſcour the coaſt, by an inceſſant fire upon the enemy; and now the boats rowed briſkly towards the ſhore in three diviſions, commanded by the generals Wolfe, Whitmore, and Laurence. When they approached the land they met with a warm reception from the enemy, and the ſurf ran ſo high that many of the boats were ſtaved, and ſome of the ſoldiers drowned. General Wolfe leapt into the ſea, and, being followed by his whole diviſion, formed his people on the beach, and marched intrepidly to the neareſt battery. The other two diviſions followed his example, and the enemy ſoon fled in confuſion. The remainder of the army, cannon, and ſtores were landed with all poſſible ſpeed, and the town was regularly inveſted. General Amherſt having ſecured

[t] Annual regiſter, p. 70.

his

his camp by proper redoubts and epaulments, now began his approaches in form. In landing the troops, three officers, four ſerjeants, one corporal, and thirty-eight private men, were killed or drowned; five lieutenants, two ſerjeants, one corporal, fifty-one men wounded; and about ſeventy boats loſt. The enemy, when they fled from their entrenchments, left behind them ſeventeen pieces of cannon, fourteen large ſwivels, two mortars, a furnace for red-hot balls, ſmall arms, ammunition, ſtores, tools and proviſions in conſiderable quantity. A. D. 1758.

The chevalier Drucour, having received his detachments into the town, deſtroyed his out-poſts, and all buildings within two miles of the ramparts, prepared for a vigorous defence. The approaches of the Britiſh general were at firſt ſlow, owing to the difficulty of landing his ſtores, the labour of dragging his cannon through a marſhy country, and the neceſſity of fortifying his camp. Meanwhile, general Amherſt, being not a little incommoded by the fire from the enemy's ſhips in the harbour, and alſo from the iſland battery, detached general Wolfe, with a conſiderable body of troops, with orders to march round the north-eaſt harbour and take poſſeſſion of the light-houſe point. This order was executed with great alacrity and diſpatch, and a powerful battery erected, which on the 25th ſilenced that of the enemy on the iſland. On the 29th the beſieged ſunk four ſhips at the entrance of the harbour. They made ſeveral ſallies from the town, and were repulſed with loſs. The Britiſh army continued to approach the town in a regular and ſcientific manner, and the enemy diſplayed no leſs reſolution and ſkill in the ſcience of defence. On the 13th of July the beſiegers were about ſix hundred yards from the covert way.

On the 21ſt, a ſhell from our battery on the light-houſe point ſet fire to one of the enemy's ſhips in the harbour. She immediately blew up, and two other men of war having caught the flame were alſo deſtroyed. Theſe were the *Entreprenant*, the *Capricieux*, and the *Celebre:* ſo that the *Prudent* and the *Bienfaiſant* were the only ſhips of force remaining. In the night of the 25th the firſt of theſe two was ſet on fire, and the other towed triumphantly out, by a detachment of ſeamen under the command of captains Laforey and Balfour. This gallant exploit merits a circumſtantial relation. The naval reader will

peruſe

A. D. 1758 peruſe it with pleaſure; probably with advantage—By the admiral's orders, a barge and pinnace from every ſhip in the fleet aſſembled, about noon, under the ſtern of the Namur. Theſe boats were manned only by their proper crews, armed chiefly with piſtols and cutlaſſes, and each boat commanded by a lieutenant and midſhipman. From thence they proceeded, by two or three at a time, to join Sir Charles Hardy's ſquadron near the mouth of the harbour. Being there re-aſſembled in two diviſions, under the two captains above-mentioned, about midnight they paddled into the harbour of Louiſbourg unperceived. The night was extremely dark, and the ſeamen were profoundly ſilent. They paſſed very near the iſland battery undiſcovered, the darkneſs of the night, and a thick fog, prevented their being ſeen, whilſt the perpetual din of bombs, cannon, and muſquetry, both of the beſieged and beſiegers, effectually covered the noiſe of their oars. As ſoon as each diviſion came near enough to perceive the devoted object, the two men of war were immediately ſurrounded by the boats, and were firſt alarmed by the firing of their own centinels. All the boats fell a-board at the ſame inſtant, and the ſeveral crews, following the example of their officers, ſcrambled up every part of the ſhips, and, in a few minutes, took poſſeſſion of their reſpective prizes. The reſiſtance was very feeble, and conſequently the loſs of men on either ſide inconſiderable.

Day-light and the ſhouts of our ſailors, having at length diſcovered to the enemy on ſhore, that their ſhips were in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, they immediately pointed every gun that could be brought to bear upon the boats and prizes, and a furious diſcharge of cannon enſued. Thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the *Prudent*, finding her a-ground, ſet her on fire, and then joined the boats which were now employed in towing off the *Bienfaiſant*, which, with the aſſiſtance of a favourable breeze, was triumphantly carried away and ſecured.

On the 26th, whilſt admiral Boſcawen was preparing to ſend ſix ſhips into the harbour, he received a letter from the chevalier Drucour, offering to capitulate on the ſame terms that were granted to the Engliſh at Minorca. The admiral inſiſted on the garriſon remaining priſoners of war, and with theſe terms the governor finally complied. He could not do otherwiſe. He

yielded

yielded to irreſiſtible neceſſity. His ſhips were all deſtroyed or taken; his cannon were diſmounted; his garriſon diminiſhed, and the remainder haraſſed and diſpirited; all his hopes of relief from Europe or from Canada were vaniſhed, and his ramparts in many places battered to pieces. The capitulation being ſigned, the Britiſh troops took poſſeſſion of Louiſbourg on the 27th, and the two iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John were ceded to his Britannic majeſty. The ſhips of war loſt by the French on this occaſion were the Prudent of 74 guns, Entreprenant 74, Capricieux 64, Celebre 64, Bienfaiſant 64, Apollo 50; Chevre, Biche and Fidelle frigates ſunk at the harbour's mouth; Diana of 36 taken by the Boreas; Echo of 26 taken by the Juno. A. D. 1758.

We now return to Europe. The ſpirited miniſter who, at this time, held the reins of government; whoſe ſucceſſive expeditions were diſtinct gradations in a regular plan of operation; whoſe invaſions on the coaſt of France were principally intended to divide the forces of the enemy: this active miniſter, I ſay, determined once more to invade the coaſt of Normandy. Part of the troops which, ſince the laſt expedition, had been encamped on the Iſle of Wight, were ſent to Germany. The duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville were likewiſe ordered upon that ſervice. The remainder of the troops now commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh, embarked on board the fleet under commodore Howe, and ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt day of Auguſt. On the 6th, in the evening, the fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Cherburg, and a few ſhells were thrown into the town that night. Next morning, about ſeven o'clock, the fleet got under way, and at nine brought up in the bay of Maris, two leagues weſt of the town, where the general reſolved to land his troops. The governor of Cherburg, ſince his late alarm, had thrown up ſeveral entrenchments, and planted ſome batteries along the coaſt. Behind theſe works there appeared about two thouſand regular troops. On the 7th, at two in the afternoon, the grenadiers and guards, commanded by general Drury, in flat-bottom boats, landed, without oppoſition, under cover of an inceſſant fire from the fleet. Having formed his troops on the beach, he marched immediately towards a party of the enemy, received their fire, and

A. D. 1758. then attacked them with ſuch reſolution, that they ſoon fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and with conſiderable loſs. They left behind them two pieces of braſs cannon. Of the Engliſh, about twenty were killed or wounded.

The remainder of the infantry being diſembarked, general Bligh marched to the village of Erville, and there pitched his tents for the night. The ground which he had choſen for his encampment was ſo inadequate, in point of extent, to the number of troops, that the tents were crowded together as cloſe as they could ſtand, without order or regularity. If the French commander had not been as ignorant in his profeſſion as his enemy, the Britiſh army would, in this ſituation, have been ſurrounded and deſtroyed, or taken: two or three thouſand men, judiciouſly commanded, were ſufficient. But, either for want of ſkill, or ſtrength, or reſolution, the Engliſh army was ſuffered to ſleep in perfect ſecurity, and the ſucceeding dawn did not diſcover a ſingle French ſoldier in ſight of the camp. On reconnoitring the neareſt fort, called Quirqueville, it was found deſolate; ſo that the light horſe were now diſembarked without the leaſt interruption, and the army proceeded, in two columns, towards Cherburg, which they entered without firing or receiving a ſingle ſhot, the town and all the forts being entirely abandoned by the troops. The inhabitants, in confidence of a promiſe of protection, contained in a manifeſto publiſhed by general Bligh, remained in the town, and received their hoſtile viſitors with politeneſs and hoſpitality. I am ſorry to record, to the diſgrace of Engliſh diſcipline, that their confidence was abuſed. The proper means of reſtraining the licentious brutality of the common ſoldiers were neglected, till the juſt complaints of the ſufferers reminded the general of his duty.

General Bligh now proceeded, according to his inſtructions, to demoliſh the harbour and baſon, which had been conſtructed by Lewis XV. at a vaſt expence, and were intended as an aſylum for men of war. It appeared, however, from the unfiniſhed ſtate of the fortifications, that the importance of Cherburg had of late dwindled in the eſtimation of the French miniſtry. Whilſt the engineers were thus employed, the light horſe were ſent to ſcour the country, and to reconnoitre a French camp at Walloign, about twelve miles from Cherburg. In theſe excurſions they frequently ſkirmiſhed with the enemy, and in one of

theſe

theſe rencounters Lindſay, a captain of the Britiſh light horſe, A. D. was unfortunately killed. He was a very active and gallant officer. 1758. The great buſineſs of demolition being finiſhed, on the 16th of Auguſt, at three in the morning, the army evacuated Cherburg, marched down to Fort Galet, and there embarked without moleſtation.

In our eſtimate of the utility of this enterprize, we are to remember, that the primary object was, by keeping the French coaſt in perpetual alarm, to oblige them to retain an army for their own ſecurity, which would otherwiſe have marched to Germany. Excluſive of this conſideration, the expedition to Cherburg was, by no means, unimportant. Twenty-ſeven ſhips were burnt in the harbour. A hundred and ſeventy-three pieces of iron ordnance and three mortars were rendered uſeleſs; and twenty-two braſs cannon and two mortars were ſent to England. Theſe cannon were afterwards expoſed, for ſome time, in Hyde Park, and then drawn through the city in pompous proceſſion, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, the oldeſt of whom had never beheld a ſimilar triumph.

Thus far the operations of this terrific, itinerant army were ſucceſsful. But the general's commiſſion did not end with the deſtruction of the forts and harbour of Cherburg. By his ſecret inſtructions he was ordered to keep the coaſt of France in continual alarm; to make deſcents, and attack any place that might be found practicable, between the eaſt point of Normandy and Morlaix. In compliance with theſe inſtructions, the fleet weighed anchor on the 18th of Auguſt, and ſteered towards St. Malo, with a deſign to make a ſecond attack upon that neſt of privateers. But they were obliged, by contrary winds, to run for the Engliſh coaſt. They came to an anchor in Weymouth road on the 23d; they ſailed from thence on the 25th, but were obliged to put back the ſame evening. The next attempt proved more ſucceſsful. The fleet, though not without difficulty, kept the ſea, and, ſtanding to the ſouthward, ſoon made the coaſt of France; but it was the 4th of September before they came to an anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues weſt of St. Malo. Whilſt the fleet was bringing up[u], the commodore, with Prince Edward, (afterwards

[u] Account of our laſt attempt on the coaſt of France, by an officer.

A. D. 1758. duke of York,) who attended Mr. Howe in the capacity of midſhipman, went off in their barge to reconnoitre the ſhore. Seeing no appearance of an enemy, the troops were diſembarked, without oppoſition; but not entirely without misfortune. One of the flat-bottom boats being run down by the Brilliant, was overſet, and five ſoldiers drowned. As ſoon as the troops were landed, Sir William Boothby, with 300 grenadiers, was detached with orders to deſtroy a hundred and fifty veſſels in the harbour of Briac, near St. Malo. He executed his commiſſion effectually; but the number of veſſels in that harbour did not exceed fifteen.

The Britiſh army continued in their encampment near St Lunaire four days, which were ſpent in deliberations concerning the practicability of an attack upon St. Malo. It was finally determined to be impracticable, and Mr. Howe having declared that it was impoſſible to re-embark the troops from the place where they had landed, it was reſolved that the troops ſhould march over land, and that the fleet ſhould, in the mean time, proceed to the bay of St. Cas, and there remain ready to receive them. The commodore weighed anchor, and ſtood to the weſtward. On Friday, the 8th, in the morning, general Bligh ſtruck his tents, and began his march towards the village of Gildau, where he was told the river which he muſt neceſſarily paſs, was fordable at low water. The day's march, though ſhort, proved fatiguing to the troops, on account of the heavy rain and bad roads; and, as the army marched in a ſingle column, it was night before the rear came to their ground. When colonel Clark, who marched at the head of the advanced guard, arrived at the village of Gildau, he ſaw a body of about three hundred peaſants on the oppoſite bank of the river, apparently forming with an intention to oppoſe his paſſage. A few ſhot from two or three field-pieces immediately diſperſed them. Orders were iſſued to prepare for paſſing the river at ſix o'clock next morning, and the army went to reſt. Next morning, at ſix o'clock, the troops were ready to plunge into the river, when it appeared that the general had been ſo totally miſinformed as to the time of fording, that it was now *high* inſtead of *low* water, and that it would be three in the afternoon before the troops could paſs. Such a miſtake, though apparently of no great

great importance, as it diſcovered the fallibility of the general's intelligence, was a bad omen. A. D. 1758.

The army forded the river in two columns, without any other moleſtation than a volley or two of muſket-ſhot from the oppoſite village, by which lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and a few grenadiers were ſlightly wounded. They paſſed the river, and pitched their tents immediately. Why they marched no farther that night, is difficult to imagine. On Sunday morning the army again decamped, and marched towards Mattingnon. When the advanced guard approached the town, they ſaw a party of French dragoons, and obſerved that the hedges were lined by foot which ſeemed to be regulars. This being reported to the general, all the grenadiers were ordered to advance, and they preſſed forward with great eagerneſs; but the enemy did not think fit to wait for them. Having marched about four miles, the army encamped to the ſouthward of Mattingnon, after parading through the town by beat of drum. From this circumſtance, it is evident that general Bligh had not the leaſt idea that a ſuperior army was at this time within a few hours march of his camp [x].

This evening a French ſoldier was brought into the camp, who informed the general, that nine battalions of foot, two ſquadrons of dragoons, with five thouſand guardes de coſts, were on their march from Breſt, and that they were not above two leagues diſtant. He named the general officers, and the regiments. His intelligence, however, produced no other effect than an order to the piquets of the Engliſh army to be particularly vigilant. During the night, the advanced guard of the enemy came ſo near, as to exchange ſome ſhot with the outpoſts. Nevertheleſs, general Bligh continued ſo totally unapprehenſive, that he ordered the uſual drums, preparatory to a march, to beat next morning at three o'clock. The drums beat accordingly, and the army marched, in a ſingle column, towards St. Cas, which is about a league from Mattingnon. If the troops had marched in two columns, they would have reached

[x] "I recollect," ſays the author of the account of this expedition, "that the "language of this day, in the mouths of ſome of our conſiderable perſonages "was —— "By G—d, a man might march through France with a ſingle company "of grenadiers."

their

A. D. 1758. their ſhips in half the time. When the head of the column reached the eminence, about half a mile from the ſea, they had orders to halt, and the regiments formed the line as they advanced in ſucceſſion; but, before the grenadiers in the rear reached the ground, the youngeſt brigade was ordered to march down to the beach. Meanwhile the frigates which were intended to cover the embarkation, and the boats, were approaching the land. Before the grenadiers quitted the height, they ſaw the enemy advancing in four columns. The grenadiers marched deliberately down to the beach, and there reſted on their arms, whilſt the battalions were conveyed to their tranſports in the flat-bottom boats.

The rear of the Engliſh army had ſcarce quitted the height before it was poſſeſſed by the enemy. As ſoon as they began to deſcend, Mr. Howe made a ſignal for his frigates to fire; which order was executed with ſo much ſkill and dexterity, that many of the French were killed, and their whole army thrown into confuſion. The Britiſh troops were now all embarked, except the grenadiers and four companies of the firſt regiment of guards; in all about 1400 men. The enemy continued to advance, and their cannon deſtroyed ſome of our boats. General Drury, who was now the ſenior officer on ſhore, formed his little army, and moſt imprudently advanced up the hill to meet his enemy. By this manœuvre he quitted a parapet of ſand banks, and effectually ſilenced the frigates, which could not now fire without deſtroying their friends. This inconſiderable body of Engliſh troops, with every diſadvantage of ſituation, and commanded by a man of no experience or abilities, maintained their ground againſt ten times their number, till moſt of them had entirely ſpent their ammunition. Thus circumſtanced, after making terrible havock in the enemies ranks, they yielded to neceſſity, and retreated to their boats. Unhappily, the boats then in ſhore were inſufficient to receive half the number of men which now crowded to the beach, and the boats were conſequently in an inſtant ſo overloaded, that moſt of them were a-ground. In this horrible ſituation, expoſed to the continual fire of a numerous army, they remained for ſome time; till, at laſt, the commodore himſelf leapt into his boat, and, rowing to the ſhore, took one of the flat-boats in tow. The reſt of

the

the fleet followed his example, and about 700 men were brought on board. The other half were either ſhot, taken priſoners, or drowned. Among the killed were major-general Drury, lieutenant-colonel Wilkinſon, and Sir John Armitage, a volunteer. Lord Frederick Cavendiſh, lieutenant-colonels Pearſon and Lambert, and ſixteen officers of inferior rank, were taken priſoners. Four captains of men of war [y], who went on ſhore in order to expedite the embarkation of the troops, were alſo obliged to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy. Eight ſeamen were killed, and ſeventeen wounded. A. D. 1758.

This terrible diſaſter was very juſtly aſcribed to a total want of military knowledge, ſagacity, and experience in the general, who imprudently gave ear to thoſe about him, who talked of marching through France with a ſingle company of Britiſh grenadiers. His marching, in an enemy's country, in a ſingle column, was extremely imprudent. His beating *the general* the morning of his march from Mattingnon, was inexcuſable; and his dilatory proceedings on the fatal day of embarkation, admit of no apology. But, though our loſs on this occaſion was conſiderable, the enemy had certainly no great cauſe of triumph: they had defeated a rear-guard of fourteen hundred men with an army of at leaſt fifteen thouſand, and their loſs in killed and wounded was much greater than that of the Engliſh [z]. This check, however, was no proof that the miniſter's plan of operation was improper. His deſign was fully anſwered, and was certainly attended with ſalutary conſequences. Commodore Howe returned to Spithead, and the troops were diſembarked.

We are now to recollect, that, after the reduction of Senegal, an attempt was made upon the iſland of Goree; but without ſucceſs, owing to the want of ſufficient naval force. The Britiſh miniſter, ſenſible that his conqueſt on the coaſt of Africa was incomplete without the reduction of this iſland, ſent out a

[y] *Viz.* Rowley, Mapleſon, Paſton, and Elphinſton.

[z] In the account of this affair publiſhed at Paris, by authority, they acknowledge 400 men killed and wounded, and make the number of Engliſh priſoners 600. Now, as our entire loſs was only 700, the number of our killed muſt have been proportionably very ſmall. The real number of our killed and wounded was about 200. The French loſt three times that number.

ſmall

A. D. 1758. ſmall ſquadron of four ſhips of the line, two frigates, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by commodore Keppel, with 600 land forces under colonel Worge. This armament ſailed from Cork on the 11th of November, and, after a tempeſtuous voyage, anchored in the road of Goree, about a league from the iſland, on the 24th of December. Goree is a barren iſland, not a mile in length, ſituated near Cape Verde. The Dutch took poſſeſſion of it in the beginning of the laſt century. The French took it in 1677, and ſince that period it has remained in poſſeſſion of their Eaſt India Company. On the ſouth-weſt ſide there was a ſmall fort called St. Michael, and another, leſs conſiderable, called St. Francis, near the oppoſite extremity. Beſides theſe forts, there were ſeveral ſlight batteries along the ſhore, mounting in the whole a hundred cannon. The garriſon, commanded by Monſ. St. Jean, conſiſted of 300 regulars, and about the ſame number of negro inhabitants.

On the 28th, in the morning, the troops were ordered into the boats, ready for landing, if neceſſary; and, the ſhips being properly ſtationed on the weſt ſide of the iſland, a general cannonading began, which was anſwered by the enemy with great ſpirit, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that above a hundred of the Engliſh were killed or wounded. Nevertheleſs, the French garriſon, though not one of them was killed, were ſo terrified by the fire from the ſhips, that the governor was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. A detachment of marines was landed to take poſſeſſion of the iſland, and the Britiſh flag was hoiſted on the caſtle of St. Michael.

Mr. Keppel, having taken his priſoners on board, and left a ſufficient garriſon under the command of major Newton, touched at Senegal, and then returned to England. But this expedition, though ſucceſsful, was not unattended by misfortunes. The Litchfield, of 50 guns, a tranſport, and a bomb-ketch, were on their outward paſſage ſeparated from the fleet, and wrecked on the coaſt of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy. A hundred and thirty people, among which were ſeveral officers, were drowned. Captain Barton, with about two hundred and twenty, reached the inhoſpitable ſhore. They ſuffered great hardſhips, and were enſlaved by the emperor of Morocco, our worthy ally, who held them in captivity

tivity till they were ranſomed by the king of Great Britain. Such is the faith of barbarian princes! A. D. 1758.

Our naval exploits in the Weſt Indies, in the courſe of this year, were not attended with any important conſequences. There were performed, however, ſeveral gallant actions, which ought not to paſs unnoticed. Captain Forreſt of the Auguſta, having ſailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, cruized off Cape Francis, a harbour in the iſland of St. Domingo; he was accompanied by the captains Suckling and Langdon, commanding the Dreadnought and Edinburgh. There lay at that time, at the Cape, a French ſquadron of four ſhips of the line and three ſtout frigates, which the French commodore, piqued at ſeeing the coaſt inſulted by Forreſt's little ſquadron, reinforced with ſeveral ſtore-ſhips, which he mounted with cannon, and ſupplied with ſeamen from the merchant-veſſels, and with ſoldiers from the garriſon. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and ſtood out for ſea. When Forreſt perceived the approach of the French ſhips, he called his two captains. "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "you "know our own ſtrength, and ſee that of the enemy. Shall we "give them battle?" Being anſwered in the affirmative, he bore down on the French fleet, and, between three and four in the afternoon, came to action. The French attacked with great impetuoſity, and diſplayed uncommon ſpirit in the ſight of their own coaſt. But, after an engagement of more than two hours, their commodore found his ſhip ſo much ſhattered, that he was obliged to make a ſignal for his frigates to tow him out of the line. The reſt of the ſquadron followed his example, and availed themſelves of the land breeze to eſcape in the night from the three Britiſh ſhips, which were too much damaged in their ſails and rigging to purſue their victory.

Captain Forreſt ſignalized his courage in this engagement; but he diſplayed equal courage, and ſtill more uncommon conduct and ſagacity in a ſubſequent adventure near the weſtern coaſt of Hiſpaniola. Having received intelligence, that there was a conſiderable French fleet at *Port au Prince*, a harbour on that coaſt, ready to ſail for Europe, he proceeded from Jamaica to cruize between Hiſpaniola and the little iſland *Goave*. He diſguiſed his ſhip with *tarpaulins*, hoiſted Dutch colours, and, in order to avoid diſcovery, allowed ſeveral ſmall veſſels to paſs,

A. D. 1758. without giving them chace. The ſecond day after his arrival in thoſe parts, he perceived a fleet of ſeven ſail ſteering to the weſtward. He kept from them to prevent ſuſpicion, but, at the approach of night, purſued them with all the ſail he could crowd. About ten in the evening he came up with two veſſels of the chace, one of which fired a gun, and the other ſheered off. The ſhip which had fired no ſooner diſcovered her enemy, than ſhe ſubmitted. Forreſt manned her with thirty-five of his own crew, and now perceiving eight ſail to leeward, near the harbour of *Petit Goave*, ordered them to ſtand for that place, and to intercept any veſſels that attempted to reach it. He himſelf, in the Auguſta, ſailed directly for the French fleet, and, coming up with them by day-break, engaged them all by turns as he could bring his guns to bear. The Solide, the Theodore, and the Marguerite, returned his fire; but, having ſoon ſtruck their colours, they were immediately ſecured, and then employed in taking the other veſſels, of which none had the fortune to eſcape. The nine ſail, which, by this well-conducted ſtratagem, had fallen into the power of one ſhip, and that even in the ſight of their own harbours, were ſafely conducted to Jamaica, where the ſale of their rich cargoes rewarded the merit of the captors.

While Forreſt acquired wealth and glory by protecting the trade of Jamaica, the vigilance of captain Tyrrel ſecured the Engliſh navigation to Antigua. In the month of March, this enterprizing and judicious commander demoliſhed a fort on the iſland of Martinico, and deſtroyed four privateers riding under its protection. In November of the ſame year, he, in his own ſhip the Buckingham of ſixty-four guns, accompanied by the Weazle ſloop commanded by captain Boles, diſcovered, between the iſlands of Guadaloupe and Montſerrat, a fleet of nineteen ſail under convoy of the *Floriſſant*, a French man of war of ſeventy-four guns, and two frigates, of which the largeſt carried thirty-eight, and the other twenty-ſix guns. Captain Tyrrel, regardleſs of the great inequality of force, immediately gave chace in the Buckingham; and the Weazle, running cloſe to the enemy, received a whole broadſide from the Floriſſant. Though ſhe ſuſtained it without conſiderable damage, Mr. Tyrrel ordered captain Boles to keep aloof, as his veſſel could not be

be ſuppoſed to bear the ſhock of heavy metal; and he alone prepared for the engagement. The Floriſſant, inſtead of lying to for him up, made a running fight with her ſtern chace, while the two frigates annoyed the Buckingham in her purſuit. At length, however, ſhe came within piſtol-ſhot of the Floriſſant, and poured in a broadſide, which did great execution. The ſalutation was returned with ſpirit, and the battle became cloſe and obſtinate. Mr. Tyrrel, being wounded, was obliged to leave the deck, and the command devolved on the brave Mr. Marſhall, his firſt lieutenant, who fell in the arms of victory. The ſecond lieutenant took the command, and finally ſilenced the enemy's fire. On board the Floriſſant 180 men were ſlain, and 300 wounded. She was ſo much diſabled in her hull, that ſhe could hardly be kept afloat. The largeſt frigate received equal damage. The Buckingham had only ſeven men killed, and ſeventeen dangerouſly wounded: ſhe had ſuffered much, however, in her maſts and rigging, which was the only circumſtance that prevented her from adding profit to glory, by making prizes of the French fleet under ſo powerful a convoy. A. D. 1758.

In the Eaſt Indies the French ſquadron was commanded by Mr. d'Aché, and the Engliſh by admiral Pocock, who had ſucceeded admiral Watſon. The former was reinforced by a conſiderable armament under the command of general Lally, an adventurer of Iriſh extraction in the French ſervice. The Engliſh admiral was alſo reinforced on the 24th of March by four ſhips of the line; and, being ſoon after apprized of Lally's arrival, he hoiſted his flag aboard the Yarmouth, a ſhip of ſixty-four guns, and ſailed in queſt of the enemy. He made the height of Negapatam the 28th of March, and the day following diſcovered the enemy's fleet in the road of Fort St. David. It conſiſted of eight ſhips[a] of the line, and a frigate, which immediately ſtood out to ſea, and formed the line of battle. Pocock's

[a] FRENCH.

Zodique,	—	74 guns.	Duke of Orleans,	—	60 guns.
Bien Amié,	—	74 —	Duke of Bourgogne,	—	60 —
Vengeance,	—	64 —	Condé,	—	50 —
St. Louis,	—	64 —	Moras,	—	50 —
			Sylphide,	—	36 —

A. D. 1758. ſquadron conſiſted only of ſeven ſhips[b]; with which he formed the line, and, bearing down upon Mr. d'Aché, began the engagement. The French commodore, having ſuſtained a warm action for about two hours, in which one of his largeſt ſhips was diſabled, ſheered off with his whole fleet. Being afterwards joined with two more ſhips of war, he again formed the line of battle to leeward. Admiral Pocock, though his own ſhip and ſeveral others were conſiderably damaged, and, though three of his captains[c] had miſbehaved in the engagement, prepared again for the attack. But the manœuvres of the French fleet ſeem to have been intended merely to amuſe him; for they neither ſhowed lights, nor gave any ſignal in the night, and next morning the ſmalleſt trace of them could not be obſerved.

Admiral Pocock made various attempts to bring the French ſquadron to a ſecond engagement. Theſe, however, proved ineffectual till the third of Auguſt, when he perceived the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line and a frigate, ſtanding to ſea off the road of Pondicherry. They would have gladly eluded his purſuit, but he obtained the weather gage, and ſailed down upon them in order of battle. As it was now impoſſible to eſcape without coming to action, the French prepared for the engagement, and fired on the Eliſabeth, which happened to be within muſket-ſhot of the ſhip in their van. But this ſpirited attack was not ſeconded with equal perſeverance. In little more than ten minutes after admiral Pocock had diſplayed the ſignal for battle, Mr. d'Aché ſet his fore-ſail, and bore away, maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line for

[b] ENGLISH.

Cumberland,	—	66 guns.	Weymouth,	—	60 guns.
Yarmouth,	—	64 ——	Tyger,	—	60 ——
Eliſabeth,	—	64 ——	Newcaſtle,	—	50 ——
			Saliſbury,	—	50 ——

[c] Captain Brereton of the Cumberland was one of the three who miſbehaved. God forbid that we ſhould particulariſe an individual with a view to inſult his misfortunes. A man may poſſeſs much probity, great good ſenſe, and many amiable qualities, without being born with that conſtitutional courage, or endowed with that accurate circumſpection, which qualifies him for doing his duty as a ſea-officer. We name this gentleman as an example, that the character of a naval commander, when once hurt by miſconduct, is ſeldom to be retrieved; and we would, if poſſible, perſuade men in power of the dangerous conſequences of again intruſting, with an honourable employment, thoſe who, on any former occaſion, have ſhewed themſelves undeſerving of ſo important a charge.

near

near an hour. The whole ſquadron immediately followed his example; and at two o'clock they cut away their boats, crowded ſail, and put before the wind. They eſcaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry; but their fleet was ſo much damaged, that, in the beginning of September, their commodore ſailed for the iſle of Bourbon in order to refit, thus leaving the Engliſh admiral (whoſe ſquadron had always been inferior to that of the French in number of ſhips and men as well as in weight of metal) ſovereign of the Indian ſeas. A. D. 1758.

Having examined the naval ſucceſſes of Great Britain in the different quarters of the world, we ſhall, for the reader's ſatisfaction, exhibit in one view the conſequences of theſe glorious exploits. During the courſe of this year the French loſt ſixteen men of war[d], while the Engliſh loſt no more than three[e]: the French loſt forty-nine privateers and armed merchantmen, carrying 619 guns and 3824 men. The diminution of their commerce, and the dread of falling into the hands of the Engliſh, prevented many of their trading veſſels from venturing to ſea. Of theſe, however, they loſt 104; and not leſs than 176 neutral veſſels, laden with the rich produce of the French colonies, or with military and naval ſtores, to enable them to continue the war, rewarded the vigilance of the Engliſh navy. The loſs of ſhips, on the part of Great Britain, amounted to three hundred and thirteen, a conſiderable number, but conſiſting chiefly of empty tranſports, and coaſting or diſarmed veſſels, of little value or importance.

The capture of ſo many of the enemy's veſſels, though it added much wealth and glory to thoſe concerned in maritime affairs, was not the only, or even the principal advantage which Great Britain derived from the ſpirited efforts of her ſeamen. The conqueſts acquired to the nation were ſtill more important. Not to mention the taking of fort Du Queſne, on the river

[d] Theſe were the Foudroyant of 80 guns; the Eſperance 74; the Alcide, Lys, Orpheus, Raiſonable, of 64 each; the Arc en Ciel and Duc d'Aquitaine of 50 guns each; the Aquilon of 48; the Royal Chariot and Hermione of 36 each; the Melampé, Emerald, and Nymph, of 34; the Brune of 30; and the Galatea of 32.

[e] Theſe were the Warwick of 60 guns; the Greenwich, 50; the Winchelſea, 24.

Ohio,

A. D. 1758. Ohio, a place of the utmoſt conſequence, on account both of its ſtrength and ſituation; the acquiſition of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourg, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal, were events not more deſtructive to the commerce and colonies of France, than advantageous to thoſe of Great Britain: even the Britiſh expeditions to the coaſt of France, though conducted with little prudence, brought glory and renown to the invaders, and taught an ambitious people, that, while they were intent on ravaging the territory of their neighbours, their own dominions were ſtill within the reach of the Britiſh thunder.

The repeated triumphs of the year had inſpired the Engliſh with a warlike enthuſiaſm: they diſcourſed about nothing but new plans of conqueſt; and every object appeared inconſiderable, compared with military glory. In this diſpoſition of the nation, the king aſſembled the parliament the 23d day of November. The lord-keeper, who harangued them in his name, (the king being indiſpoſed), recapitulated the glorious events of the war, and obſerved, that, as it was uncommonly extenſive, it muſt likewiſe be uncommonly burdenſome; but that no higher ſupplies ſhould be required, than ſuch as were adequate to the neceſſary ſervices. The nation were not at preſent of a temper to refuſe any reaſonable demand. They voted, therefore, ſixty thouſand ſeamen, including fourteen thouſand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and they granted for their maintainance the ſum of three millions one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. Beſides this, two hundred thouſand pounds were voted towards the building and repairing of ſhips of war. Theſe ſums together, how enormous ſoever they may appear, amounted to little more than was annually expended in ſubſidies to German princes, and pay to German troops. Yet the former rendered the Engliſh name illuſtrious in every quarter of the globe, while the advantages of the latter ſtill remain undiſcovered.

1759. The operations of the year 1759 began in the Weſt Indies. In the end of the preceding year, a ſquadron of nine ſhips of the line, with one frigate and four bomb-ketches, as well as ſixty tranſports, containing ſix regiments of foot, commanded by general Hopſon, ſailed thither, with orders to attack and reduce

reduce the French Caribbee iſlands. The fleet was to be under A. D.
the orders of commodore Moore, who was already in thoſe 1759.
parts. Martinico, as the ſeat of government, and the centre of commerce, is the moſt conſiderable of theſe iſlands. The principal towns are St. Pierre and Port-Royal, places ſtrong by nature and art, and at that time defended by a numerous and well-diſciplined militia, as well as by a conſiderable body of regular troops. Port-Royal was the firſt object of Engliſh ambition. The ſhips of war eaſily drove the enemy from their batteries and entrenchments, and the troops landed without meeting any conſiderable oppoſition: but after they had effected their landing, they found it impoſſible to convey the cannon to a ſufficient vicinity for attacking the town. General Hopſon judged the difficulties on the land ſide unſurmountable. Commodore Moore thought it impoſſible to land the cannon nearer the town; and, in conſequence of theſe opinions, the forces were re-embarked, in order to proceed to St. Pierre. When they had arrived before that place, and examined its ſituation, new difficulties aroſe, which occaſioned a council of war. The commodore had no doubt of being able to reduce the town, but, as the troops had ſuffered greatly by diſeaſes, and the ſhips might be ſo much diſabled in the attack, as to prevent them from availing themſelves of their ſucceſs, and from undertaking any other expedition during that ſeaſon, he adviſed, that the armament ſhould be brought before Guadaloupe, the reduction of which would tend greatly to the benefit of the Engliſh ſugar iſlands. Guadaloupe falls little ſhort of Martinico in the quantity and richneſs of its productions. It long continued, however, in a languiſhing condition, the French having treated Martinico with the predilection of a partial mother for a favourite child, to the great prejudice of all her other colonies. But the ſituation and natural advantages of Guadaloupe abundantly juſtified the opinion of commodore Moore; and if our miniſters had underſtood the value of ſuch a conqueſt, this iſland might have ſtill continued a bright gem in the Britiſh crown. The fleet arrived, on the 23d of January, before the town of Baſſeterre, the capital of Guadaloupe, a place of conſiderable extent, defended by a ſtrong battery, which, in the opinion of the chief engineer, could not be reduced by the ſhipping. But commo-

dore

A. D. 1759. dore Moore entertained very different ſentiments, and brought his ſhips to bear on the town and citadel. The Lyon, a ſhip of 60 guns, commanded by captain Trelawney, began the engagement, againſt a battery of ninety guns: the reſt of the fleet took their ſtations a-breaſt of the other batteries, and the action, in a little time, became general. The commodore, meanwhile, ſhifted his flag into the Woolwich frigate, and kept aloof without gun-ſhot, that he might have a more diſtinct view of the ſtate of the battle; an expedient ſeldom practiſed, though the propriety of it cannot admit of the ſmalleſt doubt. All the ſea commanders behaved with extraordinary ſpirit and reſolution in the attack; particularly captains Leſlie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney and Shuldam. The action had laſted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, when the fire of the citadel was ſilenced. The Burford and Berwick being driven to ſea, captain Shuldam in the Panther, was unſupported, and two batteries played on the Rippon, captain Jekyl, who ſilenced one of them, but could not prevent his veſſel from running a-ground. The enemy, perceiving her diſaſter, aſſembled on the hill, lined the trenches, and poured in a ſevere fire of muſquetry: they afterwards brought an eighteen pounder to bear, and, for two hours, raked her fore and aft with great effect: a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and ſet the ſhip on fire. The captain hoiſted a ſignal of diſtreſs, which brought captain Leſlie, in the Briſtol, who ran in between the Rippon and the battery, and engaged with ſuch impetuoſity, as ſaved captain Jekyl from deſtruction, which otherwiſe was unavoidable. At ſeven in the evening, the large ſhips having ſilenced the batteries to which they were oppoſed, the four bombs began to play on the town, with ſhells and carcaſſes. In a ſhort time the houſes were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with a terrible exploſion, and the ſugar, rum, and other combuſtible materials compoſing a continued and permanent line of fire, formed a ſuitable background to this terrible picture.

Notwithſtanding the vivacity of the engagement, the loſs, on the part of the Britiſh, was not very conſiderable. Next day our fleet came to anchor in the road, off Baſſeterre, having intercepted ſeveral ſhips, which had turned out and endeavoured

to

to escape. They found the hulls of several more vessels, which A. D.
the enemy had set on fire, to prevent them from falling into their 1759.
hands. The troops landed in the afternoon, without opposition, took possession of the town and citadel, and displayed the British colours on the walls. The country, however, was still far from being reduced: it abounded in mountains and narrow defiles, of difficult and dangerous access; and although the governor, Monsieur D'Etreuil, possessed neither bravery nor conduct, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe were determined to defend their possessions to the last extremities. It is foreign to our design to enter into any detail of the operations by land, which were drawn out to an extraordinary length. The French were too prudent to hazard a general engagement with regular troops: they determined to weary them out, if possible, by maintaining a kind of petty war, in detached parties, in which the British were harassed by hard duty, and suffered greatly by diseases in an unhealthy climate, ill supplied with those conveniencies to which they were accustomed. In this manner the war continued from the 24th of January till the first of May, when the inhabitants of Guadaloupe thought proper to capitulate. Their example was followed, a few days afterwards, by those of Desirade, Santos, and Petite-terre, three small islands in that neighbourhood; and, on the 26th of May, the island of Marie-Galante likewise surrendered, which left the French no footing in the Leeward Islands.

These conquests being happily finished, part of the troops were sent in the transports to England. They sailed the 3d of July from the harbour of Basseterre; and next day commodore Moore's squadron was joined by two ships of the line, which rendered him greatly superior to Mr. de Bompart, the French commodore, who lay in the harbour of Martinico. At this time vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica station; but neither he nor Moore could bring Mr. de Bompart to an engagement: so that the naval transactions in the West Indies, during the remainder of the year, consisted solely in the taking of several rich prizes and armed ships of the enemy, by cruizers detached from the English squadrons.

The reduction of Guadaloupe, and the neighbouring islands, afforded an auspicious omen for the success of the British opera-

A. D. 1759. tions in North America. Theſe were carried on in the year 1759, on the moſt extenſive ſcale. The ſplendour of military triumph, and the diſplay of extraordinary genius in the art of war, eclipſed, in ſome meaſure, the glory of the navy. But if we conſider the conduct of the war with attention, we ſhall find, that our admirals had a principal ſhare in the happy conſequences which reſulted even from our military expeditions. The hearty and powerful co-operation of the navy facilitated every enterprize; but the nation, fond of novelty, and tranſported with their ſucceſſes by land, to which they were leſs accuſtomed, conferred the moſt exalted honours on their generals, while they hardly beſtowed due praiſe on their naval commanders. About the middle of February, a ſquadron of twenty-one ſail[f] of the line ſailed from England, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of approved honour and bravery. By the 21ſt of April they were in ſight of Louiſbourg; but, the harbour being blocked up with ice, they were obliged to bear away for Halifax. From hence they detached rear-admiral Durel, with a ſmall ſquadron, to the iſle of Courdres, in the river St. Lawrence, in hopes that he might intercept a fleet of French tranſports and victuallers deſtined for Quebec. He accordingly took two ſtore-ſhips; but, before he reached his ſtation, ſeventeen ſail of tranſports had already got to the capital of Canada. Meanwhile admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſbourg, and took on board eight thouſand troops, under the command of general Wolfe, whoſe name is ſo illuſtrious in the memoirs of the preſent year. With this armament it was intended, that the general ſhould proceed up the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the ſiege of Quebec. The reduc-

[f] The Neptune, — 90 guns.
Royal William, — 80 —
Princeſs Amelia, — 80 —
Dublin, — 74 —
Shrewſbury, — 74 —
Northumberland, — 70 —
Oxford, — 70 —
Somerſet, — 70 —
Vanguard, — 70 —
Terrible, — 64 —
Trident, — 64 —
The Alcide, — 64 guns.
Devonſhire, — 64 —
Captain, — 64 —
Stirling Caſtle, — 64 —
Prince of Orange, — 60 —
Medway, — 60 —
Pembroke, — 60 —
Bedford, — 60 —
Centurion, — 54 —
Sutherland, — 50 —

tion

tion of this wealthy and populous city, which gave an opening to the poſſeſſion of all Canada, was the object to which all the other operations of the Engliſh in North America were ſubſervient, and which they were deſigned to aſſiſt. For this purpoſe general Amherſt, who commanded an army of regulars and provincials, amounting to twelve thouſand men, was ordered to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, croſs the lake Champlain, and proceed along the river Richelieu, to the banks of the St. Lawrence, to effect a junction with the armament under Wolfe and Saunders. For the ſame purpoſe, general Prideaux, who commanded the provincials of New York, with a large body of the Indians of the five nations, collected by the influence of Sir William Johnſon, was commiſſioned to inveſt the French fort erected near the fall of Niagara, and, having ſeized that important paſs, to embark on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, and co-operate with the united armies. This ſcheme, however, was too refined and complicated to be put in execution. The operations began by the taking of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga; the Engliſh ſtandard was alſo diſplayed at Niagara. But theſe events were not of the ſmalleſt importance in effecting the conqueſt of Quebec; nor did the troops engaged in them afford any aſſiſtance to the northern armament. This, of itſelf, under ſuch commanders as Wolfe and Saunders, ſeconded by the happy ſtar of Britain, which every where prevailed in the preſent year, was ſufficient to perform far more than had been expected, and to overcome obſtacles of art and nature, that, at firſt ſight, appeared unſurmountable. A. D. 1759.

Admiral Saunders arrived the latter end of June, with his whole embarkation, at the iſle of Orleans, a few leagues from Quebec. As he had diſcovered ſome excellent charts of the river St. Lawrence in veſſels taken from the enemy, he experienced none of thoſe difficulties with which the navigation of this immenſe ſtream is ſaid to be attended. The iſland of Orleans extends quite up to the baſon of Quebec, and its moſt weſterly point advances to a high promontory on the continent, called Point Levi. Both theſe were at preſent occupied by the French, but not with ſuch powerful guards as their importance required. The firſt operation of general Wolfe's troops was to

A. D. 1759. diſlodge the enemy, and to ſecure theſe poſts, without the command of which the fleet could not have lain in ſafety in the harbour of Quebec. This city now appeared full to view, at once a tempting and diſcouraging ſight; no place is more favoured by nature, and there is none of which nature ſeems more to have conſulted the defence: it conſiſts of an upper and lower town, the former built on a lofty rock, which runs with a bold and ſteep front along the weſtern banks of the river St. Lawrence: at the termination of this ridge, the river St. Charles, from the north-weſt, and the St. Lawrence join their waves, which renders the ground on which Quebec ſtands a ſort of peninſula. On the ſide of St. Lawrence is a bank of ſand, which prevents the approach of large veſſels to the town; an enemy, therefore, who attacks it, muſt either traverſe the precipice which I have mentioned, or croſs the river St. Charles. If he attempts the former, he muſt overcome a dangerous rock, defended by the whole force of the beſieged, which the importance of the poſt would draw thither. The difficulty of approaching the place, by Charles-River, is not leſs conſiderable, as all the country to the northward, for more than five miles, is rough, broken and unequal, full of rivulets and gullies, and ſo continues to the river of Montmorenci, which flows by the foot of a ſteep and woody hill. Between the two rivers the French army was poſted, their camp ſtrongly fortified, and their forces, amounting to twelve thouſand men, commanded by Mr. Montcalm, a general of tried bravery and conduct. General Wolfe, having ſeized the weſt point of the iſle of Orleans, and that of Levi, erected batteries on the high grounds, which fired continually on the town. Admiral Saunders was ſtationed in the north channel of the iſle of Orleans, oppoſite the Falls of Montmorenci, while admiral Holmes proceeded up the river St. Lawrence, beyond Quebec, which not only diverted the enemy's attention from the quarter on which the attack was intended, but prevented their attempts againſt the batteries already erected by the Engliſh. But, notwithſtanding this advantageous poſition, to undertake the ſiege of a city ſkilfully fortified, well ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition, and defended by an army far ſuperior to that of the beſiegers, was a deſign ſo bold and adventurous, that even the ſanguine temper

of

of general Wolfe began to deſpair of its ſucceſs: yet, whatever it was poſſible to perform, he was determined to attempt. He cauſed the troops, therefore, to be tranſported over the north channel of the river St. Lawrence to the north-eaſt of Montmorenci, with a view, after he had croſſed the latter, of moving towards the enemy's flanks, and enticing them to an engagement. But his endeavours in this way proved ineffectual, Mr. Montcalm having choſen his ſituation with too much judgment to abandon it imprudently. Meanwhile the fleet had been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. A violent ſtorm had cauſed ſeveral tranſports to run foul of each other; many boats foundered, and ſome large ſhips loſt their anchors. The enemy, taking advantage of the confuſion produced by this diſaſter, ſent down ſeven fire-ſhips from Quebec at midnight, which muſt have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the whole expedition, had not the Engliſh ſailors reſolutely boarded theſe inſtruments of deſtruction, run them faſt a-ground, and prevented them from doing the ſmalleſt damage to the Britiſh ſquadron. A. D. 1759.

The general, deſpairing of being able to decoy the enemy to an engagement, and ſenſible that the approach of winter would put an end to all military operations in that northern climate, came at laſt to the reſolution of forcing the French entrenchments. The beſt diſpoſitions were made for this purpoſe both by ſea and land; but the deſign was diſappointed by an accident which could neither be foreſeen nor prevented: the Engliſh grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders to form themſelves on the beach; but, inſtead of attending to this neceſſary injunction, they ruſhed with an impetuous ardour towards the enemy's entrenchments in the moſt tumultuous confuſion: they were met by a violent and ſteady fire, which prevented them from being able to form, and obliged them to take ſhelter behind a redoubt, which the French had abandoned on their approach. There they were forced to continue till night came on, when it was neceſſary to make a retreat, which could not be effected without conſiderble loſs.

This check is ſaid to have had a ſtrong effect on the mind and health of general Wolfe, who ſaw all his own meaſures miſcarry, while thoſe of other commanders in North America, during

A. D. 1759. during the ſame year, had been attended with extraordinary ſucceſs. About this time he ſent home a letter, couched in terms of deſpondency, but which diſplayed a ſpirit that would continue the campaign to the laſt poſſible moment. As it ſeemed neceſſary to abandon all farther proſpects of gaining any advantage on the ſide of Montmorenci, admiral Holmes's ſquadron, which had returned to aſſiſt in the late unſucceſsful attack, was again ordered to move up the river for ſeveral days ſucceſſively. This had a better effect than before; for, though Montcalm kept his ſituation, he detached Mr. de Bougainville with 1500 men to watch the motions of the Engliſh admiral. Admiral Saunders, who ſtill remained in his firſt poſition, was ordered to make a feint with every appearance of reality, as if the troops had intended to land below the town, and attack the French entrenchments on the Beauport ſhore. While the enemy were amuſed by theſe movements, the general embarked his troops aboard the tranſports the 12th July at one in the morning, and proceeded three leagues farther up the river than the intended place of landing: then he put them into boats, and fell down ſilently with the tide, unobſerved by the French centinels poſted along the ſhore: the ſhips of war followed them, and, by a well-conducted navigation, arrived exactly at the time concerted, to cover their landing. When they were put on ſhore, a hill appeared before them extremely high and ſteep, having a little winding path, ſo narrow that two men could not go abreaſt, and even this ſtrongly entrenched and defended by a captain's guard. This ſmall body was ſpeedily diſlodged by the Engliſh light infantry; after which the whole army aſcended the hill, and at day-break appeared regularly formed in order of battle.

Montcalm could hardly believe the advices that were brought him, ſo impregnable did he imagine the city to be on this ſide: but his own obſervation ſoon convinced him of the Engliſh movements, and that the high town might be attacked by their army, while the low town might be deſtroyed by their fleet. It was thus become neceſſary, notwithſtanding all his diſinclination to ſuch a meaſure, to decide the fate of Quebec by the event of a battle: accordingly he quitted Beauport, paſſed the river St. Charles, and formed his troops oppoſite to the Engliſh army. The ſucceſs of this engagement, conducted with the moſt

moſt deliberate wiſdom, united with the moſt heroic bravery, put Great Britain in poſſeſſion of the capital of French America. It is foreign to my deſign to deſcribe the judicious diſpoſition, animated behaviour, and ſteady perſevering courage of the Britiſh troops: theſe were the immediate cauſe of the reduction of Quebec; but the matter could not have been brought to this iſſue, had not the marine co-operated with an unanimity, ardour, and perſeverance, that can never be enough celebrated. When the Engliſh entered the place, they found the fortifications in tolerable order, but the houſes almoſt totally demoliſhed. Five thouſand men were left to defend the garriſon, and the remainder returned to England with the fleet, which ſailed ſoon, leſt it ſhould be locked up by the froſt in the river St. Lawrence. A. D. 1759.

If we turn our attention to the affairs of the Eaſt Indies, we ſhall find the Britiſh arms equally triumphant. The French were unſucceſsful in all their attempts by land, particularly in the ſiege of Madras: they had ſtill, however, a conſiderable ſuperiority of land-forces in India, and they had ſtrained every nerve to enable the fleet under Mr. d'Aché to cope with that of admiral Pocock. The former was augmented to eleven [g] ſail of the line, beſides frigates and ſtore-ſhips, an armament hitherto unknown in the Indian ſeas. The Engliſh commander no ſooner had intelligence of their arrival in thoſe parts, than he ſailed to the coaſt of Coromandel, and determined, by the moſt unremitted exertions of vigilance, to purſue, and give them battle. This reſolution ſhows the ardour and ſpirit of the Engliſh navy at this period, as their enemies had a ſuperiority of 192 guns, 2365 men, beſides a great advantage in the ſize of their ſhips [h]. In the morning of the ſecond of September the French fleet were deſcried from the maſt-head: admiral Pocock immediately threw out the ſignal for a general chace; but, the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage, though

[g] Theſe were;

	Guns.	Men.		Guns.	Men.
The Zodiaque, —	74	660	The Illuſtre, —	64	600
Minataur, —	74	660	The Fortune, —	64	600
The Count of Provence,	74	660	The Avenger, —	64	500
The Centaur, —	70	660	The Duke of Orleans,	60	500
The Active, —	64	600	The St. Louis, —	60	500
			The Duke of Bourgogne,	60	500

[h] See a liſt of the Engliſh veſſels, p. 132.

he

A. D. 1759. he crowded all the ſail he could carry: during ſeveral days his endeavours to bring the French fleet to an engagement, which they always declined, were equally fruitleſs. At length they totally diſappeared, and the admiral ſtood for Pondicherry, on a ſuppoſition that they intended to ſail thither. His conjecture was well founded; for on the eighth day of September he obſerved them ſtanding to the ſouthward, and on the tenth, about two in the afternoon, Mr. d'Aché, ſeeing no poſſibility to eſcape, made the ſignal for battle. The cannonading began without farther delay, and both ſquadrons engaged with equal impetuoſity: but the French directing their cannon at the maſts and rigging, while the Engliſh fired only at the hulls of the ſhips, the former ſuſtained ſuch a loſs of men, and found their veſſels in ſo ſhattered a condition that they were glad to ſheer off, with all their canvas ſet. The loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh was not inconſiderable, there being in the whole 569 men killed and wounded: but that on the ſide of the French muſt have been far greater, as their ſhips could hardly keep the ſea, and they were obliged to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of Mauritius, in order to be refitted. Soon after this engagement admiral Corniſh arrived from England with four ſhips of the line, and confirmed the dominion of the Engliſh over the Indian ſeas.

The French, being equally unſucceſsful in Aſia, Africa, and America, ſought in vain to repair their misfortunes: no ſooner was a fleet put to ſea than it was either taken or deſtroyed: they were active to no purpoſe; for, while they built and armed veſſels with the greateſt ſpeed and diligence, they only laboured for the Engliſh, whoſe fleet was continually augmented by captures from the enemy. But neither the loſs of their poſſeſſions, nor the deſtruction of their fleets, nor the complaints of twenty millions of people exhauſted by oppreſſion, could check the fatal ambition of the French court. The miniſtry ſeemed to derive courage from deſpair, and the greater misfortunes they ſuſtained, the more daring were the projects which they had in agitation. All their ports were now filled with preparations for an invaſion of Great Britain. Men of war, tranſports, and flat-bottomed boats were got ready with the utmoſt diligence: they talked of a triple embarkation. Mr. Thurot, who,

who, from being captain of a merchant veſſel, had ſucceſſively become a commander of a privateer, and now a commodore in the French ſervice, commanded a ſquadron of men of war and ſeveral tranſports at Dunkirk, which, it was believed, were intended againſt Scotland. The deſign againſt England was to be carried on from Havre de Grace and ſome other ports of Normandy, where a great number of flat-bottomed boats had been prepared for the purpoſe of tranſporting troops. The third embarkation, deſtined againſt Ireland, was to be made at Vannes in the Lower Brittany. The land-forces were commanded by the Duc d'Aguillon, while a powerful ſquadron under Mr. de Conflans was to cover and ſecure their landing. In order to counteract theſe machinations, the Engliſh miniſtry ordered a ſquadron under commodore Boyce to be ſtationed before Dunkirk: admiral Hawke was ſent with a large fleet to block up the harbour of Breſt, while a ſmaller fleet kept a watch upon that of Vannes. As to Havre, from which the danger ſeemed moſt imminent, rear-admiral Rodney was diſpatched, with orders immediately to proceed to the bombardment of that place. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre in the beginning of July, and made a diſpoſition to execute his inſtructions. The bomb-ketches were placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur; and, having begun the bombardment, continued to throw their ſhells for above two days without intermiſſion. The town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places, the boats overſet or reduced to aſhes, and, at the expence of nineteen hundred ſhells and eleven hundred carcaſſes, the French preparations at Havre were totally deſtroyed. A. D. 1759.

While the danger threatening England from the northern coaſt of France was thus happily removed, the honour of the Britiſh flag was effectually maintained by the gallant admiral Boſcawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean. The French had aſſembled there a conſiderable armament[i] under the com-

[i] It conſiſted of the following ſhips:

L'Ocean,	—	80 guns.	Le Modeſte,	—	64 guns.
Le Redoubtable,	—	74 ——	Le Lion,	—	64 ——
Le Centaur,	—	74 ——	Le Triton,	—	64 ——
Le Souverain,	—	74 ——	Le Fier,	—	50 ——
Le Guerrier,	—	64 ——	L'Orifl mme,	—	50 ——
Le Temeraire,	—	74 ——	Le Chimere,	—	26 ——
Le Fantaſque,	—	64 ——	La Mineive,	—	24 ——
			La Gracieuſe,	—	24 ——

A. D. 1759. mand of Mr. de la Clue, which ſome believed to be deſtined for America, while others conjectured, that it was deſigned to reinforce the ſquadron at Breſt, and to co-operate with it in the intended deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt. At preſent Mr. de la Clue continued to lie in the harbour of Toulon, before which admiral Boſcawen took his ſtation with fourteen ſhips of the line[k], beſides frigates and fire-ſhips.

Boſcawen, having in vain diſplayed the Britiſh flag in ſight of Toulon, and tried every other art to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered three ſhips of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Barker, and Harland, to advance and burn two French veſſels lying cloſe to the mouth of the harbour. They prepared for executing their orders with the utmoſt alacrity, but met with a warm reception from ſeveral batteries, which had not been before perceived; and, the wind unfortunately ſubſiding into a calm, they ſuſtained ſuch conſiderable damage as made it convenient for the Engliſh admiral to put into Gibraltar to refit his ſhattered ſhips. Mr. de la Clue ſeized this opportunity of ſailing, in hopes of paſſing the Gut of Gibraltar unmoleſted during the abſence of the Engliſh fleet. But Boſcawen had previouſly detached two frigates, of which one cruized off Malaga, and the other hovered between Eſtepona and the fortreſs of Ceuta, in order to obſerve the motions of the enemy. On the 17th day of Auguſt the Gibraltar frigate made the ſignal at the maſt-head for the enemy being in ſight; upon which the Engliſh admiral without delay hove up his anchors, and put to ſea. At day-light he deſcried ſeven large ſhips, part of Mr. de la Clue's ſquadron, from which five ſhips of the line and three frigates had been ſeparated in the night. Having made the ſignal to chace, and to engage in line of battle a-head, his foremoſt ſhips came up with the rear of the enemy about half after two. The admiral himſelf did not wait to return the fire of the

[k] Theſe were;

The Namur,	90 guns.	The Intrepid,	64 guns.
Prince	90	Edgar,	64
Newark,	80	America,	64
Culloden,	74	St. Alban's,	60
Warſpight.	74	Jerſey,	60
Conqueror,	74	Portland,	60
Swiftſure,	70	Guernſey,	50

ſternmoſt,

ſternmoſt, but employed every effort to come up with the Ocean, A. D.
which Mr. de la Clue commanded in perſon; and about four 1759.
o'clock he ran athwart her hawſe, and poured into her a furious broadſide, which was returned with equal vivacity. This diſpute, however, was not of long continuance; for the French admiral being wounded in the engagement, and the next in command perceiving that Boſcawen's veſſel had loſt her mizenmaſt and top-ſail yards, went off with all the ſail he could carry. Mr. Boſcawen ſhifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, and joined ſome other ſhips in attacking the Centaur, which was obliged to ſtrike. The purſuit continued all night, and Mr. de la Clue, finding himſelf at day-break on the coaſt of Portugal, determined rather to burn his ſhips than allow them to fall into the hands of the victors. When he reached the Portugueſe ſhore, he put his ſhip under the protection of the Fort Almadana, to which the Engliſh paid no regard. He himſelf landed with part of his men; but the count de Carne, who ſucceeded to the command of the Ocean, having received a broadſide from the America, ſtruck his colours, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this noble prize, deemed the beſt ſhip in the French navy. Meanwhile captain Bentley brought off the Temeraire, little damaged, and having on board all her officers and men; while rear-admiral Broderic burnt the Redoubtable, and took the Modeſte. The ſcattered remains of the French fleet got with difficulty into the harbour of Cadiz, where they were ſoon after blocked up. Nothing was wanting to complete the glory of this victory; for it was obtained with the loſs of only fifty-ſix men killed, and 196 wounded, and not one officer loſt in the action.

After the memorable naval engagement off Cape Lagos, the French met with a diſaſter by land equally calamitous. The important battle of Minden deprived them of all hopes of again getting poſſeſſion of Hanover, or of putting their affairs in ſuch a ſituation in Germany as might afford them the proſpect of any other than an ignominious peace. They were under the unhappy neceſſity, therefore, of trying a laſt effort on an element which had hitherto been extremely unpropitious to all their deſigns. Their ſole hopes now centered in their fleets at Breſt and Dunkirk, of which the former was blocked up by admiral Hawke, and the latter by commodore Boyce. They ſtill expected, how-

A. D. 1759. ever, that the winter ſtorms would compel the Engliſh fleets to take refuge in their own harbours, and thus afford them an opportunity to croſs the ſea unoppoſed, and to execute the object of their deſtination againſt the Britiſh coaſts. In this expectation they were not wholly diſappointed: on the 12th of October, a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irreſiſtible ſtorm, drove the Engliſh ſquadrons off the French coaſt. Thurot, a French adventurer, availed himſelf of this accident to obtain his releaſe from Dunkirk, without being diſcovered by commodore Boyce, who, upon the firſt information of his departure, ſailed immediately in purſuit of him: but Thurot had the good fortune or dexterity to elude his vigilance, by entering the port of Gottenburg in Sweden, where he was laid up till after Chriſtmas by the ſeverity of the weather, and want of neceſſaries to enable his ſhips and men to keep the ſeas.

Admiral Hawke's ſquadron had taken refuge, during the violence of the ſtorm, in the harbour of Torbay. When its fury began to ſubſide, the French admiral Conflans, perceiving no enemy on the coaſt, immediately put to ſea. But the ſame day that *he* ſailed from Breſt, the Engliſh admiral ſailed from Torbay. The two ſquadrons[1] were the moſt powerful of any employed

[1] ENGLISH FLEET.

	Guns.	Men.
Royal George, —	100	880
Union, —	90	770
Duke, —	90	750
Namur, —	90	780
Mars, —	74	600
Warſpight, —	74	600
Hercules, —	74	600
Torbay, —	74	700
Magnanime, —	74	700
Reſolution, —	74	600
Hero, —	74	600
Swiftſure, —	70	520
Dorſetſhire, —	70	520
Burford, —	70	520
Chicheſter, —	70	520
Temple, —	70	520
Revenge, —	64	480
Eſſex, —	64	480
Kingſton, —	60	400
Intrepid, —	60	420
Montague, —	60	420
Dunkirk, —	60	420
Defiance, —	60	420

FRENCH FLEET.

	Guns.	Men.
Le Soleil Royal, —	80	1200
Le Tonnant, —	80	1000
Le Formidable, —	80	1000
L'Orient, —	80	1000
L'Intrepidide, —	74	815
Le Glorieux, —	74	815
Le Theſée, —	74	815
L'Heros, —	74	815
Le Robuſte, —	74	815
Le Magnifique, —	74	815
Le Juſte, —	70	800

Le

ployed in the courſe of the war, and worthy to be entruſted with the fate of the two leading kingdoms in Europe. Their forces were nearly equal, the Engliſh being, by ſome veſſels, more numerous, but having no ſuperiority in number of men, or weight of metal. A. D. 1759.

Sir Edward Hawke directed his courſe for Quiberon-bay on the coaſt of Bretagne, which he conjectured would be the rendezvous of the French ſquadron. But here fortune oppoſed his well-concerted meaſures; for a ſtrong gale ſprung up in an eaſterly point, and ſtrove the Engliſh fleet a great way to the weſtward: at length, however, the weather became more favourable, and carried them in directly to the ſhore. The Maidſtone and Coventry frigates, who had orders to keep a-head of the ſquadron, diſcovered the enemy's fleet in the morning of the 20th of November. They were bearing to the northward between the iſland of Belleiſle and the main land of France. Sir Edward Hawke threw out a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips, that were neareſt, to chace, in order to detain the French fleet until they themſelves could be reinforced with the reſt of the ſquadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chaced, that no time might be loſt in the purſuit. Theſe manœuvres indicated the utmoſt reſolution and intrepidity; for at this time the waves rolled mountains high, the weather grew more and more tempeſtuous, and the ſea, on this treacherous coaſt, was indented with ſand and ſhoals, ſhallows and rocks, as unknown to the Engliſh pilots as they were familiar to thoſe of the enemy. But Sir Edward Hawke, animated by the innate fortitude of his own heart and the warm love of his country, diſregarded every danger and obſtacle that ſtood in the way of his obtaining the important ſtake which now depended. Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open ſea without the imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to attempt

		Guns.	Men.			Guns.	Men.
Le Superbe,	—	70	800	Le Solitaire,	—	64	750
Le Dauphin,	—	70	800	Le Brilliant,	—	64	750
Le Dragon,	—	64	750	L'Eveille,	—	64	750
Le Northumb.	—	64	750	Le Bizarre,	—	64	750
Le Sphinx,	—	64	750	L'Inflexible,	—	64	750

The French had five frigates, and ten joined Hawke between Uſhant and Belleiſle.

a more

A. D. 1759. a more artful game, which, however, he did not play with the addreſs which his ſituation required. As he was unwilling to riſk a fair engagement, he could have no other view but to draw the Engliſh ſquadron among the rocks and ſhoals, that, at a proper time, he might take advantage of any diſaſter that befel them: but, fluctuating between a reſolution to fight and an inclination to fly, he allowed the Britiſh ſhips to come up with him, and then crowded his ſail when it was too late to eſcape. At half an hour after two the van of the Engliſh fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy. The Formidable commanded by the French rear-admiral Mr. du Verger, behaved with uncommon reſolution, and returned many broadſides poured into her by the Engliſh ſhips as they paſſed to bear down on the van of the French. Sir Edward Hawke reſerved his fire, and ordered his maſter to carry him along-ſide of the French admiral. The pilot obſerved, that he could not obey his orders without the moſt imminent riſk of running upon a ſhoal: the brave admiral replied, "You have done your duty "in pointing out the danger; you now are to obey my com-"mands, and lay me along-ſide the Soleil Royal." While the pilot was preparing to gratify his deſire, the Theſèe, a French ſhip of ſeventy guns, generouſly interpoſed itſelf between the two admirals, and received the fire which Hawke had deſtined for a greater occaſion. In returning this fire, the Theſèe foundered in conſequence of a high ſea that entered her lower-deck ports: the Superbe ſhared the ſame fate; the Heros ſtruck her colours, and the Formidable did the ſame about four in the afternoon. Darkneſs coming on, the enemy fled towards their own coaſt. Seven ſhips of the line hove their guns overboard, and took refuge in the river Villaine: about as many more, in a moſt ſhattered and miſerable condition, eſcaped to other ports. The wind blowing with redoubled violence on a lee ſhore, Sir Edward made the ſignal for anchoring to the weſtward of the ſmall iſland Dumet, where he continued all night in a very dangerous riding, continually alarmed by hearing guns of diſtreſs. When morning appeared, he found the French admiral had run his ſhip on ſhore, where ſhe was ſoon after ſet on fire by her own men. Thus concluded this memorable action, in which the Engliſh ſuſtained little loſs

but

but what was occaſioned by the weather. The Eſſex and Reſolution unfortunately ran on a ſand-bank called Lefour, where they were irrecoverably loſt, in ſpite of all the aſſiſtance that could be given; but moſt of their men and ſome part of their ſtores were ſaved. In the whole fleet no more than one lieutenant and thirty-nine ſeamen and marines were killed, and two hundred and two wounded. The loſs of the French in men muſt have been prodigious. All the officers on board the Formidable were killed before ſhe ſtruck. They had, beſides, four of the beſt ſhips in their navy deſtroyed, one taken, and the whole of their formidable armament, the laſt hope of the French marine, ſhattered, diſarmed, and diſtreſſed. A. D. 1759.

It would be unjuſt to paſs over a circumſtance which characterizes the ſpirit that diſtinguiſhed the Engliſh navy at this happy period. Admiral Saunders happened to arrive from his glorious Quebec expedition a little after Hawke had ſailed. Notwithſtanding the length of the voyage, and the ſeverity of the duty in which he had been ſo long employed, he loſt not a moment in ſetting ſail, with a view to partake the danger and honour of the approaching engagement. Fortune did not favour the generoſity of his intentions. He was too late to give aſſiſtance; but ſuch a reſolution was alone equal to a victory.

Under ſuch commanders it was impoſſible that the Engliſh ſhould not maintain the aſcendant over their enemies. Accordingly, in the words of a celebrated writer, who ought not on this ſubject to be ſuſpected of partiality, "the Engliſh had never "ſuch a ſuperiority at ſea as at this time." But, continues he, "they at all times had the advantage over the French. The naval "force of France they deſtroyed in the war of 1741; they "humbled that of Lewis XIV. in the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; they triumphed at ſea in the reigns of Louis XIII. "and Henry IV. and ſtill more in the unhappy times of the "league. Henry VIII. of England had the ſame advantage "over Francis I. If we examine into paſt times, we ſhall "find, that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip de Valois "could not withſtand thoſe of the kings Henry V. and Edward "III. of England. What can be the reaſon of this continual "ſuperiority? Is it not that the ſea, which the French can

"live

A. D. 1759. "live well enough without, is eſſentially neceſſary to the Engliſh, and that nations always ſucceed beſt in thoſe things for "which they have an abſolute occaſion? Is it not alſo becauſe "the capital of England is a ſea-port, and that Paris knows "only the boats of the Seine? Is it that the Engliſh climate "produces men of a more ſteady reſolution, and of a more "vigorous conſtitution, than that of France, as it produces the "beſt horſes and dogs for hunting?" Fearful leſt he had gone too far in ſuggeſting a reaſon which is doubtleſs the true one, he returns to his natural ſcepticiſm, and concludes in a flattering ſtrain; "but from Bayonne even to the coaſts of Picardy and "Flanders, France has men of an indefatigable labour; and "Normandy alone formerly ſubdued England[m]."

The events above related compoſe the principal operations of the Britiſh navy during the preſent year. But beſides the actions of whole ſquadrons, there were a great many captures made by ſingle ſhips, attended with circumſtances highly honourable and advantageous. The Favourite of twenty guns, commanded by captain Edwards, carried into Gibraltar a French ſhip of twenty-four guns, laden with the rich productions of St. Domingo, valued at 40,000l. A French privateer belonging to Granville, having on board two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by the Montague captain Parker, who ſoon after made prize of a ſmaller veſſel from Dunkirk, mounted with eight guns, and having on board ſixty men. About the ſame period, that is in the month of February, captain Graves of the Unicorn brought in the Moras privateer of St. Malo, carrying two hundred men and two and twenty guns. The Veſtal captain Hood, belonging to admiral Holmes's ſquadron in the Weſt Indies, engaged a French frigate called the Bellona, greatly ſuperior to the Veſtal in men and weight of metal, and, after an obſtinate engagement, which laſted above two hours, took her, and brought her ſafely into port. The Engliſh frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the captains Gilchriſt and Hotham, deſcried in the evening of the 28th of March, as they were cruizing to the northward, the Denaé, a French ſhip of forty guns and three hun-

[m] Voltaire, Siecle de Louis Quinze.

dred

dred and thirty men. The Melampe came up with her in the night a conſiderable time before the Southampton, and with admirable gallantry maintained the combat againſt a ſhip of double her own force. As they fought in the dark, captain Gilchriſt was obliged to ly by until he could diſtinguiſh the one from the other. At day-break he bore down on the Danaé with his uſual valour, and, after a briſk engagement, in which ſhe had forty men killed, and many more wounded, compelled her to ſurrender. This victory, however, was clouded by a misfortune which happened to the brave Gilchriſt. He received a wound in the ſhoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, rendered him incapable of future ſervice. On the 4th of April another remarkable exploit was atchieved by his Majeſty's ſhip Achilles, commanded by the honourable captain Barrington. The Achilles, which mounted ſixty guns, encountered to the weſtward of Cape Finiſterre, a French ſhip of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentin, under the command of the Sieur de Montay. After a cloſe engagement of two hours, during which the French captain was ſlain, and one hundred and ſixteen of his men killed or wounded, the Count de St. Florentin ſtruck her colours. She was ſo much damaged that it was very difficult to bring her into Falmouth. The Achilles had but twenty-five men killed or wounded, and had ſuſtained no hurt but in her maſts and rigging. On the 27th of March captain Faulkner of his majeſty's ſhip the Windſor, mounting ſixty guns, diſcovered off the rock of Liſbon four large ſhips to leeward, and gave them chace. As he approached they formed the line of battle a-head, at the diſtance of about a cable's length aſunder. He cloſed with the ſternmoſt ſhip, which ſuſtained his fire about an hour; and then, upon a ſignal given, the other three edged off, and the ſhip engaged ſtruck her colours. She proved to be the Duke de Chartres, pierced for ſixty guns, but having only 24, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, as well as the other three that eſcaped, to the Eaſt India company, was loaded with ſixty tons of gunpowder, and an hundred and fifty tons of cordage, with a large quantity of other naval ſtores. The Windſor had, in this engagement, but one man killed and eighteen wounded.

A. D. 1759.

A. D. About the ſame time captain Hughs of his majeſty's frigate the
1759. Tamer, took and carried into Plymouth two privateers, called le Chaſſeur, and le Conquerant, the one from Cherburgh and the other from Dunkirk. A third, called the Diſpatch, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the Diligence ſloop; while the Baſque from Bayonne, furniſhed with two and twenty guns, fell into the hands of captain Parker of the Brilliant. Captain Atrobus of the Surpriſe took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth from Dunkirk, ſtruck to captain Knight of the Liverpool. In the month of May a French frigate called the Arethuſa, mounted with two and thirty guns, and commanded by the marquis of Vaudreuil, ſubmitted to two Engliſh frigates, the Venus and the Thames, commanded by the captains Harriſon and Colby. The engagement was warm; the loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh inconſiderable. The enemy had ſixty men killed and wounded. In the beginning of June an armed ſhip, belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs by captain Angel of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Counteſs de la Serre, was ſubdued and taken, after an obſtinate engagement, by his majeſty's ſhip the Adventure, commanded by captain Moore. In the beginning of October the Floriſſant, a French ſhip of 74 guns, was engaged near the chops of the channel by captain Porter of the Hercules. The Engliſh veſſel having loſt one of her top-maſts and rigging, the Floriſſant took advantage of this misfortune to ſheer off, and eſcaped behind the iſle of Oleron.

While the Engliſh cruizers were attended with continual ſucceſs in Europe, ſeveral armed ſhips of the enemy and rich prizes were taken in the Weſt Indies. About the ſame time that the Velour from St. Domingo, carrying twenty guns and above one hundred men, and loaded with a rich cargo, was taken by the Favourite ſloop of war, commanded by captain Edwards, two French frigates and two Dutch ſhips, laden with French commodities, fell into the poſſeſſion of cruizers detached from admiral Coates's ſquadron ſtationed at Jamaica. Captain Collingwood, commanding his majeſty's ſhip the Creſcent, off St. Chriſtopher's attacked two French frigates, the Amethyſte and Berkeley: the former eſcaped, but the latter was conveyed into the harbour of Baſſeterre.

Theſe

These particular losses, combined with the general destruction A. D.
of the French squadrons by Boscawen, Hawke, Saunders and 1759.
Pocock, in a great measure, ruined the French navy. In the course of the year the English had enriched their marine with twenty-seven ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates of French construction. They had destroyed eight ships of the line and four frigates, whereas the English navy had lost, during all the various operations of the present year, no more than seven men of war and five frigates. In reviewing the captures of merchantmen, the balance is not so much in our favour. Notwithstanding the courage and vigilance of the English cruizers, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that in the course of the present year, they took two hundred and ten British vessels, chiefly, however, coasters and small craft, that did not chuse to confine themselves and wait for a convoy. On the other hand, we took one hundred and sixty-five merchant vessels from the enemy; of which, as it appears from some examples above given, many contained very valuable cargoes.

While the naval power of France was falling to its ruin, her commerce was cut off in its source by the taking of Guadaloupe and Quebec. The French government, broken by repeated calamities, and exhausted by exorbitant subsidies to its German allies, was reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune. The monarch, however, still found a resource in the loyalty and attachment of his people. They acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt; they declared against every suggestion of accommodation that was not advantageous and honourable; and they sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down and coined into specie, for the support of the war.

The liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, which met in November, formed a striking contrast with the indigence of our rivals. For the service of the ensuing year they voted seventy-three thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and they allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds for their maintenance. The sums destined to other purposes were no less ample; the whole amounted to fifteen millions five hundred and three thousand five hundred and sixty-four pounds. Of this immense

A. D. 1759. ſupply not leſs than two millions three hundred and forty-four thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix pounds were paid to foreigners, for ſupporting the war in Germany, excluſive of the money expended by twenty thouſand Britiſh troops in that country, and the charge of tranſporting them, with the expence of pontage, waggons, and other contingencies, and the exorbitant article of forage, which alone amounted, in the courſe of the laſt campaign, to one million two hundred thouſand pounds.

The comparative expence of our naval preparations, and of the German war, affected, with equal aſtoniſhment and concern, many diſintereſted and diſpaſſionate men, whoſe imaginations were leſs heated than thoſe of the bulk of the people with the enthuſiaſtic ardour of victory. Amidſt the triumphs of glory and ſucceſs concealed murmurs were heard, which, in a free nation, were ſpeedily re-echoed with increaſed force. Men formed themſelves into parties according to their different notions upon this ſubject, and the diſpute between the naval and continental ſchemes came to be the common topic, not only of public aſſemblies but of private converſation. The abbetors of the naval intereſt aſſerted, that the inſular ſituation of Great Britain, as well as the continued experience of many ages, clearly pointed out the courſe which England ought to purſue in her wars with France. They pretended not that the former kingdom ought never, in any caſe, to take part in the diſputes of the continent; but this, they thought, ought always to be as an auxiliary only. She might even engage with ſucceſs in a continental war againſt France, provided ſhe had a concurrence in her favour of the neighbouring powers of the continent. This was the grand principle of king William, and the foundation of that alliance, at the head of which, in defence of the liberties of Europe, he acted the greateſt part that can be allotted to man. It was on the ſame principle that, in conjunction with the powers of the empire, we carried on the war with ſo much honour and ſucceſs againſt France, under the duke of Marlborough. But to engage in a continental war with that kingdom, not only unaſſiſted but oppoſed by the greateſt part of thoſe ſtates with which we were then combined, is an attempt never to be juſtified by any comparative calculation of

the

the populouſneſs, the revenues, or the general ſtrength of the two nations. They aſſerted ſtill farther, that the theatre we had choſen for that war was the moſt unfortunate that could poſſibly be imagined. Germany has at all times proved the firmeſt bulwark againſt French ambition. What, therefore, could France herſelf more heartily deſire than to ſee the ſwords of the Germans turned againſt each other, and England co-operate with all her power in embittering the hoſtilities which have already deſolated that country. In carrying on a war there, France has many advantages: ſhe ſupports her armies in a great meaſure by pillaging thoſe whom, in every view, it is her intereſt to weaken: ſhe is not very remote from her own frontiers, from which her armies may be recruited and ſupplied without great expence: even when unſucceſsful, ſhe is brought ſtill nearer her own territories, ſupports her troops with ſtill greater facility, and exhauſts ſtill leſs the natural wealth of her people. If ſhe was obliged to take refuge at home, would the Engliſh continue ſo frantic as to follow her into her own dominions? To Great Britain, on the other hand, every thing is unfavourable in ſuch a war. The utmoſt ſucceſs with which her arms can be attended, will only carry the Engliſh to a greater diſtance from their reſources; and, by going a certain length, the tranſport of proviſion, artillery, ammunition, and the infinite impediments of a large army, muſt become altogether impracticable. Upon this plan, victory itſelf cannot ſave us, and all our ſucceſſes will only ſerve to accumulate new diſtreſſes, new difficulties, and new charges. As to the king of Pruſſia, what does he give us in return for the immenſe ſubſidies which are paid him? Inſtead of aſſiſting our armies, is he able to defend himſelf? Beſides, he is the worſt ally we could have choſen, on account of his long and intimate connection with our enemies, and the general lightneſs of his faith in deſerting every engagement which forms an obſtacle to his ambition. He is looked upon as the protector of the Proteſtant religion: but has he not deſolated the firſt Proteſtant electorate? Has he not divided the reformed ſtates of Germany, and turned their ſwords againſt each other? And do not his writings ſufficiently teſtify not only his indifference to the Proteſtant cauſe, but his total diſregard to all religion whatever? Had England kept herſelf

A. D. 1759.

A. D. herſelf clear of the inextricable labyrinth of German politics,
1759. ſhe might, without exhauſting her own vigour by attacking France on her ſtrong ſide, have been, before this time, in poſſeſſion of all the French colonies together: even had the French, therefore, got poſſeſſion of Hanover, (which could not have ſuffered more by this event than it has already done in the courſe of the war), England, while her own power was entire, and while ſhe held all the commercial reſources of France in her hands, muſt not only have recovered the Hanoverian dominions to their lawful ſovereign, but have procured full indemnification to them for what they had ſuffered in our quarrel.

The advocates for continental meaſures were obliged to acknowledge the exorbitant expence of a German war; but they affirmed, that, if it had coſt England much, it had coſt France ſtill more, as the number of French troops to be paid exceeds the difference between French and Engliſh pay. They obſerved, that her ſubſidies to German princes greatly exceeded ours, although ſhe had not derived ſo much advantage from all her allies together as England had done from the victory of the king of Pruſſia at Roſbach: that the German war had brought the finances of France to that deplorable condition which all Europe had witneſſed: that her chief ſtrength and attention, being engaged in this quarter, were in a great meaſure withdrawn from her navy, her commerce, and her colonies; which had enabled England to deprive her of the beſt part of her colonies, to render her commerce equally precarious and unprofitable, and to give ſuch a blow to her navy as, perhaps, ſhe might never be able to recover. But had England, inſtead of exhauſting the French reſources by diverting their efforts to Germany, allowed that country to receive laws from her rival, the continental war would have ſoon terminated, and France, ſtrengthened by victory, by conqueſt, and by alliance, would have preſerved the whole force and revenue of her mighty monarchy entire, to act againſt Great Britain.

Theſe reaſonings will be intereſting as long as the great ſyſtem of European politics continues in any meaſure the ſame, and as long as the meaſures of the Britiſh court are liable to be warped by the ſame motives as formerly. I would therefore obſerve, that taking for granted the facts alledged by the partizans of our

German

German allies, (many of which require proof), and ſuppoſing A. D.
that France had expended even more than Great Britain in pro- 1759.
ſecuting the German war, the principal queſtion would ſtill be undecided. It would be proper ſtill farther to inquire, whether England or France could maintain the ſame number of troops, and make the ſame efforts in Germany, at the ſmalleſt expence? Whether, on the plan of a continental war alone, the revenues and reſources of France or England would be ſooneſt exhauſted? And which of the two kingdoms could, with the ſmalleſt trouble and expence, augment its navy, and proſecute ſucceſsful enterprizes in diſtant parts of the world? Theſe queries need only be propoſed; their ſolution is obvious, and it ſhows, in the fulleſt light, the impropriety of England's carrying the war into the continent of Europe, while France poſſeſſed any ſpecies of foreign commerce, or a ſingle foot of land in Aſia, Africa, or America.

But notwithſtanding the force of evidence, and the clamour of party, the court remained firm in its firſt reſolution. The continental ſyſtem prevailed more than ever; and although the ſupplies granted for maintaining the navy were liberal beyond example, yet, the ſtrength and attention of the nation being diverted to a different channel, our marine enterprizes appeared to languiſh at a time when paſt ſucceſs ought to have cauſed them to be puſhed with the utmoſt vigour, and fewer exploits were atchieved at ſea in 1760 than are recorded in the memoirs of the preceding year.

The Britiſh navy at this time amounted to 120 ſhips of the 1760.
line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, ſloops, bombs, and tenders. Of theſe capital ſhips ſeventeen were ſtationed in the Eaſt Indies, twenty for the defence of the Weſt India iſlands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and ſixty-one either on the coaſt of France, in the harbours of England, or cruizing in the Engliſh ſeas for the protection of commerce. Conſidering theſe mighty preparations, it is remarkable, that the return of the little ſquadron commanded by Thurot (which, as was already mentioned, had taken refuge the preceding year in the harbour of Gottenburg in Sweden) ſhould have cauſed a general alarm over the three kingdoms. This inconſiderable armament originally conſiſted of five frigates, on board of which

were

A. D. 1760. were 1270 land-ſoldiers. They had ſailed from Gottenburg to Bergen in Norway, and during that voyage had ſuffered ſo much by ſtorms, that they were obliged to ſend back one of their largeſt veſſels to France. It was not till the fifth of December that they were able to ſail directly for the place of their deſtination, which was the northern coaſt of Ireland. In this voyage their ill fortune continued to purſue them. For near three months they were obliged to ply off and on among the weſtern iſles of Scotland, during which time they ſuffered every poſſible hardſhip: their men thinned and diſheartened, ſuffering by famine and diſeaſe, one ſhip irrecoverably loſt, and the remaining three ſo ſhattered, that they were obliged to put into the iſle of Ilay. Here this enterprizing adventurer, though oppreſſed with misfortune, and ſteeled by ſuch hardſhips as too often extinguiſh every generous principle of humanity, behaved with the utmoſt juſtice and moderation, paying handſomely for the cattle and proviſions which he had occaſion to uſe, and treating the natives with unuſual courteſy and kindneſs.

As ſoon as the weather permitted, Thurot quitted this iſland, and purſued his deſtination to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, where, on the 21ſt of February, he effected a deſcent with 600 men. They advanced without oppoſition to the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumſtances of colonel Jennings, who commanded only four companies of raw undiſciplined men, would allow. A vigorous defence was made, until the ammunition of the Engliſh failed; and then colonel Jennings retired to the caſtle of Carrickfergus, which, however, was in all reſpects untenable, being unprovided in proviſions and ammunition, and having a breach in the wall of near fifty feet wide: nevertheleſs, they repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attack, having ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. At length the colonel ſurrendered, on condition that his troops ſhould be ranſomed by exchanging them for an equal number of French priſoners; that the caſtle of Carrickfergus ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor the town burned or plundered. This laſt circumſtance, however, was not ſtrictly obſerved. The magiſtrates of Carrickfergus refuſed ſuch ſupplies of wine and proviſions as the French officers demanded, and thus, by their own imprudence

dence, cauſed the town to be ſubjected to a contribution, which, A. D.
however, was not immoderate. Thurot, having by this time 1760.
got notice of the defeat of Conflans's expedition, and hearing that a conſiderable body of regular troops were aſſembled, and preparing to march to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus, embarked, and ſet ſail for France, after gaining great reputation by the exploits of a ſquadron, which deſerves to be conſidered as little better than a wreck of the grand enterprize againſt the Britiſh coaſts.

But this gallant adventurer had not left the bay of Carrickfergus many hours, when he perceived, near the coaſt of the iſle of Man, three ſail that bore down on him. Theſe were Engliſh frigates, the Æolus of thirty-ſix guns, commanded by captain Elliot, the Pallas and Brilliant, each of thirty-two guns, under the command of the captains Clements and Logie, who had been diſpatched by the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in queſt of the French ſquadron. At nine in the morning of the 28th of February, captain Elliot came up with the Belleiſle, commanded by Thurot, which was ſuperior to the Æolus in ſtrength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal; but both ſhip and men were in a bad condition. The engagement was hardly begun, when the Pallas and Brilliant attacked the other two ſhips of the enemy. The action was maintained with great ſpirit on both ſides for an hour and a half, when captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleiſle, who immediately ſtruck her colours, the gallant Thurot having fallen in the action. The Engliſh took poſſeſſion of their prizes, and conveyed them into the bay of Ramſay in the iſle of Man. In this engagement three hundred of the French were ſlain or diſabled; whereas our loſs did not exceed forty killed and wounded. The name of Thurot had become ſo terrible to all the ſea-ports of Britain and Ireland, that the ſervice performed on this occaſion was deemed eſſential to the quiet and ſecurity of theſe kingdoms. The thanks of the houſe of commons of Ireland were voted to the conquerors of Thurot as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, the commanding officer at Carrickfergus; and the defeat and capture of this petty ſquadron was celebrated with the moſt hearty and univerſal rejoicings. Such was the fate of the laſt branch of the grand armament which

A. D. 1760. had ſo long been the hope of France, and the terror of Great Britain.

In North America the affairs of the French had taken ſuch a turn as afforded them a happy proſpect of future ſucceſs. While the operations of the war there were intruſted to the land forces alone, England was unfortunate, and France triumphant: but no ſooner did our ſquadrons appear on the coaſt, than every thing returned to its former ſituation, and Britain was as victorious as before. The garriſon left for the defence of Quebec amounted originally to 5000 men, a number much too ſmall, conſidering both the nature of the place, and the number of French forces which ſtill remained in Canada. The fortifications of Quebec were weak and incomplete; without any kind of outworks; and the town had been reduced, during the late ſiege, almoſt to a ruin. Mr. Levi had collected at Montreal 6000 experienced militia of Canada, with 300 Indians, beſides ten battalions of regular troops amounting to about 5000 men more. With this force he took the field on the 17th of April; and, while his proviſions and ammunition fell down the river St. Lawrence under a convoy of ſix frigates, the French army arrived in ten days march at the heights of Abraham, three miles diſtant from Quebec. General Murray, who commanded the garriſon, had it in his option either to remain within the city, or to march out and try his fortune in the field. As his troops were habituated to victory, and provided with a fine train of artillery, he was unwilling to keep them ſhut up in a place which appeared to him ſcarcely tenable. He determined, therefore, to lead them againſt the enemy; a reſolution, which, conſidering the immenſe inequality of numbers, (for, although the garriſon originally conſiſted of 5000, he had not now above 3000 effective men), ſavoured more of youthful temerity than of military diſcretion. At firſt, however, fortune ſeemed to favour his deſigns. The Engliſh army, having marched out of the city, and deſcended from the heights of Abraham, attacked the enemy's van with ſuch impetuoſity, that it was obliged to give way, and to fall back on the main body. This advantage brought them full on the main army of the French, which by this time had formed in columns. The fire became ſo hot, that it ſtopped the progreſs of our troops; and the French, wheeling to right

right and left, formed a ſemicircle which threatened to ſurround them, and to cut off their retreat. Near a third of the Engliſh army were now killed or wounded, and nothing could be thought of in this ſituation but to make proper movements to ſecure their return to Quebec. This they effected without loſing many men in the purſuit; and the ſevere misfortune, occaſioned by their own temerity, rouſed the governor and troops to the moſt ſtrenuous efforts in defence of the place. The French loſt no time in improving their victory. They opened the trenches on the very night of the battle: but, being deficient in artillery, they had performed nothing of conſequence before the 15th of May, when the beſieged were reinforced by the arrival of the Britiſh fleet. Then the enemy underſtood what it was to be inferior at ſea; for, had a French ſquadron got the ſtart of the Engliſh in ſailing up the river, Quebec muſt have reverted to its former owners. A. D. 1760.

On the 9th of May, to the great joy of the garriſon, an Engliſh frigate anchored in the bay, and told them that lord Colville who had ſailed from Halifax with the fleet under his command, on the 22d of April, was then in the river St. Lawrence. He had been retarded in his paſſage by thick fogs and contrary winds. About the ſame time commodore Swanton, arriving with a ſmall reinforcement from England, and hearing that Quebec was beſieged, ſailed up the St. Lawrence with all expedition. On the 15th he anchored at Point Levi, and early next morning ordered captain Schomberg of the Diana, and captain Deane of the Loweſtoffe to ſlip their cables, and attack the French fleet, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and a conſiderable number of ſmaller veſſels. They were no ſooner in motion than the French ſhips fled in the utmoſt diſorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran aſhore, and was burned at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town, and all that remained were taken or deſtroyed.

Mr. Levi had the mortification to behold, from the heights of Abraham, this action, which at one ſtroke put an end to all the hopes he had conceived from his late victory. He was perſuaded that theſe frigates, by the boldneſs of their manner, preceded a conſiderable reinforcement, and he therefore raiſed the

A. D. 1760. ſiege in the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind him a great quantity of baggage, tents, ſtores, magazines of proviſions and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field-pieces, ſix mortars, and a great number of ſcaling-ladders, intrenching tools, and other implements neceſſary in a ſiege.

This event, which was entirely owing to the ſeaſonable aſſiſtance of the fleet, was equally important in itſelf and in its conſequences. While it ſecured the poſſeſſion of Quebec, it gave an opportunity to general Murray to march to the aſſiſtance of general Amherſt, who was employed in the ſiege of Montreal, the ſecond place in Canada for extent, commerce, and ſtrength. Here the whole remaining force of the French in North America was collected under the command of Mr. Vaudreuil, an enterprizing and artful general, who neglected no means of protracting the ſiege. At length he was obliged to yield to the united armies, and on the 8th of September, 1760, ſurrendered his garriſon to be ſent to France, on condition that they ſhould not ſerve in the preſent war, and yielded up the inhabitants of his government as ſubjects to the king of Great Britain.

The French had not neglected to ſend relief to a place, which was the laſt object of their hopes for regaining poſſeſſion of Canada. They had diſpatched three frigates, with twenty ſhips of burden, containing a reinforcement of troops and military ſtores for the garriſon of Montreal. But when the commander of this expedition underſtood, that the fleet under lord Colville had anticipated his arrival in the river St. Lawrence, he attempted to land his whole embarkation in the bay of Chaleurs, that they might endeavour, if poſſible, to join the principal army by land. But here they were diſcovered by captain Byron with three of his majeſty's ſhips; their armament was taken or deſtroyed, and their whole deſign diſconcerted. Thus, by the bravery of our troops, and the uncommon ſpirit, vigilance, and activity of our navy, every attempt of the enemy was fruſtrated, and the quiet poſſeſſion of all Canada confirmed to Great Britain.

In the Eaſt Indies the Britiſh arms were attended with equal ſucceſs. After raiſing the ſiege of Fort St. George in February 1759, the Engliſh army poſſeſſed themſelves of the important town and fortreſs of Conjeveram, as well as of the city Maſulipatam,

patam, both on the Coromandel coaſt. This coaſt joins to the rich province of Bengal, where the French intereſt had been totally ruined by the conduct and gallantry of colonel Clive. A. D. 1760.

Encouraged by theſe advantages, a body of 1200 men, Europeans and Seapoys, advanced farther, and attempted to diſlodge an army of French and their confederate Indians, encamped under the cannon of a fort near Wandewaſh. They were repelled with the loſs of between three and four hundred killed and wounded. But colonel Coote, at the head of the principal body of Engliſh troops an that coaſt, compenſated for this diſaſter by inveſting and taking Wandewaſh in three days. Soon after, he obtained a complete victory over general Lally, who commanded an army twice as numerous as that of the Engliſh, and conſiſting of 2200 Europeans and 10,000 blacks. After this deciſive engagement, which, excepting the battle of Plaiſſy, was more important in its conſequences than any fought in India during the war, colonel Coote undertook the ſiege of Chilliput, which ſurrendered in two days. He then proſecuted his march to Arcot the capital of the province, the fort of which being ſilenced, the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. After the reduction of Arcot all the inferior places, ſuch as Permacoil and Allumparva, ſubmitted. The important ſettlement of Carical was reduced by the ſea and land forces, commanded by rear-admiral Corniſh and major Monſon; and colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beſet by the Engliſh ſquadron. This town was the only important ſettlement which now remained to our enemies in India.

During all this time admiral Pococke had, with his uſual ſkill and intrepidity, ſeconded the efforts of the troops. He had more than once compelled Mr. d'Aché, the greateſt admiral that France could boaſt of, and who alone ſupported the declining reputation of her marine, to take ſhelter under the walls of Pondicherry. Pococke had reduced the French ſhips to a very ſhattered condition, and killed a great many of their men; but, what ſhews the ſingular talents of both admirals, they had fought three pitched battles in the courſe of eighteen months, without the loſs of a ſhip on either ſide.

The

A D. 1760. The Britiſh ſquadrons in the Weſt Indies were commanded by admiral Holmes on the Jamaica ſtation and Sir James Douglas in the Leeward iſlands. The active vigilance of theſe commanders not only enabled them to protect the iſlands from inſult or invaſion, but prompted them to annoy the enemy. Rear-admiral Holmes, having in the month of October received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape François on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Europe, he ſtationed the ſhips under his command in ſuch a manner as gave them an opportunity to intercept this fleet. The principal French ſhip was the Sirenne commanded by commodore M'Cartie, an Iriſh officer of conſiderable reputation. After two ſharp engagements ſhe ſtruck to the Boreas, while the other four frigates bore away, with all the ſail they could crowd, for the weſt end of Tortuga, to ſhelter themſelves in Port au Prince. They were purſued by the Lively and Hampſhire; the former obliged one of the French frigates to ſubmit, after a warm engagement of an hour and a half. The Hampſhire ſtood for the other three, and, running between the Duke of Choiſeul and the Prince Edward, engaged them both at the ſame time. The firſt, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix; the other ran aſhore about two leagues to leeward, and ſtruck her colours. At the approach of the Hampſhire, the enemy ſet her on fire, and ſhe blew up. The Fleur de Lys, that had run into Freſh-Water bay, a little to leeward of Port au Prince, ſhared the ſame fate; and thus by the gallantry of the captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, and the prudent diſpoſition of admiral Holmes, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three deſtroyed.

Immediately after this event, advice being received by admiral Holmes, that the enemy's privateers ſwarmed about the iſland of Cuba, he ordered the boats of the Trent and Boreas to be manned, that they might proceed under the direction of the lieutenants Millar and Stuart, to the harbour of Cumberland in that iſland. There they met with the Vainqueur of ten guns, ſixteen ſwivels, and ninety men, the Mackau of ſix ſwivels and fifteen men, and the Gueſpe of eight guns and eighty-five men. The boats, after ſurmounting many difficulties, rowed up to the Vainqueur, boarded and took poſſeſſion of her under a cloſe fire.

The

The Mackau was taken without reſiſtance; but, before they could reach the Gueſpe, the enemy ſet her on fire, by which ſhe was deſtroyed. A. D. 1760.

The ſame enterprizing courage diſtinguiſhed the officers of the ſquadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward iſlands. The captains Obrien and Taylor, cruizing near the Grenades, were informed that the Virgin, once a Britiſh ſloop, with three French privateers, had taken refuge under the guns of three forts on one of theſe iſlands. They ſailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprize was crowned with ſucceſs. Having demoliſhed the forts, they took the four ſhips after a warm engagement, which laſted ſeveral hours. They next entered another harbour on the ſame iſland, where they had intelligence of three more ſhips; they demoliſhed the fort on this harbour, and carried off the three prizes. In returning to Antigua they fell in with thirteen victuallers, who immediately ſurrendered. At the ſame time eight privateers were taken by the ſhips which commodore Douglas employed in cruizing round the iſland of Guadaloupe.

While the Engliſh were carried forward with a continual tide of proſperity in diſtant parts of the world, no action of importance was atchieved in the Britiſh ſeas by the naval force of that kingdom. Admiral Rodney ſtill maintained his ſtation off the coaſt of Havre de Grace, to obſerve the French movements towards the mouth of the Seine. The admirals Boſcawen and Hawke alternately commanded the powerful ſquadron which ſtill remained in the bay of Quiberon, to interrupt the navigation of the enemy, to watch and detain the French veſſels which had run into the mouth of the river Villaine after the defeat of Conflans; and to divert the efforts of the French from other quarters, by employing a great number of their forces on that part of the coaſt.

Meanwhile a numerous body of forces were aſſembled, and a great number of tranſports collected at Portſmouth. The troops were actually embarked with a good train of artillery; generals were nominated to the command of the enterprize; and the eyes of the whole nation were fixed upon this armament, which had been prepared at an immenſe expence, and the deſtination of which remained a profound ſecret. But, to

the

A. D. 1760. the aſtoniſhment of all thoſe who were not admitted behind the curtain, the whole ſummer was ſpent in idleneſs and inaction, and upon the death of the late king, in the month of October following, the enterprize was entirely laid aſide.

The ſeeming inutility of theſe mighty preparations occaſioned loud clamours in the nation. Theſe were ſtill farther increaſed by the inactivity of the powerful ſquadrons in the Britiſh ſeas. It was ſaid, that with either of theſe, or with the armament prepared at Portſmouth, we might have reduced the iſland Martinico in the Weſt Indies, Mauritius on the coaſt of Africa, or Minorca in the Mediterranean, all of which were objects equally important to our power and commerce. It was aſked what advantage we derived from thoſe ſquadrons which were ſo well provided in all neceſſaries by the liberality of the ſupplies, but which were condemned to inactivity, or employed in uſeleſs parade? This queſtion, however, was not unanſwerable. The armament at Portſmouth might be intended to intimidate the French into propoſals of peace; to alarm the coaſt of Bretagne, and thereby make a diverſion in favour of Germany; or to tranſport troops into Flanders, in order to effect a junction with the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who, at the head of twenty thouſand men, had croſſed the Rhine, and was at firſt as ſucceſsful as finally unfortunate in that daring expedition.

Nor were the ſquadrons on the French coaſt altogether unneceſſary. While admiral Rodney hovered near the mouth of the Seine, he perceived, on the 5th of July at noon day, five large flat-bottomed boats, with their colours flying, as if they had ſet the Engliſh ſquadron at defiance. Theſe boats were diſpatched by way of experiment, to try whether it were poſſible for veſſels of this newly invented conſtruction to eſcape the vigilance and efforts of an Engliſh fleet. The French had prepared above an hundred of them, which then lay at Caen in Normandy. The ten which now ſailed, ſtood backwards and forwards on the ſhoals, intending to amuſe Mr. Rodney till night, and then to proceed under cover of darkneſs. He perceived their drift, and gave directions that his ſmall veſſels ſhould be ready to ſail in the night for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himſelf with the larger ſhips ſtood for the ſteep coaſt of Port Baſſin. The diſ-

poſition

position was judicious, and attended with ſucceſs. The flat-bottomed boats having no way to eſcape, ran aſhore at Port Baſſin, where the admiral deſtroyed them, together with the ſmall fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of theſe veſſels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men. The diſaſter which befel them taught the French miniſter of the marine not to build any further hopes upon ſuch aukward machines. The remainder were ordered to be unloaded at Caen, and ſent to Rouen to be laid up as uſeleſs. A. D. 1760.

This was not the only ſervice which Rodney's ſquadron performed. In the month of November, captain Ourry of the Acteon chaced a large privateer, and drove her on ſhore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue; and his cutters ſcoured the coaſt, and took or deſtroyed forty veſſels of conſiderable burden, which carried on a great fiſhing near Dieppe.

Beſides the purpoſes above-mentioned, which were anſwered by admiral Boſcawen's fleet, it effectually prevented any veſſels from ſailing from the harbours of Breſt or Rochfort, with the deſign to reinforce the French in North America, which might have protracted the war there to another campaign. The enterprizing ſpirit of this Engliſh admiral, impatient of continuing ſo long in a ſtate of inaction how advantageous ſoever to the intereſts of his country, prompted him to employ his men in the execution of ſome actual ſervice. He exerciſed them, therefore, in taking a ſmall iſland near the river Vannes, which he ordered them to cultivate and plant with vegetables for the uſe of the ſeamen infected with ſcorbutic diſorders, ariſing from the conſtant uſe of ſalt proviſions, from the ſea air, and from a want of proper exerciſe.

Sir Edward Hawke, who relieved Mr. Boſcawen in September, purſued the ſame plan. Senſible of the inconveniencies to which a fleet on that ſtation is expoſed for want of freſh water, which muſt be carried to them by tranſports hired on purpoſe, he detached lord Howe in the Magnanime, with the ſhips Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little iſland Dumet, which abounded in that great neceſſary of life. This iſland, about three miles in length and two in breadth, was defended by a ſmall fort mounted with nine cannon, and garriſoned with one

A. D. 1760. company of the regiment of Bourbon, who ſurrendered with little or no reſiſtance after the ſhips had begun the attack.

We have not interrupted the hiſtory of the Britiſh ſquadrons by relating the exploits of particular cruizers, ſeveral of which conferred the higheſt honour on the Engliſh navy. On the 2d of April captain Skinner of the Biddeford, and captain Kennedy of the Flamborough, both frigates, having ſailed from Liſbon, fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ſhips, which the Engliſh captains immediately determined to engage, notwithſtanding the great inferiority of their ſtrength. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after ſix in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the Flamborough had loſt ſight of the Biddeford, and the frigate with which the former was engaged bore away with all the ſail ſhe could carry. Captain Kennedy purſued her till noon the next day, when he intirely loſt ſight of her; by which means ſhe got into Liſbon with the loſs of ſeveral men beſides the lieutenant of marines, and conſiderably damaged in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the Biddeford, who, after a moſt ſevere conflict, had compelled her antagoniſt to fly, and had chaced her till ſhe was out of ſight. Soon after the action began, captain Skinner, while ſtanding upon the arm-cheſt to inſpect the ſeveral poſts, and to animate his men by his example, was unfortunately killed. He was an officer equally brave and bountiful, and as much beloved for his gentleneſs and humanity as reſpected for his ſkill and courage by thoſe who ſerved under him. The command devolved upon the honourable lieutenant Knollis, who maintained the battle with great ſpirit, even after he was wounded; and a ſecond ſhot through his body deprived him of life. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, the crew of the Biddeford, though deprived of their officers, their main top-maſt ſhot away, the ſhip diſabled in her rigging, and the enemy's fire which continued exceedingly hot, diſcovered no ſigns of fear or of diſinclination to the ſervice. The maſter of the ſhip now aſſumed the command, and every man aboard acted as if on his perſonal bravery alone the fortune of the engagement had depended. While the maſter kept the quarter-deck, and took care of the poſts there, the purſer was ſtationed

on

on the main-deck, and kept up a briſk and well-directed fire. A. D.
Numbers of the wounded men returned with chearfulneſs to 1760.
their poſts, after the ſurgeon had dreſſed their wounds. Their cool determined valour prevailed over a ſhip double their own in ſtrength. The enemy's fire began to ſlacken, one gun becoming ſilent after another, till the enemy did not diſcharge four guns in a quarter of an hour. It was believed they were going to ſtrike; but it proved, that they were preparing for flight; for a little after, about ten at night, the engagement having laſted three hours, they bore away with all the ſail they could crowd. The Biddeford took the opportunity to pour a broadſide into her enemy, and a volley of ſmall arms nearly at the ſame inſtant. But, when ſhe attempted to chace, the ſailors found they had no command of their ſhip, the rigging being cut to pieces, and the maſts and yards ſhattered and diſabled.

The ſpirit of enterprize, a conſciouſneſs of their own ſuperiority, and a contempt of the French, ſeem to have been communicated to the meaneſt ſeaman of Great Britain at this happy period. As an example of this kind, the bravery of five Iriſhmen and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ſhip from Waterford, has been much celebrated. The ſhip, in her return from Bilboa, being taken by a French privateer off Uſhant, the captors removed all the hands but theſe five men and a boy, who were left to aſſiſt nine Frenchmen in navigating the veſſel. Theſe daring Hibernians immediately formed a plan of inſurrection, which they executed with ſucceſs. Four of the French mariners being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprize, tripped up the heels of the French ſteerſman, ſeized his piſtol, and diſcharged it at him who walked the deck; but, miſſing the mark, he knocked him down with the butt-end of the piece. At the ſame time hallooing to his confederates below, they aſſailed the enemy with their broad ſwords, and, ſoon compelling them to ſubmit, came upon deck, and ſhut the hatches. The Iriſh being now in poſſeſſion of the quarter-deck, the French who were aloft called for quarter, and ſurrendered without oppoſition. As neither Brian nor any of his aſſociates could read or write, or knew the leaſt principle of navigation, they ſteered the ſhip northward at a venture, and the firſt land

A. D. 1760. they made was the neighbourhood of Youghall in the county of Cork.

The captures from the French, within the courſe of this year, conſiſted of royal ſhips of war, privateers, and armed merchantmen. The royal ſhips were ſix, mounting in all 176 guns. The privateers and armed merchantmen amounted to 110, which carried 848 carriage-guns, 240 ſwivels, and 6389 men. The Engliſh navy ſuffered little from the French during this period, but ſuſtained great damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ſhip of the line, was loſt in the channel off the iſland of St. Nicholas; the crew and guns were ſaved. The Lyme of twenty guns foundered in the Cattegate in Norway, and fifty of the men periſhed. In the Weſt Indies a tender belonging to the Dublin commanded by commodore Sir James Douglas, was loſt in a gale of wind, with 100 choſen mariners. But theſe loſſes, great as they were, ſeemed inconſiderable, compared to that of the Ramillies, a magnificent ſhip of the ſecond rate, belonging to the ſquadron which admiral Boſcawen commanded on the coaſt of France. In the beginning of February a ſeries of ſtormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty. The Ramillies, having overſhot the entrance to the ſound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was daſhed in pieces among the rocks, after her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, (one midſhipman and twenty-five of the ſeamen excepted), amounting to 700, periſhed.

The number of merchant veſſels taken by the French amounted to above 300, chiefly, however, coaſters and coalliers of very inconſiderable value. Nor would it have been at all ſurpriſing if the French had taken not only more numerous but more valuable prizes. While their own commerce was in a great meaſure deſtroyed, and they had no merchant ſhips at ſea but ſome coaſters, and a few veſſels, under convoy from the Weſt Indies, the trading fleets of England covered the ocean. Every year her commerce was augmenting; the money which the war carried out was returned by the produce of her induſtry; the ſinking fund amounted annually to above three millions, and, in the year

year 1760, 8000 veſſels were employed by the traders of Great Britain. A. D. 1760.

But, notwithſtanding this happy flow of proſperity, if we compare the naval and military tranſactions of the preſent year with thoſe of the preceding, they will appear extremely inconſiderable. Excepting the reduction of Montreal, which was a natural conſequence of our prior conqueſts in Canada, no additional acquiſitions of great conſequence had been made by the Britiſh arms. The Engliſh ſtrength and wealth were employed in the war of Germany; but our operations, undertaken upon national principles, and tending to the intereſt of Great Britain, began gradually to languiſh. It was hoped, therefore, that after a general war of five years, carried on upon a larger ſcale, and attended with greater expence, and more ſurpriſing revolutions of fortune, than any war of equal duration that had ever taken place among the nations of Europe, it was now full time to give tranquillity to the four quarters of the globe, all of which had been ſhaken by our commotions. The poſture of affairs was now much altered from what had taken place during the firſt periods of hoſtility. The ambition of France, which had inflamed the fuel of diſſenſion, had been crowned with ſucceſs in the beginning of the war. Admiral Byng behaved diſgracefully in the Mediterranean, Minorca was taken, and the battle of Haſtembeck ſeemed to decide the fate of the electorate of Hanover. The duke of Cumberland was ſhut up at Cloſterſeven, and the Canadians obtained conſiderable advantages over the Engliſh in North America. But now all was changed. The French had not reaped the fruits which they expected from their ſucceſs in Germany, and had been obliged to abandon ſome part of their conqueſts; their intereſt was totally ruined in North America; in the Eaſt Indies, where they had formerly ſo many flouriſhing ſettlements, they were confined to one town; and the principal ſource of their wealth was cut off by the loſs of Guadaloupe, Goree, and Senegal, and the deſtruction of their commerce and ſhipping. The misfortunes which France had already experienced in carrying on a naval war againſt Great Britain, induced her, as early as the year 1758, to ſignify her pacific intentions to the Engliſh miniſtry, who declined liſtening at that time to any propoſals of negociation. In the following

year

A. D. year the court of London was not ſo deciſively bent on continu-
1760. ing the war; but it was not till 1761 that they began to think ſeriouſly of laying down their victorious arms. Had France been equally ſincere in the wiſhes for accommodation which ſhe publicly profeſſed, matters might then have been amicably adjuſted. But ſhe had by this time diſcovered an after game, which remained for her to play, notwithſtanding all her bad fortune. She had alarmed the pride and jealouſy of the court of Spain, whoſe rich and extenſive American poſſeſſions ſeemed now to lie at the mercy of the Engliſh colonies, and whoſe honour was deeply wounded in the diſgrace inflicted on the firſt prince of the houſe of Bourbon. If the whole ſtrength of the Spaniſh monarchy, augmented by continual acceſſions during a long peace, could be drawn into the vortex of hoſtility, France expected to be able ſtill to retrieve her affairs. While ſhe publicly declared for peace, her ſecret hopes were all centered in war; ſhe treated of friendſhip with a ſpirit of enmity; and, the falſe principles upon which ſhe negociated being diſcovered by the penetration of the Britiſh miniſtry, theſe allowed not the proſpect of a treaty to amuſe them into a neglect of the naval and military operations which had been previouſly concerted.

The parliament which aſſembled the 18th of November, 1760, had voted 70,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, including 18,355 marines, and a ſum not exceeding 4 pounds monthly *per* man for their maintenance, the whole amounting to 3,640,000 pounds. No material alteration was made in the diſpoſition of the ſeveral ſquadrons which conſtituted the navy of Great Britain. That in the bay of Quiberon was commanded by Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. Admiral Saunders was ſtationed in the Mediterranean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Corniſh commanded in the Eaſt Indies, rear-admiral Holmes at Jamaica, Sir James Douglas at the Leeward iſlands, and lord Colville at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Beſides theſe, ſingle ſhips cruized in different parts, in order to protect the Britiſh merchantmen, and ſquadrons were occaſionally equipped under various commanders.

1761. The ſcene of action, in the year 1761, opened in the Eaſt Indies. After the defeat of the French near Wandewaſh, the taking of the city Arcot, and the reduction of the fortreſſes of

Chitteput

Chitteput and Carrical, the French were blocked up in Pondicherry, a town of near four miles in circuit, elegantly built, ſtrongly fortified, and defended by the whole force which remained to the enemy on the coaſt of Coromandel. The periodical rains which fall on that coaſt rendered a regular ſiege impracticable; ſo that the blockade, which had been commenced by the fleet under admiral Stevens and the land forces under colonel Coote, was continued with the beſt diſpoſition, and the moſt extraordinary patience, for full ſeven months. On the 26th of November, 1760, four batteries were raiſed, at ſome diſtance, to enfilade the ſtreets of Pondicherry, whilſt others were advanced nearer, in order to play upon the works. The works of the beſiegers ſuffered much from ſtorms, which ruined the batteries and approaches: but theſe were repaired with great alacrity, and the enemy was reduced to the moſt extreme diſtreſs. They lived on camels, elephants, dogs, and cats. Even this wretched proviſion was ſo ſcarce, that it was purchaſed at an immenſe price: five pounds had been paid for the fleſh of a dog. A. D. 1761.

In the midſt of this diſtreſs their hopes were ſuddenly revived by a dreadful misfortune which happened to the Engliſh fleet. On the firſt of January, 1761, one of thoſe terrible tempeſts, ſo deſtructive and ſo frequent in the Indian ſeas, obliged admiral Stevens to ſlip his cables and put to ſea. The reſt of the Britiſh ſquadron were driven from before the walls of Pondicherry. The Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the ſtorm, and their crews periſhed. The Newcaſtle, the Queenborough, and Protector fire-ſhip, were driven on ſhore and deſtroyed; but the men were happily ſaved, together with the guns, ſtores, and proviſions. Many other ſhips ſuſtained conſiderable damage. This unexpected diſaſter elevated to the higheſt pitch the ſpirits of the garriſon, and general Lally, ſeeing the port clear, loſt not a moment to ſend an expreſs to the French agent in the neighbouring neutral ſettlements, in order to obtain a ſupply of proviſions. This letter was intercepted by admiral Stevens, and is publiſhed in the appendix [a]; as it diſcovers the ſingular character of this daring adventurer. As the

[a] Appendix, N°. 8.

admiral

A. D. 1761. admiral imagined, that Lally had made the ſame ſolicitations by other meſſengers, he immediately diſpatched letters to the Dutch and Daniſh ſettlements, mentioning the good condition of the greater part of his fleet, and aſſuring them that he would make prize of ſuch veſſels as he found infringing the neutrality by attempting to ſupply the enemy. He was ſufficiently in a condition to make good his threats; for, in four days after the ſtorm, he had, with incredible diligence and celerity, repaired the damage of his ſhips, and appeared before Pondicherry with eleven ſail of the line and two frigates, all fit for ſervice. The ſiege was now carried on with redoubled ardour. By the 15th of January a battery was raiſed within point blank; a breach was effected in the curtain; the weſt face and flank of the north-weſt baſtion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely ſilenced. The principal of the Jeſuits came out with two civilians, and propoſed terms of capitulation in the name of the inhabitants. General Lally diſdained to capitulate, but ſent out a paper, full of invectives againſt the Engliſh for breach of treaties relative to India: the obſtinacy of the governor made the propoſal of the inhabitants be diſregarded; ſo that the city of Pondicherry, with a garriſon of near 2000 European ſoldiers, a vaſt quantity of military ſtores, and great riches, was, without any formal ſurrender, abandoned to the diſcretion of the beſiegers.

After the reduction of Pondicherry on the coaſt of Coromandel, a body of Engliſh forces was embarked for an expedition againſt Mahie, a ſettlement on the coaſt of Malabar, which the French had lately fortified at a very conſiderable expence. The place was attacked with ſo much vigour, that the French governor thought proper to ſurrender it about the beginning of February, by which means the Engliſh obtained the command of the whole peninſula of India, the moſt extenſive as well as the moſt profitable ſphere of commerce in the world.

Theſe important ſucceſſes had not, ſince the commencement of the war, been chequered by any conſiderable misfortune attending the Britiſh arms in the eaſt. We muſt not, however, omit to mention the atchievements of the count d'Eſtaing, who in the year 1759 had made himſelf maſter of the Engliſh fort of Gombroon in the Gulf of Perſia, and taken two frigates, with

three

three other veſſels belonging to the company. He performed this with four ſhips under Dutch colours, one of which carried ſixty-four guns, and another twenty-two, with a land force of 150 Europeans, and about 200 Caffres. In the ſucceeding year the fort of Natal on the coaſt of Africa ſurrendered to him at diſcretion, and he found two ſhips in the road. He afterwards ſailed to Sumatra, where the Engliſh carried on a great trade in pepper, and, before the end of the following April, reduced Tapponapoli and Bencoolen or Marlborough fort, which laſt, though in a good ſtate of defence, was ingloriouſly abandoned by the Engliſh garriſon, after they had burnt a veſſel richly loaded, (the Denham Indiaman), that lay in the harbour. The activity and enterprize of Mr. d'Eſtaing would deſerve commendation, if his character had not been ſtrongly marked with perfidy and cruelty. He had ſurrendered himſelf at the ſiege of Madras, and had engaged not to ſerve againſt the Engliſh until he ſhould be regularly exchanged; ſo that, when he attacked Gambroon, he was a priſoner on parole. When he became maſter of that place, he paid no regard to the terms on which it had ſurrendered. He promiſed to prevent thefts and diſorders; but the houſes were ſet on fire, and the factory given up to the licentious pillage of the Arabs. A. D. 1761.

After the expulſion of the French from North America, the Engliſh found in the Cherokees a cruel and barbarous and not an unwarlike enemy. They defended themſelves with a ſavage heroiſm againſt the ſuperior arts of a civilized nation, nor could they be reduced to the neceſſity of accepting a peace from their conquerors, until the Engliſh had penetrated with great courage and perſeverance into their country, deſtroyed fifteen of their towns or villages, and burnt or cut down the greateſt part of their harveſt.

While the continent of North America was thus reduced to a ſtate of undiſturbed obedience, the Britiſh ſquadrons were ſtill carrying on their conqueſts in the Weſt Indies. On the fourth of June Sir James Douglas ſailed from Guadaloupe with the Dublin, Belliqueux, Sunderland, and Montague, four ſhips of the line, and a conſiderable body of land forces under the command of lord Rollo, deſtined for an expedition againſt the iſland of Dominica. This iſland, though one of thoſe called neutral,

A. D. 1761. had been occupied and fortified by the French. Its extent is about ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth; it is well watered by rivers plentifully ſupplied with fiſh; produces abundant paſture for cattle, and is very fruitful in coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and cotton. It is ſituated within ten leagues of Martinico, the capital of the French ſugar-iſlands, which, in caſe of an invaſion, it could eaſily ſupply with men and proviſions; a circumſtance which rendered it of great importance to France, and an object worthy the ambition of the Britiſh miniſtry.

The armament under lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas arrived within a league of Roſeau, the capital of Dominica, on the ſixth of June; and the fleet having anchored, a lieutenant of the navy, accompanied by a land officer, was immediately diſpatched with a manifeſto, ſigned by the commodore and general, requiring the inhabitants of the neutral iſland of Dominica to ſurrender, and take the oaths of allegiance to his majeſty king George. The manifeſto being read to the people of Roſeau, ſome of the principal inhabitants ſet off in a boat, and went on board the Engliſh fleet. Their behaviour and converſation diſcovered no diſlike to the Britiſh government: on the contrary, they ſeemed very well pleaſed that his majeſty's forces had come to take poſſeſſion of the iſland. But when they were put on ſhore in the afternoon, they, as well as the reſt of the inhabitants, were encouraged by the French governor, Mr. Longprice, to ſtand on the defenſive, and to declare they would not tamely ſurrender, while they had arms in their hands. As ſoon as this determination was known, the ſhips anchored as near as poſſible to the ſhore, and the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for landing the troops. This was effected, about five in the evening, under cover of the ſhipping. They formed quickly on the beach; and, while the main diviſion took poſſeſſion of the town, the corps of grenadiers, conſiſting of the companies of the fourth and twenty-ſecond regiments, ſeized a flanking battery, and part of the adjoining entrenchment, which had been abandoned. But the enemy continued to annoy the Britiſh troops by their muſquetry from behind buſhes and trees, and by their cannon fired from a battery which overlooked the town. By this means the troops might have ſuffered greatly during the night; the enemy, perhaps, might have been reinforced

forced before morning, and, fortified in a ſtrong poſt with four entrenchments on a ſteep hill, might have been enabled to make a vigorous defence. Lord Rollo, therefore, judged it beſt to order them to be immediately diſlodged by the grenadiers ſupported by the battalions; which ſervice was performed with ſo much order and rapidity, that, before night, the French were driven ſucceſſively from all their entrenchments, and the battery above them, where colonel Melvill immediately took poſt with his grenadiers. Lord Rollo continued at their advanced poſt during the night, having eſtabliſhed a communication, by proper guards, with the reſt of the troops who poſſeſſed the town. Next day he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Roſeau, where he received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, who came to lay down their arms, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majeſty. A. D. 1761.

While this important conqueſt was acquired by the aſſiſtance of part of the ſquadron belonging to the Leeward iſlands, the remainder were employed in protecting the Britiſh traders, and ſcouring thoſe ſeas of the Martinico privateers, of which they took a great number. Nor was the ſquadron ſtationed off Jamaica leſs vigilant, or leſs alert: rear-admiral Holmes who commanded there, planned his cruizes with judgment, and executed them with ſucceſs. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that ſeveral ſhips of war belonging to the enemy had ſailed from Port Louis, he immediately made ſuch a diſpoſition of his ſquadron as was moſt likely to intercept them. He himſelf in the Hampſhire fell in with the St. Anne, and chaced her to leeward down upon the Centaur. The French captain, perceiving this laſt ſhip, and dreading the danger of being between two fires, hauled up between them, and ran cloſe in ſhore, until he was becalmed about a league to the northward of Donna-Maria bay. The Centaur chaced, and got up along-aſide; upon which the Frenchman, who had fired his ſtern chace, ſtruck his colours, and ſurrendered a very fine ſhip, pierced for ſixty-four guns, loaded with coffee, ſugar, and indigo, and manned with near 400 ſailors and marines.

Earlier in the ſame year the French were foiled in an attempt to regain a footing on the coaſt of Africa. They were too ſenſible of the advantages attending the lucrative trade of this coaſt,

A. D. 1761. to remain ſatisfied under a total excluſion from it. In order to recover ſome part of what they had loſt, they ſent two frigates to ſurprize James-fort at the mouth of the Gambia. The little garriſon there, received them with ſuch reſolution, that one frigate was forced on ſhore, and loſt; and the other ſailed off, after having ſuſtained conſiderable damage. There had been two more frigates appointed by the French to act on this ſervice. But theſe had been intercepted by Sir Edward Hawke's ſquadron, ſtationed in the bay of Quiberon.

This unimportant capture, and that of a few merchantmen of little value, did not juſtify to the nation the inactivity in which the Britiſh ſquadron on the coaſt of France had been allowed to remain. Something of greater conſequence was expected from ſuch a powerful armament under the direction of ſuch naval commanders as Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. But in the month of March, to the general ſurprize and indignation of the public, the two admirals returned to Spithead, and another ſquadron, with a great body of land forces on board, was afterwards ſent to occupy their ſtation. This ſquadron conſiſted of the Sandwich, ninety guns; the Valiant, Temeraire, Torbay, Dragon, and Swiftſure, ſeventy-four guns each; the Prince of Orange, ſeventy guns; the Hampton-court and Eſſex, ſixty-four guns each; the Achilles, ſixty guns; and ſeveral frigates, bomb-ketches and fire-ſhips, with upwards of an hundred tranſports, carrying 900 ſoldiers under the command of major-general Hodgſon. The expedition was intended againſt Belleiſle, the reduction of which, it was imagined, would be attended with inconſiderable difficulties and many advantages. This iſland is between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference, and the largeſt of all the European iſlands belonging to the French king. It contains only one city called La Palais, three country towns, 103 villages, and about 5000 inhabitants, who live by the natural fertility of the ſoil, and the curing and vending of pilchards. There are three harbours in this iſland, Palais, Lauzion, and Goulfard, every one of which labours under ſome conſiderable defect. But, although the harbours are bad, ſmall privateers might iſſue from thence greatly to the moleſtation of the French coaſting trade, and the fleet of England might ride, between theſe harbours and the continent of France, in a well-

protected

protected road. The real advantages, however, arising from this conqueſt, were not the only inducements to undertake it. Nothing could wound more cruelly the pride of France than the acquiſition of what might be regarded as a part of her coaſt; and, at the ſame time, the jealouſy of Spain would be leſs alarmed by our advantages in this quarter, than by thoſe which we might obtain by puſhing our conqueſts in the Weſt Indies. A. D. 1761.

The fleet ſailed from Spithead on the 29th of March in three diviſions, commanded by commodore Keppel, Sir Thomas Stanhope, and captain Barton. On the 6th of April a weſterly wind enabled them to approach the coaſt of France, and the commodore detached ſeveral frigates, with orders to ſtation themſelves in ſuch a manner as might intercept the enemy's communication with the continent. Next morning the fleet paſſed along the ſouthern ſhore of the iſland, and came to an anchor in the great road, about 12 o'clock at noon. The commanders agreed, that the deſcent ought to be made on the ſouth-eaſt extremity of the iſland, near the Point Lomaria. But, in order to amuſe the enemy, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ſhips conveyed the troops to the intended landing-place, and ſilenced a battery which the enemy had there erected. The flat-bottomed boats were now approaching the ſhore, and about 260 had actually landed under the command of major Purcel and captain Oſborne, when the enemy, ſuddenly appearing on the heights, poured in ſuch a ſevere fire as threw them into the utmoſt confuſion, and intimidated the reſt of the troops from landing. Captain Oſborne, at the head of 60 grenadiers, advanced with great intrepidity ſo near as to exchange ſeveral thruſts with the French officer. But the handful of men which he commanded were ſoon overpowered by numbers. He himſelf, as well as major Purcel and two ſea-officers, were ſhot, and the attempt ended with the loſs of above 500 killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. This diſcouraging check was ſucceeded by tempeſtuous weather, which did conſiderable damage to the large veſſels, and ſtaved or overſet 20 flat-bottomed boats.

Theſe diſaſters did not diſpirit the Engliſh commanders. They determined to examine the whole coaſt, in order to find a place more favourable for another attack. As ſoon as the weather afforded

A. D. 1761. afforded them the proſpect of making a ſecond trial, they pitched on a place near the above-mentioned point of Lomaria, where the exceſſive ſteepneſs and difficulty of the rocks had rendered the enemy leſs attentive than elſewhere. On the 22d of April, in the morning, the troops were diſpoſed in flat-bottomed boats, and rowed towards different parts of the iſland; which diſtracted the French operations, and obliged them to divide their forces. Meanwhile captain Paterſon, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, landed near Lomaria, mounted the precipice with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, and ſuſtained the whole fire of the enemy, until they were reinforced by the approach of the greateſt part of the Engliſh troops. The French then retired before the bayonets of the Britiſh ſoldiers, leaving many of their wounded companions and ſeveral field-pieces. Nor was the action without loſs on our ſide. Forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were colonel Mackenzie and captain Murray of the marines, and captain Paterſon of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who loſt his arm in the engagement.

The whole army being now landed, Mr. de St. Croix ordered all his out-poſts to repair to a camp under the walls of the town of Palais, where he determined to make a vigorous defence, his forces, when joined by the militia of the iſland, amounting to four thouſand men fit for ſervice. On the 23d of April the Engliſh troops were formed into columns, and began their march towards the capital of the iſland. Next day general Hodgſon ordered a detachment of light horſe to take poſt at Sauzon; and, on the 25th, a corps of infantry took poſſeſſion of a village called Bordilla; and the whole army intrenched itſelf in that neighbourhood. The tempeſtuous weather rendering it impoſſible to bring on ſhore the artillery and implements neceſſary in a ſiege, the French governor ſeized this opportunity to erect ſix redoubts for defending the avenues of Palais, the citadel of which had been planned and fortified with admirable ſkill by the celebrated Vauban. General Hodgſon, compelled by neceſſity to defer his military operations, publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the inhabitants, offering them the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, provided they would ſubmit themſelves to the protection of the Engliſh government;

an

an aſſurance which had conſiderable effect on the natives, but A. D.
produced no alteration on the reſolution of the governor, who, 1761.
when ſummoned to ſurrender, declared he was determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity. About the latter end of April ſome mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, and the beſiegers broke ground on the 2d of May. The day after, in the evening, the enemy attacked the trenches with great vigour, and threw the piquets on the left in confuſion. Notwithſtanding the efforts of general Crawford, who performed every thing that could be expected from the bravery and conduct of an experienced officer, the works of the beſiegers were deſtroyed, ſeveral hundreds of their men were killed, and the general with his two aid-du-camps fell into the hands of the enemy. The French did not attempt to puſh the advantage any farther, by attacking the piquets on the right, who had prepared to give them a warm reception. They retired after their firſt ſucceſs, and allowed the Britiſh to repair the damage which they had ſuſtained. This was done in leſs than twenty-four hours, and a redoubt was alſo begun on the right of the works to prevent a ſecond ſurprize.

From this time the ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour; and the beſieged gave ſuch continual proofs of their courage and activity, as confirmed the reputation of Mr. de St. Croix for a gallant officer, conſummate in the art of war. The engineers being unanimouſly of opinion that the works could not be properly advanced until the French redoubts ſhould be taken, the general made the diſpoſition for that purpoſe on the 13th. The attack began at day-break, with four pieces of cannon and thirty cohorns, which poured a terrible fire into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank. This opened a way for a detachment of marines, ſuſtained by part of Loudon's regiment, to advance to the parapet, and, with fixed bayonets, to drive the French from the works, and take poſſeſſion of the poſt. The other redoubts were ſucceſſively reduced by the ſame detachment reinforced by Colvill's regiment, and the enemy were compelled, after great ſlaughter, to take ſhelter in the citadel. Such was the ardour of the aſſailants, that they entered the ſtreets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives; and having

A. D. 1761. having taken poſſeſſion of the town, they releaſed the Engliſh priſoners above-mentioned.

The defence being now confined intirely to the citadel, which could have no communication either with the reſt of the iſland or with the continent of France, it was evident that the place muſt ſoon be obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. But Mr. de St. Croix determined to ſell it as dearly as poſſible, and to maintain his own honour at leaſt, if he could not the poſſeſſion of the citadel of Palais. On the part of the Engliſh nothing was neglected. Parallels were finiſhed, barricadoes made, batteries conſtructed, an inceſſant fire from mortars and artillery was maintained day and night, from the 13th of May till the 25th. Then the fire of the enemy began to abate; by the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and, notwithſtanding the indefatigable induſtry of the governor in repairing the damage, the fire of the beſiegers increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the breach became practicable by the 7th of June, and the place was apparently no longer tenable. Then Mr. de St. Croix capitulated upon terms[b] not unworthy of his noble defence, and the garriſon marched out with the honours of war.

Thus was the whole iſland of Belleiſle reduced under the Engliſh government after a defence of two months, in the courſe of which we loſt eighteen hundred men killed and wounded. The loſs moſt regretted was that of Sir William Williams, a young gentleman of great talents and expectations, who had already made a diſtinguiſhed figure in parliament. He was the third gentleman of faſhion, whom, in this war, the love of glory had brought to an honourable death in hoſtile expeditions againſt the coaſt of France.

Having particularized the ſucceſsful operations of the Britiſh ſquadrons in the taking of Belleiſle, Dominica, and Pondicherry, as well as in defeating the projects which the French meditated againſt our ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, we ſhall mention the exploits performed by ſingle cruizers in the courſe of the year, many of which confer the higheſt honour on the Britiſh flag. Captain Elphinſtone, commander of the Richmond frigate, of 32 guns and 220 men, ſtationed on the coaſt of Flanders, being inform-

[b] See Appendix, N°. 9.

ed

ed that a French frigate called the Felicité had made a prize of an Engliſh merchantman, ſailed in queſt of the enemy; and coming in ſight of her, about eleven at night on the 23d, a ſevere engagement began next day, about ten in the morning, near Graveſande, which is but eight miles diſtant from the Hague. The vicinity of the place induced the young prince of Orange, as well as the ambaſſadors of England and France, to ſet out, in order to view the combat, in the iſſue of which, as the ſhips were exactly of equal force, the honour of the two nations was materially intereſted. About noon both ſhips ran aſhore, along-ſide of each other; and in this ſituation the fight continued with great obſtinacy, till the French abandoned their quarters, their ſhip being much damaged, the captain ſlain, and above 100 men killed or wounded. The Richmond ſoon floated, without ſuſtaining any conſiderable hurt, having obtained the victory at the expence of three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French ambaſſador loudly exclaimed againſt this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded ſignal reparation for the inſult and injury which his countrymen had ſuſtained. But the Dutch at that time did not think it convenient to urge their remonſtrances with vehemence, and they were anſwered in ſuch a manner by the Britiſh ambaſſador as prevented any difficulties ariſing between the two courts. A. D. 1761.

On the 23d of the ſame month captain Hood, commanding the Minerva frigate of 32 guns and 220 men, cruizing in the chops of the channel, deſcried a large ſhip of two decks ſteering to the weſtward. This was the Warwick of 60 guns taken from the Engliſh, the moſt boaſted capture the enemy had made in the courſe of the war. She had formerly carried 60, but was now mounted with only 36 guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger de Belair. Her crew amounted to about 300 men, including a company of ſoldiers intended as a reinforcement to the garriſon of Pondicherry. Notwithſtanding her ſuperiority, captain Hood gave chace, and, the wind blowing a freſh eaſterly gale, he came up with her at 20 minutes paſt ten. His attack was warmly returned; the fire on both ſides was terrible. Several maſts of both ſhips were ſhot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the ſea ran very high; ſo that the crews were greatly incumbered by their broken maſts and ſhattered

A. D. 1761. rigging. The high ſea ſeparated them, and the Warwick fell to leeward. About a quarter after eleven the Minerva's bowſprit was carried away, and the fore-maſt ſoon followed it. This misfortune made captain Hood almoſt deſpair of coming up with the enemy, who had got three leagues to leeward. However, he cleared his ſhip with incredible activity, and, bearing down, renewed the attack about four o'clock. In three quarters of an hour the enemy ſtruck, having thirteen men killed and thirty-five wounded. The loſs of men was equal on board the Minerva, and all her maſts were deſtroyed: nevertheleſs, her prize was conveyed in triumph to Spithead. On the 8th of the ſame month captain Hood had taken the Ecureil privateer belonging to Bayonne, of 14 guns and 122 men.

On the 13th of March another French ſhip called the Entreprenant, built for 44 guns, but mounted with 26, having 200 men on board and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the Vengeance frigate commanded by captain Nightingale. The Vengeance was mounted with 26 guns, nine and four pounders, and carried 200 men. There was a great diſparity in the ſize of the ſhips and in the weight of metal. But the Engliſh captain, as uſual, gave chace, and got up with the enemy at five o'clock in the afternoon. The action was maintained on both ſides with uncommon fury, and continued for near an hour, during which time the Vengeance being ſet on fire, the Entreprenant ran her bowſprit upon the taffaril of the Engliſh frigate, with an intention to board her. In this deſign, however, the French miſcarried through the ſkill and activity of captain Nightingale, who found means to clear himſelf, and ſtood to leeward, in order to repair his rigging. The ſhip was no ſooner in proper condition than he ranged cloſe up again to the enemy, whoſe fire was ſtill directed againſt the rigging of the Engliſh frigate, which, after this ſecond attack had laſted above an hour, being again diſabled, allowed the enemy to ſheer off, and bear away. But the Engliſh a ſecond time repaired their damage, wore ſhip, ran up within piſtol-ſhot, and began a third attack more furious than any of the preceding. The engagement continued an hour and an half before the Entreprenant called for quarter. She had 15 men killed, and 24 wounded.

wounded. The Vengeance had an equal number wounded, but only ſix men killed. A. D. 1761.

Theſe loſſes did not complete the misfortunes of the French navy, during the preſent year, in the Britiſh ſeas. In April, a French frigate called the Comete, of 32 guns, and 250 men, juſt ſailed from Breſt, was taken by captain Deane of the Bedford man of war, and conveyed ſafely into Portſmouth. About the ſame time captain Bograve of the Albany ſloop of 16 guns and 125 men, came up with the Pheaſant frigate, of equal force, after a chace of 28 hours. The French captain, having thrown his guns overboard, ſtruck as ſoon as the Albany came along-ſide of him, and the prize was carried into Spithead. In the courſe of the ſame month a large Eaſt India ſhip, fitted out from France, with 28 guns and 350 men, fell in with the Hero and the Venus, commanded by the captains Forteſcue and Harriſon, and, being taken without oppoſition, was carried into Plymouth.

The ſame ſpirit of enterprize and activity diſtinguiſhed the cruizers belonging to the ſquadron commanded by vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean. In the beginning of April the Oriflamme, a French ſhip of 40 guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was deſcried by the Iſis of 50 guns, commanded by captain Wheeler. The Engliſh captain gave chace, and came up with the enemy about ſix in the evening; but the Frenchman, having the advantage of the wind, maintained a running fight till half paſt ten, during which captain Wheeler unfortunately was ſhot. The command devolved on lieutenant Cunningham, who perceiving it to be the enemy's intention to reach, if poſſible, the neutral coaſt of Spain, ordered his men to board her, which was done with great bravery; and, her commander in a ſhort time ſubmitting, ſhe was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to 45: the loſs of the Iſis did not exceed four killed, and nine wounded. The next action in thoſe ſeas was much more deſtructive to the Britiſh ſailors. The Thunderer, captain Proby, in company with the Modeſte, Thetis, and Favourite ſloop, cruized off the coaſt of Spain, with a view to intercept the Achilles and Bouffon, two French ſhips of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz. Theſe were deſcried on the 16th of July by the

A. D. 1761. Britiſh ſhips, which gave them chace. The Thunderer came up with the Achilles about midnight, and, after a ſhort but warm action of half an hour, obliged the enemy to ſtrike. The French had, on this occaſion, fired their guns with more effect than uſual; for in the Engliſh ſhip 40 men were killed, and upwards of 100 wounded: among the latter was the captain. The Thetis purſued the Bouffon, but could not bring her to an engagement till ſeven next morning. The engagement was maintained on both ſides with great impetuoſity for the ſpace of half an hour, when the Modeſte ranging up, and thus putting the French ſhip between two fires, compelled her to ſubmit. The victors carried their prizes, which had been much damaged in their rigging, and ſuffered great loſs in their crews, into the bay of Gibraltar.

Theſe advantageous captures were preludes to one of the moſt remarkable and glorious actions that diſtinguiſhed the whole war. On the 10th of Auguſt captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ſhip of the line, and captain Logie of the Brilliant, a frigate of 30 guns, ſailed from the river Tagus for England, and on the 14th diſcovered three ſail ſtanding in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. Theſe veſſels had no ſooner deſcried captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him until within the diſtance of ſeven miles, when ſeeing the Bellona and the Brilliant through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmoſphere, they concluded they were both two-decked ſhips, and, dreading the iſſue of an engagement, reſolved to avoid it by flight. The Engliſh captains, judging them to be enemies by their crowding ſail to eſcape, immediately chaced, which continued all night. At five in the morning they approached ſo near as to diſcern the Courageux, a 74 gun ſhip, and two frigates of 36 guns, the Malicieuſe and the Hermione. The French captain now perceived, that one of the Engliſh veſſels was a frigate; and the Bellona, being one of the beſt conſtructed ſhips in the Engliſh navy, lay ſo fluſh in the water, that ſhe appeared at a diſtance conſiderably ſmaller than ſhe really was. The Frenchman, therefore, no longer declined the engagement, but hoiſted a red enſign in the mizen-ſhrouds as a ſignal for his two frigates to cloſe with and attack the Brilliant. At the ſame time he took in his ſtudding ſails, wore ſhip, and ſtood for the Bellona, while captain Faulkner

Faulkner advanced with an eaſy ſail, manned his quarters, and made every neceſſary diſpoſition for an obſtinate engagement. A. D. 1761.

Both commanders had a fair opportunity to meaſure their ſtrength and abilities. The wind was gentle, the ſea calm; the ſhips were of equal rates, their guns and weight of metal the ſame The Courageux had 700 men; the Bellona 550. While the veſſels came up with each other, the fire was ſuſpended on both ſides till they were within piſtol-ſhot. The engagement then began with a dreadful fire of muſkets and artillery. In leſs than ten minutes all the Bellona's braces, ſhrouds, and rigging, were tore and ſhattered, and her mizen-maſt went by the board, with the men on the round top, who ſaved their lives with much difficulty, by clambering into the port-holes. Captain Faulkner, apprehenſive that the enemy would ſeize the opportunity of his being diſabled, to ſheer off, gave orders for immediate boarding; but the Courageux, by falling athwart the bow of her enemy, rendered this altogether impracticable. In this poſition the Engliſh ſhip might be raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and moſt of the other ropes by which ſhe could be worked, were already ſhot away. But captain Faulkner made uſe of the ſtudding ſails with ſuch dexterity as to wear the ſhip quite round; and his officers and men, perceiving this change of poſition, flew to the guns on the other ſide, now oppoſed to the enemy, from which they poured a terrible diſcharge, which continued twenty minutes without intermiſſion or abatement. The fire became ſo intolerable that the French hauled down their enſign, and called for quarter. The damage done to the rigging of the Bellona was conſiderable; but ſhe had ſuffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The Courageux, on the other hand, appeared like a wreck on the water. Nothing was ſeen but her fore-maſt and bowſprit; her decks were torn up in ſeveral places, and large breaches were made in her ſides. Above 220 of her men were killed, and half that number of wounded were brought on ſhore at Liſbon, to which place the prize was conveyed.

During the action between the larger ſhips, captain Logie of the Brilliant had diſplayed the moſt ſignal courage and addreſs. He could not attempt to board, or expect to make prize of two

ſhips,

A. D. 1761. ſhips, each of which was of equal ſtrength with his own. But he ſo managed his attack and defence as to keep the two French frigates continually employed, and to prevent either of them from giving the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance to the Courageux. Finally, he obliged them both to ſheer off, and to conſult their ſafety by flight, after they had ſuffered conſiderably in their maſts and rigging.

In all the engagements which we have deſcribed the advantage was continually on the ſide of the Engliſh. The French neither managed their ſhips with that facility, nor fought their guns with that dexterity and ſkill, which appeared in all the operations of their opponents. Their aukwardneſs in working ſhip may be aſcribed to inexperience; but their inferiority in managing their guns, it is impoſſible to refer to any ſuch cauſe. The French ſailors are regularly taught the practical part of gunnery, an advantage which the Engliſh, in general, have little opportunity to acquire. But even here the Britiſh ſeamen ſhewed themſelves, on every occaſion, ſuperior to the enemy; a ſuperiority owing, not to their education or diſcipline, but to that bravery and reſolution which never forſake them in the moment of danger, but allow them to remain in full poſſeſſion of their faculties at a time when the French are rendered incapable, through fear, of any vigorous exertion either of mind or body.

In the courſe of the year 1761 the French loſt 117 privateers and armed merchantmen, which mounted 698 carriage-guns and 239 ſwivels, and carried 5576 men, excluſive of four Indiamen, of which the cargoes were valued at near 400,000 pounds, and many unarmed merchant-ſhips. Their royal navy was deprived of ſix ſhips of the line and eight frigates, which together carried 636 guns and 6240 men. In the courſe of the ſame year the Engliſh loſt 814 merchantmen, a proportion of three to one, which aroſe from the inattention of the Engliſh veſſels to the orders of the convoys ſent to protect them, from the immenſe numbers of them which covered the ſeas, and from the enemy's venturing the whole remains of their ſtrength in privateers fitted out in order to interrupt our commercial navigation. Among all the veſſels that were taken we find but one of any conſiderable value, the Ajax Eaſt Indiaman, captain Lindſey from Bengal, valued at 200,000 pounds. Excepting the

Warwick,

Warwick, which was retaken, the royal navy loſt but one ſmall veſſel, the Speedwell cutter of eight guns; and the captain was honourably acquitted by a court-martial, who were unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſaid cutter, being taken in the harbour of Vigo, was an illegal capture. There is a circumſtance which ſhews in a clearer light than the number of captures, the general reſult of the naval advantages obtained by Great Britain. Notwithſtanding the various exchanges made by cartel ſhips in the courſe of the year, we ſtill retained in our poſſeſſion upwards of 25,000 French priſoners; whereas the number of Engliſh priſoners in France did not exceed 1200. A. D. 1761.

Notwithſtanding many ſpirited exertions of the Engliſh navy in the year 1761, it is obvious, that the naval as well as the military operations of Great Britain had continued gradually to languiſh during the courſe of two years. The French, like ruined gameſters, had little more to loſe, and the ſmallneſs of the ſtake produced a degree of phlegm and indifference in the victors, which deprived them of their wonted activity. Beſides this, all their external glory could not alleviate their domeſtic ſufferings. Great Britain groaned under a burden of an hundred millions, without enjoying any other conſolation than that of ſeeing her opponent as much indebted, and more exhauſted, than herſelf. Had the parties, therefore, been left to their own ſtrength and reſources, there would ſpeedily have been an end of the conteſt. But France, by a dexterity of negociation, of which there is hardly an example in hiſtory, acquired, at the end of a moſt ruinous war, ſuch a powerful and hearty aſſiſtance as afforded her the faireſt hopes of retrieving all her misfortunes. We have already hinted at the partiality of Spain in the cauſe of our enemies, and the motives of her uneaſineſs at the unexampled ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms. Theſe were heightened by the intrigues of the French ambaſſador at the court of Madrid; ſo that while our artful and ambitious rival was negociating a treaty at London, and ſeemed deſirous of procuring the bleſſings of peace by the moſt humiliating conceſſions, her miniſter at the Spaniſh court was employed in ſuch meaſures as, inſtead of extinguiſhing the flames of war, tended to ſpread them more widely, and to make them rage with redoubled fury. Every conceſſion on the part of France was a new incen- 1762.

tive

A. D. 1762. tive to the animoſity of Spain. When the negociation of the peace, therefore, ſeemed neareſt to a concluſion, it was preciſely at that time the fartheſt removed from an happy iſſue; for then was the moment for Spain to interpoſe, and, at one exploſion, to blow up the whole baſis of the treaty. Along with a very agreeable plan for an accommodation, Mr. Buſſy, the French agent at London, delivered a private memorial, ſignifying, that, in order to eſtabliſh the peace upon the moſt ſolid foundation, it might be proper to invite the king of Spain to guaranty and confirm it; and for this purpoſe it would be neceſſary finally to adjuſt the differences which ſubſiſted between the crowns of Spain and England. He condeſcended on three points which had been diſputed between theſe crowns, the reſtitution of the captures which had been made on the Spaniſh flag, the privilege of the Spaniſh nation to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland, and the demolition of the Engliſh ſettlements made in the bay of Honduras.

When theſe unexpected propoſals were made, the manly ſpirit of Mr. Pitt rejected, with the utmoſt ſcorn, the idea of negociating the diſputes of his nation with Spain, a power with which we were actually at peace, through the medium of an enemy humbled and almoſt at our feet. He called on the Spaniſh ambaſſador to diſavow this extraordinary memorial, which was equally inſolent and irregular, as matters of ſuch high moment, relating to the intereſts of Spain, ought not to have been propoſed by a French agent, commiſſioned to negociate a particular and diſtinct buſineſs, when the Spaniards had an ambaſſador reſiding in London, from whom no intimation of theſe matters had been previouſly received. But the Spaniard, when thus called upon, inſtead of diſavowing, openly acknowledged and juſtified the ſtep taken by Mr. de Buſſy. He declared, that the kings of France and of Spain were united not only by the ties of blood but by a mutual intereſt. He magnified the humanity and greatneſs of mind which his moſt Chriſtian majeſty demonſtrated in the propoſition which had ſo unjuſtly given offence. He inſiſted much on the ſincere deſire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs, and concluded haughtily, that, if his maſter had been governed by any other principles, "his Catholic majeſty, giving full ſcope to

"his

« his greatneſs, would have ſpoken from himſelf, and as be- A. D.
« came his dignity." 1762.

Mr. Pitt had penetration enough to ſee through the veil that covered this hoſtile declaration. He perceived, that there was a perfect union of affections, intereſts, and councils between the two courts; that Spain muſt inevitably coincide with all the meaſures of France; and that, if ſhe deferred to declare war, it was only for her own convenience, and eſpecially becauſe ſhe waited the arrival of her flota from America. Totally poſſeſſed with this idea, the miniſter determined to act with a magnanimity becoming the dignity of his nation.

Great Britain was ſingularly circumſtanced at this period of time. She had carried on a continental war againſt France, Auſtria, the Empire, Ruſſia, in a word, all the great northern powers on the continent. She had deſtroyed the marine, the commerce, and the colonies of France. The interference of Spain alone was wanting to ſet her at war with all the great powers of Europe; and Spain is preciſely that country againſt which ſhe can at all times contend, with the faireſt proſpect of advantage and honour. That extenſive monarchy, though vigorous at the extremities, is exhauſted at the heart; her reſources lie at a great diſtance; and whatever power commands the ocean, may command the wealth and commerce of Spain.

The ſituation of Great Britain, as well as the character of the miniſter, ſoared above the timid policy which commonly prevails in modern courts. There was not only a great man, but a great occaſion, which is often wanting to a great man to diſplay the full force of his mind. Mr. Pitt aſſerted, with the magnanimous patriotiſm of an ancient Roman, that, deſpiſing uſeleſs ceremonies and inſignificant forms, we ought to conſider the evaſions of the Spaniſh court as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that refuſal as a ſufficient declaration of war; we ought therefore, from prudence as well as from ſpirit, to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow by interrupting the Spaniſh reſources in their arrival to Europe, and by the ſame early and effective meaſures, which had reduced France to a dependence on Spain, diſable Spain from giving aſſiſtance to France. This procedure was ſuited to the offended majeſty of the Britiſh empire, and would teach Spain and every other power the danger of preſuming to dictate in our affairs, or

A. D. 1762. to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, as inſidious as it was audacious. He would allow our enemies, whether ſecret or declared, no time to think and recollect themſelves.

The ſentiments of Mr. Pitt ſhocked the delicacy of his colleagues in adminiſtration. They talked of the chimerical heroiſm of unneceſſarily entering on a war, and of ſeeking new enemies, while no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new reſource whatſoever. To plunge into ſuch meaſures could not fail to alarm and ſcandalize all Europe. The Spaniſh king's partiality in favour of France was ſtill doubtful; but had we *real cauſe* not only for ſuſpicion but complaint, the law of nations and of reaſon requires, that recourſe ſhould be had to expoſtulation, and demands of ſatisfaction. If theſe failed of ſucceſs, then is the time to take up arms, after employing the forms univerſally acknowledged among civilized nations as neceſſary to diſtinguiſh lawful war from lawleſs violence and oppreſſion. This unſeaſonable oppoſition tranſported the miniſter beyond the bounds of moderation. He affirmed, "That this "was the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon; that, "if this opportunity were let ſlip, it might never be recovered, "and, if he could not prevail in this inſtance, he was reſolved "to ſit no longer in that council; that being called to the mi- "niſtry by the voice of the people, to whom he was account- "able for his conduct, he would not remain in a ſituation which "made him reſponſible for meaſures which he was not permit- "ted to guide." Accordingly he reſigned the ſeals the 9th of October, and his colleagues continued to negociate by means of lord Briſtol, ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, for near two months longer. Mr. Wall, the prime miniſter of Spain, was repeatedly ſolicited, in moderate and inoffenſive terms, to diſcloſe the nature of the treaty, which, as the French induſtriouſly circulated, had taken place among all the different branches of the houſe of Bourbon. As often as the queſtion was propoſed, it was artfully avoided. At length, lord Briſtol being inſtructed to make the demand with greater force, Mr. Wall entered into a long and bitter complaint againſt England, accuſed her of inſolence and ambition, of a boundleſs deſire of conqueſt and dominion, and of having ſhown to the world, by the haughtineſs of her late proceedings, that ſhe intended to drive the French

French from all their poſſeſſions in the new world that ſhe might have an eaſier taſk in ſeizing the Spaniſh dominions in thoſe parts; that he would be the man to adviſe the king of Spain not to ſuffer his territories to be invaded, without arming his ſubjects in their defence. As to the queſtion which had been ſo often put to him, he gave no other reply, but that the king his maſter had thought proper to renew his family compacts; and then, as if he had gone farther than he was authorized, he ſuddenly changed the diſcourſe, and continued his declamatory invective againſt Great Britain. This was the happy effect of the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry, whoſe forbearance and good breeding were repaid by inſult and reproach. At length their patience forſook them; they perceived that longer moderation would be conſtrued into fear, and they ſent orders to lord Briſtol to renew his inſtances concerning the treaty with becoming firmneſs, while at the ſame time he ſignified, that a refuſal to diſcloſe its contents, or to diſavow an intention to take part with our enemies, would be conſidered as an aggreſſion on the part of Spain, and an abſolute declaration of war. The demand was made in the preciſe terms of the order, and then the pride of Spain tore aſunder that veil which her policy had ſo long thought proper to aſſume. Her flota was by this time ſafe in the harbour of Cadiz. She was now ſecure as to her intereſt, and could give full ſcope to her reſentment. Mr. Wall, therefore, replied to the Engliſh requiſition in theſe memorable words: "That the ſpirit of haughtineſs and diſcord, which "dictated this inconſiderate demand of the Engliſh miniſtry, "and which, for the misfortune of mankind, ſtill reigns ſo "much in the Britiſh government, is what has made the decla- "ration of war; that in that moment the war was declared, "when the king's dignity was attacked; and that the Engliſh "ambaſſador might return how and when he thought proper."

A. D. 1762.

The earl of Briſtol quitted Madrid the 17th of December; and ſoon after the Spaniſh ambaſſador left London. Europe was thus plunged into a new war by the very means which had been uſed to draw her out of an old one. A mere punctilio, if we can poſſibly believe Mr. Wall, was the motive which weighed with his maſter and himſelf, and prompted their humane magnanimity to involve one half of Europe in diſcord and miſe-

A. D. 1762. ry. But whoever diligently attends to the meaſures of the Spaniſh court from the memorial preſented by Mr. de Buſſy to the final anſwer of Mr. Wall, will perceive, that their motives to hoſtility were of a nature more ſerious and important. The inſult offered to the king's honour in the queſtion propoſed by lord Briſtol, might have been eaſily done away. Spain might have required England to diſavow the proceedings of her ambaſſador, a requeſt which, upon ſufficient ſecurity of the pacific intentions of the former, the latter would readily have granted. But the inſult to the king's honour was held out as a pretence for coming to a rupture at a time which ſeemed to ſuit the intereſts of Spain. The real cauſe of the war was her partiality for the French, her uneaſineſs at ſeeing the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Bourbon reduced to extremity, and her jealouſy of the growing power of England, whoſe renown offended her pride, and whoſe naval greatneſs threatened the ſafety of her diſtant dominions. It appeared, however, to Mr. Wall, to be below the dignity of the Spaniſh monarch to avow reaſons of diſguſt, in which fear ſeemed to have any ſhare. He therefore directed the count de Fuentes his ambaſſador at London, to carry on the farce, and, before he left the Engliſh court, to publiſh a paper or manifeſto, in which he aſſigns, as the only cauſe of the rupture, the inſulting manner in which the affairs of Spain had been treated during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration. He declares to the Britiſh king, to the Engliſh nation, and to the whole univerſe, that the horrors of war, into which the Spaniards and Engliſh are going to plunge themſelves, muſt be attributed only to the immeaſurable ambition of him who held the reins of the government, and who appears ſtill to hold them, although by another hand; that, if the reſpect due to royal majeſty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty: the miniſters of Spain might have ſaid frankly to thoſe of England what the count de Fuentes, by the king's expreſs orders, declares publicly, *viz.* that the much-talked-of treaty is only a convention between the members of the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing that has the leaſt relation to the preſent war; that there is an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two ſovereigns, but it is ſpecified therein, that that guaranty is not to be

be underſtood but of the dominions which ſhall remain to France after the preſent war ſhall be ended. A. D. 1762.

This extraordinary paper, which may be called the king of Spain's declaration of war againſt the right honourable William Pitt, Eſq; was evidently intended for the ignoble purpoſe of ſowing diſſenſions among the ſubjects of Great Britain. It was anſwered in every article with the utmoſt moderation, perſpicuity, and force, in a memorial publiſhed by lord Egremont, who ſucceeded Mr. Pitt as ſecretary for the ſouthern department. It is obvious, that the Spaniſh manifeſto, whilſt it pretends to ſet forth the purport of a treaty dated the 15th of Auguſt, does not deny the exiſtence of any other treaty, which might more offenſively concern the intereſts of Great Britain; nor does it ſay the leaſt word that can explain the intentions of Spain, or the farther engagements that ſhe may have contracted with France.

When the terms of this famous treaty came to be diſcloſed, it was found to contain articles ſufficient to alarm not only Great Britain, againſt whoſe intereſts it was particularly levelled, but all the other powers of Europe. It was rather an act of incorporation, than of alliance among the kings of France, Spain, the two Sicilies, the duke of Parma, and all the branches of the Bourbon houſe. It contained ſtipulations hitherto unheard of in any treaty. By the 23d and 24th articles, the ſubjects of the ſeveral branches of that auguſt family are admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a general participation of reciprocal privileges and immunities. They appear, by the 26th article, to diſcloſe to one another their alliances and negociations. By the 17th and 18th they formally engage not to make, or even to liſten to any propoſal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual conſent, being determined in time of peace, as well as in time of war, to conſider the intereſts of France and Spain as the ſame, to compenſate their ſeveral loſſes and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the ſame power. There are but two reſtrictions to the extent of this ſcheme. The direct trade to America forms an exception to the abſolute community of intereſts, and in the 8th article it is provided, that France ſhall not be intitled to the aſſiſtance of Spain, when ſhe is involved in a war in conſequence of her engagements by the treaty of Weſtphalia, unleſs ſome maritime

power

A. D. 1762. power take part in thoſe wars. This article plainly points at the object againſt which the whole treaty was more immediately directed. It indicates, that the direct and immediate tendency of the whole is to affect England, and inſinuates to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England is the circumſtance which is to provoke the reſentment, and call forth the activity of Spain.

Excepting theſe two reſtrictions, the family-compact produced that intire union between the French and Spaniſh monarchies, which was ſo much dreaded on the death of Charles II. and which it was the great object of the treaty of partition, and the war of the grand alliance, to prevent. France acquired by negociation and intrigue what ſhe could never acquire by force of arms, and, at the cloſe of an unfortunate war, obtained an advantage greater than any ſhe could have expected from the moſt fortunate iſſue of her affairs.

England was never placed in a more critical ſituation. She had to contend not only againſt all the great continental powers, but againſt the principal naval ſtrength of Europe. When war was declared in January 1762, the Spaniards had at Ferrol 11 ſhips of the line ready to ſail, and their whole fleet amounted to 100 ſhips of war [c].

The French, upon the concluſion of the family-compact [d], felt themſelves animated with new vigour. The ſhattered remains of their navy became of conſideration when united with that of Spain. The ſpirits of the people, long ſunk in deſpondency, revived, and great exertions were made to put their fleet once more on a reſpectable footing. The government tried every re-

[c] LIST of the SPANISH FLEET.

1	Ship of	—	86 guns.	1	Ship of	—	50 guns.
1	—	—	84 —	3	—	—	30 —
2	—	—	80 —	7	—	—	26 —
1	—	—	76 —	3	—	—	24 —
1	—	—	74 —	8	—	—	22 —
7	—	—	70 —	5	—	—	20 —
29	—	—	68 —	5	—	—	18 —
1	—	—	64 —	4	—	—	16 —
1	—	—	62 —		BOMBKETCHES.		
8	—	—	60 —	4	of	—	16 guns
	—	—	58 —	1	—	—	14 —
					Four fire-ſhips.		

[d] See Appendix, N°. 10.

ſource;

ſource; private merchants contributed the laſt farthing for equipping privateers, and ſeveral communities engaged to fit out men of war at their own expence. A. D. 1762.

Great Britain enjoyed peculiar and ſufficient advantages to excite her activity, and to balance the combination of all her enemies. The uniform tenor of ſucceſs on our ſide made the people believe themſelves invincible; and this belief, combined with the ſolid experience acquired in ſuch a variety of ſervices, and ſo many ſharp conflicts by ſea and land, inſpired an enthuſiaſm of diſciplined valour, which indeed rendered it almoſt impoſſible to reſiſt them. The proſpect of a Spaniſh war, while it held forth the hopes of immenſe plunder, conſpired with the prevailing propenſities, and rouſed to the moſt vigorous exertions of public and private ſtrength. Nor had the parliament, which met the 3d of November, 1761, been wanting in liberality to ſecond the generous ardour of the nation. They went through the eſtimates with diligence, and granted ſuch liberal ſupplies as greatly exceeded thoſe of all former years. 70,000 ſeamen, including 19,061 marines, were voted for the ſervice of the year 1762; the land forces were maintained at the number of 67,676, beſides the militia of England, the two regiments of ſencible men in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and 67,177 German auxiliaries to ſupport the war of Weſtphalia. For the payment of the ſea and land forces, of ſubſidies to our German allies, and of the deficiencies of the grants of former ſeſſions, they voted the ſum of 18,617,895 l. 2 s. 8 d. of which 12,000,000 were borrowed on remote funds, at four *per cent. per ann.* with an addition of 1 *per cent. per ann.* for 99 years.

When war was declared againſt Spain, his majeſty granted a commiſſion, impowering the admiralty to iſſue letters of marque, for privateers to act againſt the ſubjects of that kingdom. At the ſame time he communicated the meaſure which the treaty between Spain and France had compelled him to take, in a ſpeech to both houſes of parliament. Such ample ſupplies were already granted, that no farther demand was made on this account; and ſo immenſely had the power of England increaſed in the courſe of three reigns, that an union, the ſuſpicion of which had alarmed all Europe in the time of the grand alliance, was beheld without the ſmalleſt ſymptom of fear or deſpondency.

The

A. D. 1762. The king of Great Britain diſdained not only to take any illiberal advantages of his enemies, but even to retort their wrongs. Although his Catholic majeſty detained the Britiſh ſhips in his ports, and laid reſtraints on the Britiſh ſubjects within his dominions, the ſubjects of Spain were left at entire liberty, and the merchantmen which had arrived in Engliſh harbours, before they had been apprized of the declaration of war, were allowed to depart in ſafety. This magnanimity became the dignity of the Britiſh nation. It is the part of fear to ſnatch at every pitiful advantage. But had Britain deſcended ſo low, it would have been unworthy of the grand ſcene of action and glory, which was now ready to open in remote parts of the earth.

The failure of the expedition againſt Martinico in 1759 did not diſcourage our adminiſtration from making this iſland the object of another attempt. Martinico ſtill furniſhed a conſiderable reſource to the declining commerce of France. It is the largeſt of all the Caribbee iſlands, advantageouſly ſituated between Barbadoes and Guadaloupe, and to windward of Antigua and St. Chriſtophers. It extends 20 leagues in length, and is about 130 miles in circumference, indented by a great number of creeks and harbours, diverſified with hill and dale, ſhaded with wood, watered by many ſtreams, and produces a very conſiderable quantity of ſugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento. Here the governor-general of all the French iſlands in the Weſt Indies reſides, and here is eſtabliſhed the ſovereign council, whoſe juriſdiction extends over the French Antilles, and even to the ſettlements of that crown in the iſlands of St. Domingo and Tortuga. In a word, Martinico is the moſt populous and flouriſhing of all the French ſettlements acroſs the Atlantic. Its towns and harbours are ſtrongly fortified; the country itſelf is rendered extremely difficult of acceſs by woods, rivers, rocks, and ravines; defended by a body of regular troops, beſides a diſciplined militia conſiſting of 10,000 white natives, and four times that number of negroes, whom they can arm in caſes of emergency. The acquiſition of Martinico would, in caſe of a peace, furniſh us with a place of the utmoſt importance, either to retain or to exchange; and, if Spain was unchangeably determined on a war, it would put us on a reſpectable footing in that part of the world where the Spaniards are moſt vulnerable,

nerable, and where, every wound affecting the vitals of the state, they feel with quickeſt ſenſibility. A. D. 1762.

The plan for proſecuting this important conqueſt had been laid down by Mr. Pitt; the preparations had been made, the officers appointed, and every neceſſary order given for carrying the whole deſign into execution. Upon a change of adminiſtration the project was not abandoned. As every thing, which had been the object of war in North America was by this time completely acquired, it was eaſy to draw a conſiderable part of the army from that quarter. A draught of eleven battalions was ordered from New York, and alſo to aſſemble the different bodies of troops that were ſcattered among the Leeward iſlands. Rear-admiral Rodney ſailed from England in October, and took on board his tranſports four battalions at Belleiſle. The general rendezvous was in the iſland of Barbadoes, where the united armaments from England and North America amounting to eighteen battalions and as many ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, bombs, and fire-ſhips, arrived in the month of December. The land-forces alone fell little ſhort of 12,000 men, and, taking the military and naval together, it was ſuch an armament as had never before been ſeen in that part of the world. The fleet proceeded from Barbadoes the fifth day of January, and on the eighth anchored in St. Anne's bay on the eaſtern coaſt of Martinico, after the ſhips had ſilenced ſome batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the iſland. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Raiſonable, a ſhip of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from which ſhe could not be diſengaged; but the crew were ſaved as well as the ſtores and artillery. General Monkton, who commanded the land-forces, judged this an improper place for a diſembarkation, and therefore detached the brigadiers Haviland and Grant under a ſtrong convoy to the bay of Petite Anſe, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the ſeamen and marines. The detachment then effected a landing, and marched to the ground oppoſite to Pigeon Iſland, which commands the harbour of Fort Royal; but, the roads being found impaſſable for artillery, general Monkton thought it improper to land the main body there, and proceeded to a creek called Cas Navires, where the whole forces were diſembarked on the

A. D. 1762. 16th, without the loſs of a man, the fleet having been ſtationed ſo properly, and directing their fire with ſuch effect, that the enemy was obliged in a ſhort time to abandon the batteries erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. The inhabitants of Martinico ſeemed determined to defend the iſland to the laſt extremity. Every paſs was guarded and fortified. The detachment which had firſt landed, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes; but theſe met with ſo warm a reception, that they were compelled, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, to retire with precipitation.

The general determined to attack the town and citadel of Fort Royal although his march thither was incumbered with difficulties and dangers, there being many ravines and gullies, very deep, and difficult of acceſs, well covered with batteries and redoubts, and defended by the ſlaves as well as natives in arms. Beſides the difficulties of the approach, the town and citadel are overlooked, and commanded by two very conſiderable eminences called Morne Tortueſon and Morne Garnier. Whilſt the enemy kept poſſeſſion of theſe, it was impoſſible to attack the town. They were protected like the other high grounds in this iſland by natural ravines, ſtrengthened by every contrivance of art. The Morne Tortueſon was firſt to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right, along the ſea-ſide, towards the town, in order to take the redoubts, which lay in the lower grounds. A thouſand ſailors in flat-bottomed boats rowed cloſe to the ſhore to aſſiſt them. On the left, towards the country, a corps of light infantry, properly ſupported, was to get round the enemy's left, whilſt the attack in the centre was made by the Britiſh grenadiers, and the main body of the army, under the fire of batteries which had been erected on the oppoſite ſide with great labour and perſeverance, the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the ſeamen, acroſs the enemy's line of fire, to which they expoſed themſelves with amazing indifference.

The attack, which was planned with ſo much judgment, was executed with equal ſpirit and reſolution. The Britiſh troops ſucceeded

ſucceeded in every quarter. The enemy were ſucceſſively driven from poſt to poſt; ſome fled into the town; others mounted to Morne Garnier; while the Engliſh ſtandard was diſplayed at Morne Tortueſon. But nothing deciſive could be effected againſt the town until the French were driven from the former eminence. It was three days before proper diſpoſitions could be made for this purpoſe. During this interval the enemy's whole force ſallied out of the town, or deſcended from the hill, and attacked the Engliſh in their advanced poſts. But they were repelled with ſingular bravery; and, the ardour of the Britiſh troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defenſive advantage into an attack, paſſed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, ſcaled the hill, ſeized the batteries, and poſted themſelves on the ſummit of Morne Garnier. A. D. 1762.

All the ſituations which commanded the town and citadel were now ſecured, and the Engliſh in the morning of the 28th, began to play their artillery; which the governor no ſooner obſerved than he ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February the gates were delivered up to the Engliſh, and next morning the garriſon, to the number of 800, marched out with the honours of war. On the 7th Pigeon Iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and counted one of the beſt defences of the harbour, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons, and obtained a capitulation ſimilar to that of the citadel. Deputations were ſent from different quarters of the iſland by the inhabitants, deſiring the ſame terms. But the governor-general, Mr. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre the capital, which he meant to defend with uncommon vigour. It is probable, however, that when he arrived there, his opinion was altered by the advice of the inhabitants. They ſaw the Engliſh maſters of all the reſt of the iſland; they reflected on the favourable capitulation which the iſland of Guadaloupe had obtained, and the good faith with which the terms of this capitulation had been obſerved. Although they changed maſters, they changed neither laws nor religion; their property was more ſecure than under the ancient government, their commerce more free and unreſtrained, and they were furniſhed with all neceſſaries from the dominions of Great Britain; whereas formerly they depended for ſubſiſtence upon the moſt precarious

A. D. 1762. and hazardous methods of ſupply. Theſe conſiderations had great weight with the inhabitants of St. Pierre, who perſuaded the governor to ſend two deputies with propoſals of capitulation. On the 14th the terms were ſettled, and the agreement ſigned. On the 16th the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood, while the governor-general, the lieutenant-governor, the ſtaff-officers, and about 320 grenadiers were embarked in tranſports to be conveyed to France. Theſe ſignal ſucceſſes were obtained at the ſmall expence of 400 men, including a few officers killed and wounded in the different attacks. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal, and a much greater number, from other parts of the iſland, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in conſequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who in all other reſpects were very favourably treated [e].

The ſurrender of Martinico, which was the ſeat of government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the ſurrender of all the dependent iſlands. While general Monkton was regulating the capitulation of St. Pierre, commodore Swanton ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron to the fertile iſland of Granada, which was given up without oppoſition. St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had ſo long been diſputed between the two nations, followed its example. By theſe acquiſitions, the Engliſh colonies at Antigua, St. Chriſtopher's, and Nevis, as well as the ſhips trading to theſe iſlands, were ſecured againſt the hoſtilities of the enemy; the commerce of Great Britain acquired an annual addition to the amount of at leaſt a million ſterling, and the Britiſh nation became undiſturbed poſſeſſors of that chain of innumerable iſlands, which forms an immenſe bow, extending from the eaſtern point of Hiſpaniola almoſt to the continent of South America.

The conſequences of this important conqueſt were ſtill more important than the conqueſt itſelf. It opened a way for humbling effectually the pride of Spain. In the courſe of a few months, more deciſive ſtrokes were ſtruck againſt that haughty monarchy than during ten years of the former Spaniſh war. In

[e] See Appendix, N°. 11.

that

that war Great Britain acquired wealth and honour; but in this she displayed such a scene of national glory as Europe had never before beheld. As these events, however, did not immediately follow upon the reduction of Martinico, it is proper here to pause, and to contemplate the effects of that formidable alliance concluded in the 1761, among the different members of the house of Bourbon. A. D. 1762.

The kings of France and Spain imagined they had acquired such an ascendant over all their neighbours by forming this league, that they might henceforth neglect with impunity the observance of those rules which the most ambitious and despotic princes commonly prescribe to themselves in the execution of their boldest designs. This evidently appeared in their conduct towards Portugal, the ancient and natural ally of Great Britain. Portugal possessed gold without possessing industry or ingenuity. England furnished the Portuguese with all the conveniencies of life, and received specie in return. The balance of trade was supposed to bring annually into Great Britain about a million sterling. This commercial connection was strengthened by the strongest political ties. The two kingdoms were so situated, that they had little to fear from one another, while they might mutually impart many reciprocal advantages. The harbours of Portugal afforded protection as well as supplies to the English fleet, while the English fleet defended the lucrative commerce of the Portuguese with their American colonies. The natural and inveterate antipathy between Spain and Portugal made it necessary for the latter to look out for some powerful distant ally. None is so advantageous in that view as England, which in her turn might derive great advantages from Portugal, in prosecuting a war against any of the southern powers of Europe.

The united monarchs, unwilling to trust the issue of the war to hostilities committed against England on her own element, determined to wound her through the sides of this ally. They were strongly invited to this measure by the present unhappy circumstances of Portugal. That kingdom was altogether unprovided in the means of defence. The military spirit, by which the Portuguese had formerly distinguished themselves, was totally extinct. The nobles were overwhelmed in ignorance, bigotry, and oppression spiritual as well as temporal. There

was

A. D. 1762. was neither ſkill, diſcipline, nor order among the troops, nor indeed any appearance of a regular army, and the frontier places were ill fortified, worſe garriſoned, and almoſt entirely deſtitute of ammunition and artillery. In this condition Portugal received a fatal blow from an earthquake in 1756. The wealthy and flouriſhing city of Liſbon was levelled with the ground, near 30,000 of the inhabitants were buried in her ruins, and thoſe who remained with the court itſelf were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs and miſery. As if this earthquake, which had overturned their capital, had alſo ſhaken and diſtracted the frame of their government, and the temper of their minds, the moſt dreadful diſtempers broke out in the ſtate. A ſeries of horrid crimes and cruel puniſhments ſucceeded to this national calamity. Two of the moſt noble and wealthy families of Portugal, having engaged themſelves in a ſacrilegious attempt on the life of their ſovereign, were cut off at once with little diſtinction of age or ſex, by a bloody and dreadful exertion of juſtice. Many others, who were accuſed or ſuſpected, ſuffered death, or exile, or impriſonment. Among theſe, and partly from the ſame cauſes, one of the moſt conſiderable religious orders for wealth, influence, and policy, was ſtripped of its poſſeſſions, and entirely driven out of the country.

This being the unfortunate ſituation of Portugal, the houſe of Bourbon hoped that kingdom would be an eaſy conqueſt, notwithſtanding all the ſuccours it could poſſibly receive; which would not only be a great loſs to the commerce of Great Britain, and a conſiderable inconvenience to her in carrying on the war, but would afford a valuable depoſit, to be exchanged at the peace, for the farther acquiſitions England might make at the expence of France or Spain. Full of theſe ideas, his Catholic majeſty gave orders for providing magazines and artillery, and for ſtrengthening his fortified places on the ſide of Portugal. The Spaniſh army, ſupplied with able engineers from France, overſpread the Portugueſe frontiers; the commerce of corn between the two kingdoms was prohibited, and every thing threatened a ſudden invaſion. In the midſt of theſe hoſtile preparations the French and Spaniſh miniſters preſented a joint memorial to the court of Liſbon, the purport of which was to perſuade his moſt Faithful majeſty to deſert his ancient alliance,

and

and to co-operate with the two crowns againſt Great Britain. A.D.
The memorial inſiſted largely on the tyranny which Great Bri- 1762.
tain exerted upon all powers, eſpecially the maritime; and upon Portugal among the reſt; on the particular inſult which had been offered to her juriſdiction by admiral Boſcawen's attack on Mr. de la Clue's ſquadron in a Portugueſe harbour. The memorial concluded with a declaration, that as ſoon as his moſt Faithful majeſty had taken his reſolution, which they doubted not would be favourable, that the king of Spain would march his troops into Portugal, in order to garriſon the harbours and defend them againſt the hoſtile attempts of the Engliſh. An anſwer was required in four days, and any delay beyond that time was to be conſidered as a negative.

Such inſolent propoſals were never made to an independent kingdom. His Portugueſe majeſty anſwered in a moderate and humble ſtrain, but with becoming firmneſs. He took notice of the misfortunes of his country, which prevented her from taking part in an offenſive war; he offered his mediation between the contending parties; but was reſolved at all events to preſerve his faith to England inviolate; which ought not, he obſerved, to give the ſmalleſt offence, as his alliance with that crown was ancient and merely defenſive. This anſwer drew on a reply, in which the miniſters of the united kingdoms denied that the alliance between England and Portugal was purely defenſive, and for this unheard-of reaſon, "that the defenſive "alliance was converted into an offenſive one by the ſituation "of the Portugueſe dominions, and the nature of the Engliſh "power. The Engliſh ſquadrons," ſaid they, "cannot in all ſea-"ſons keep the ſea, nor cruize on the principal coaſts for cut-"ting off the French and Spaniſh navigation, without the ports "and the aſſiſtance of Portugal; that theſe iſlanders could not "inſult all maritime Europe, if the whole riches of Portugal "did not paſs into their hands; which furniſhes them with the "means to make war, and renders the alliance between the "two courts truly and properly offenſive." They conclude moſt inſultingly, "That the king of Portugal ought to be "glad of the neceſſity which they laid upon him to make uſe "of his reaſon, in order to take the road of his glory and of "the common intereſt." The king replied with ſufficient ſpirit;

the

A. D. 1762. the two miniſters took leave and retired the 27th of April; and immediately after, war was declared by France and Spain againſt Portugal.

The advantages which Portugal poſſeſſed in herſelf for balancing this powerful combination, conſiſted principally in the nature of the country, which is ſo extremely barren and uncultivated as to make it very difficult for any conſiderable army to ſubſiſt in it. The badneſs of the roads, and the frequency and ſteepneſs of the mountains, made it no leſs difficult to advance by rapid marches, and to improve the advantages of the campaign with proper expedition. Add to this, that towards the frontiers of Spain the only roads are narrow and difficult defiles, which may be maintained by a ſmall body of forces againſt a very powerful invaſion. But notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, the whole hopes of Portugal centered in the aſſiſtance from England. The greater her own weakneſs, the more conſpicuous were the magnanimity and reſources of Great Britain, who, at the cloſe of ſo expenſive and ruinous a war, made ſuch aſtoniſhing efforts in protecting her allies. She ſent a ſquadron of ten ſhips of the line to Liſbon[f], beſides frigates. With theſe ſhe ſent officers, troops, artillery, military ſtores, proviſions and money; every thing that could enable the Portugueſe to exert their natural ſtrength, and every thing which could ſupply that ſtrength where it was deficient.

The Spaniards could entertain no hopes of depriving the Engliſh of the uſe of the Portugueſe ports by attacking them by ſea; ſo that they repoſed their whole confidence in the bravery and good fortune of their troops. It belongs not to our deſign to give a particular account of the military operations in this effeminate country, which could hardly furniſh out a faint image of war. The inacceſſible and difficult nature of the

[f] Liſt of Sir Edward Hawke's ſquadron which ſailed from St. Helen's for Liſbon, June 25th.

Royal George,	100 guns.	Naſſau,	64 guns.
Princeſs Amelia,	80	Eſſex,	64
Prince,	90	Achilles,	60
Ocean,	90	Lau ceſton,	40
Magnanime,	74	Æolus,	32
Prince of Orange,	70	Tartar,	28
Lancaſter,	66		

country,

country, joined to the ſpirit and activity of the Britiſh troops, A. D.
were ſufficient to defend the Portugueſe dominions with very 1762.
feeble efforts on the part of the natives. After a campaign of above five months the Spaniards had got poſſeſſion of no advanced poſts in which they could maintain themſelves during the winter. The heavy rains, which begin to fall in October, and the want of proviſions for men and horſe in an enemy's country, made them fall back to the frontiers of Spain, where every thing had been provided for them in great abundance.

Thus did the arms of Great Britain ſave Portugal, by undertaking to defend her cauſe within her own territories. The ſame power protected this uſeful ally not only againſt preſent but future dangers, by the operations carried on in remote parts of the earth, where the ſucceſs of the Britiſh ſquadrons compelled the houſe of Bourbon to accept terms of accommodation, in which the intereſts of Portugal were not neglected.

While the Engliſh troops were employed in taking poſſeſſion of Martinico and the dependent iſlands, a French fleet appeared to windward of the former, and ſent an officer on ſhore to obtain information. They continued cruizing to windward for two days, and even approached within cannon-ſhot of Trinity, as if they had intended to make a deſcent; but afterwards they changed their courſe, and bore away for the harbours of Dominica. Admiral Rodney being informed of their arrival in thoſe parts, got under ſail with his ſquadron, and beat up to windward in queſt of the enemy; they did not wait his approach, but made haſte to take refuge in their own harbours. While Rodney's fleet commanded the Caribbees, lord Colville's ſquadron was ſtationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coaſt of North America, and the new conqueſts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in ſuch a manner as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, or if that ſhould be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. For the defence of the Britiſh coaſt, and in order to anſwer the emergencies of war, a powerful ſquadron was kept in readineſs at Spithead; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of admiral Moore; and from theſe two

A D. 1762. were occaſionally detached into the channel, and all round the iſland, a number of light cruizers, which acted with ſuch vigilance and activity, that not a ſhip could venture from any of the French ſea-ports without running the moſt imminent riſk of being taken; and ſcarce a day paſſed in which ſome privateer of the enemy, either French or Spaniſh, was not brought into the harbours of Great Britain. Rear-admiral Corniſh had the direction of the fleet in the Eaſt Indies, admiral Pocock who had acquired ſo much glory there, being called to a more dangerous and important command, the conſequences of which we are now going to relate. The whole of theſe ſquadrons, combined with detached cruizers in different parts, amounted to more than 240 ſhips of war; a force which, conſidering the diſciplined valour and naval experience of our ſeamen, was fit to contend againſt the maritime ſtrength of the whole world united.

The rupture with Spain, which was rendered incurable by the invaſion of Portugal, brought on the execution of a plan which had been long in agitation, upon the preſumed probability of ſuch an event. It is ſaid that admiral Knowles was the firſt who laid before his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland a ſcheme for the reduction of the iſland of Cuba, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies centers, and without which it cannot be carried on. The duke approved of the plan, and recommended it to the miniſtry. But after they had conſidered the draughts and plan, which his royal highneſs put into their hands, lord Anſon, the firſt lord of the admiralty, produced his own, which had been made out upon more accurate information; and after maturely conſidering both plans, lord Anſon's was adopted. However, the duke of Cumberland had ſo much merit in this affair, that he was permitted to appoint his favourite lord Albemarle commander in chief of the land forces, and his brothers, major-general and commodore Keppel, to important commands in an expedition which, it was imagined, would be equally lucrative and honourable.

Nothing indeed could be ſo proper at this time as an attempt againſt the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. The French were now expelled from every place in North America, except their ſettlement

of

of Louiſiana, which was deemed of little importance. They had loſt their Weſt India iſlands; ſo that hardly any thing remained to be done in that part of the world but an expedition againſt thoſe of Spain. But it ſhewed great wiſdom in the Britiſh adminiſtration, who determined on this meaſure, that they fixed their eyes at once on the capital object. The failure of an armament in a ſubordinate attempt is a bad preparative for a greater; as the former, even though ſucceſsful, is far from being deciſive. The plan of the war of 1740, in which we began with ſmaller attempts, and ſo proceeded to more conſiderable, was mean and ignoble, becauſe the ſucceſs in the firſt of thoſe attempts did nothing to inſure ſucceſs in the ſecond; nor were both together of any conſequence in deciding the fortune of the war. But the plan now adopted was great and juſt; for by beginning with the Havannah we aſpired at a conqueſt, which being obtained, would enable us to terminate the war with honour, as it entirely intercepted the enemy's reſources; and if we choſe to proſecute our advantage, the acquiſition of the Havannah might put as in poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh America. A. D. 1762.

The fleet deſtined to extend the Britiſh empire in the weſt, ſailed from Portſmouth the 5th of March, under the command of admiral Pocock, whoſe valour and conduct had contributed ſo much towards that ſovereignty which his country poſſeſſed in the Eaſt Indies. They ſailed for the iſland of Hiſpaniola, where they were happily met at Cape Nicholas, the north-weſt point of the iſland, by a detachment from the fleet at the Caribbees, under the command of that gallant and able officer Sir James Douglas. The junction happened on the 27th of May; and the united ſquadrons conſiſted of 19 ſail of the line, 18 ſmaller ſhips of war, and about 150 tranſports, having on board above 10,000 land-forces and marines. A ſupply of 4000 men had been ordered from New York, which, it was ſuppoſed, would arrive time enough to bear part in their military operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his courſe to the Havannah. The firſt and moſt obvious was the common way to keep to the ſouth of Cuba, and fall into the tract of the galleons. But this, though by much the ſafeſt, would prove

A. D. 1762. by far the moſt tedious paſſage; and delays, above all things, were dangerous, as the fleet had been ſo late in ſailing from England, that it would be extremely difficult to arrive before the hurricane ſeaſon, which would put an end to all naval and military operations. He therefore reſolved to run along the northern ſhore of the iſland of Cuba, purſuing his courſe from eaſt to weſt, through a narrow paſſage not leſs than 700 miles in length, called the Old Straits of Bahama. This paſſage, through almoſt the whole of its extent, is bounded, on the right and left, by the moſt dangerous ſands and ſhoals, which has cauſed the navigation to be avoided by ſingle and ſmall veſſels. There was no pilot in the fleet whoſe experience could be depended on to conduct them ſafely through it. The admiral, however, being provided with a good chart of lord Anſon's, reſolved to truſt to his own vigilance and ſagacity to carry through thoſe ſtraits a fleet of near 200 ſail. So bold an attempt had never been before made; but the ſucceſs of the expedition depending entirely on diſpatch, made it prudent to hazard it. At the ſame time no precaution was omitted, which could remove the imputation of temerity. A veſſel was ſent to reconnoitre the paſſage, and make ſoundings; ſome frigates followed: ſloops and boats were ſtationed on the right and left, on the ſhallows, with well-adapted ſignals both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in ſeven diviſions, and being favoured with a fair wind and good weather, got through this perilous paſſage on the 5th of June without accident or interruption,

Two days before the accompliſhment of this hazardous navigation, the Echo and Alarm frigates, which had been ordered a-head of the fleet, deſcried four veſſels which proved to be the Thetis, a Spaniſh frigate of 18 guns and 65 men, and the Phœnix of 22 guns, and 175 men, and two brigs, bound to Suga in the Straits, for a cargo of timber for the uſe of the ſhips at the Havannah. The Engliſh frigates gave them chace, and obliged them to ſtrike in three quarters of an hour. This, though a ſmall ſucceſs, was an auſpicious beginning of the expedition againſt the Havannah. This place, the object of their long voyage and of ſo many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them.

them. Though St. Jago, ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland be denominated the capital of Cuba, yet the Havannah is ſuperior to it in wealth, ſize, and importance. The harbour upon which it ſtands is, in every reſpect, one of the beſt in the world. It is entered by a narrow paſſage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large baſon, ſufficient to contain 1000 ſail of the largeſt ſhips, having almoſt throughout ſix fathoms water, and perfectly ſecured from every wind. In this bay the rich fleets from the ſeveral parts of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies aſſemble, in order to ſet out together on their voyage to Europe, Great care had been taken to fortify a place which, beſides being extremely populous, wealthy, and flouriſhing in itſelf, is the centre of the richeſt commerce of the world. The entrance into the harbour is ſecured on one ſide by the Moro fort, built upon a projecting point of land, all of ſolid maſon-work, having a ditch 70 feet deep from the edge of the counterſcarp, and more than 40 feet of that depth ſunk in the rock: on the other it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The Havannah itſelf, which is ſituated to the weſt of the harbour, and oppoſite to the Moro fort, is ſurrounded by a good rampart, flanked with baſtions, and ſtrengthened by a ditch. A. D. 1762.

The Spaniards, ſenſible that, upon a rupture with Great Britain, their Weſt Indies were the faireſt mark for the attack of the enemy, maintained a powerful fleet in thoſe parts, and had actually a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips of the line in the harbour of the Havannah[g]. But ſo little confidence did they repoſe in their ſhipping for reſiſting the efforts of the Engliſh armament, that the only uſe which they made of it was to ſink three of their largeſt veſſels behind an immenſe boom which they had thrown acroſs the mouth of the harbour. Their chief

[g] Liſt of Spaniſh ſhips at the Havannah:

Tiger,	70 guns.	Aſia,	64 guns.
Reyna,	70 —	America,	60 —
Soverano,	70 —	Europa,	60 —
Infante,	70 —	Conqueſtador,	60 —
Neptune,	70 —	San Genaro,	60 —
Aquilon,	70 —	San Antonio,	60 —

hope

A. D. 1762. hope was in the ſtrength of the place, and the difficulties attending all military operations which are drawn out to any conſiderable length in this unhealthy climate. Theſe circumſtances encouraged don Juan de Prado, governor of the Havannah, to determine on a vigorous defence. He was aſſiſted by the activity of the marquis del Real, commodore of the fleet, and by the counſels and experience of the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be then in the place, on their way to their reſpective governments.

On the 7th of June all things were in readineſs for landing; and, in order to effect this with the leaſt inconvenience, the admiral, with the greateſt part of the fleet, bore away to the weſtward, that the enemy's attention might be drawn towards this quarter, while the earl of Albemarle and the whole army were landed under the direction of commodore Keppel, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about ſix miles to the eaſtward of the Moro-caſtle. A body of Spaniards appeared on the ſhore; but, ſome ſloops being ordered to ſcour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops paſſed the river Coxemar in great order, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. The firſt attempt was to drive the enemy from a ſmall redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos which overlooked the Moro. This was effected on the 10th, and at the ſame time three bomb-ketches, being anchored on ſhore, began to throw ſhells into the town, under cover of the ſhips Stirling-caſtle and Echo.

The principal body of the army, deſtined to act againſt the Moro, was divided into two corps, one of which, commanded by general Elliot, advanced a conſiderable way into the country, towards the ſouth-eaſt of the harbour in order to cover the ſiege, and to ſecure the parties employed in watering and procuring proviſions. The other, conducted by general Keppel, was immediately employed in the attack on the fort, and a detachment headed by colonel Howe, was encamped to the weſtward of the town, partly with a view to cut off the communication between it and the country, and partly to make a diverſion in favour of the grand operation.

The ſeamen having landed faſcines, ſtores, and artillery with great expedition, the engineers, under the direction of Mr. Mackellar,

keſſar, whoſe abilities were equally diſtinguiſhed at Louiſbourg and the Havannah, began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed in cutting parallels, and forming a line with faſcines to ſecure the troops from the fire of the enemy. The hardſhips ſuſtained in this ſervice are almoſt inexpreſſible. The thinneſs of the earth made it extremely difficult to cover the approaches. It was neceſſary to cut roads for communication through thick woods. The artillery was to be dragged a great way over a rough rocky ſhore. During this fatigue the ſupplies of proviſion were not plentiful, and water was to be brought from a great diſtance. Many men dropped down dead with heat, thirſt, and fatigue. But the ſpirit and ardour of the troops, the unanimity and conduct of the commanders by ſea and land, overcame every difficulty. On the 29th, 2000 choſen Spaniards, with a numerous body of negroes and mullattoes landed in two diviſions, to the right and left of the Moro, with an intention to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers. They were repulſed by the piquets and advanced poſts with great bravery, and compelled to retreat in confuſion, leaving behind them 200 of their number killed or taken. A. D. 1762.

The cannonading began, on the 1ſt of July, from two batteries bearing twelve cannon, ſix large mortars, three ſmall ones, and twenty-ſix royals. The enemy had ſeventeen pieces of artillery on the front attacked. The fire was for a conſiderable time pretty near on an equality, and kept up with great vivacity on both ſides. At length that of the enemy began to fail. Their attention was divided in conſequence of an attack made upon the north-eaſt face by three ſhips of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the captains Gooſtrey, Hervey, and Barnet. Theſe ſhips, having laid their broadſides againſt the fort, kept up one of the warmeſt firings ever ſeen, for ſeven hours, without intermiſſion. But the Moro, ſituated upon a high hill, had great advantages, and the fire from the oppoſite fort of Puntal galled them exceedingly. They were obliged to retire in a very ſhattered condition, after loſing above 100 men, among whom was captain Gooſtrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer.

When

A. D. 1762. hope was in the ſtrength of the place, and the difficulties attending all military operations which are drawn out to any conſiderable length in this unhealthy climate. Theſe circumſtances encouraged don Juan de Prado, governor of the Havannah, to determine on a vigorous defence. He was aſſiſted by the activity of the marquis del Real, commodore of the fleet, and by the counſels and experience of the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be then in the place, on their way to their reſpective governments.

On the 7th of June all things were in readineſs for landing; and, in order to effect this with the leaſt inconvenience, the admiral, with the greateſt part of the fleet, bore away to the weſtward, that the enemy's attention might be drawn towards this quarter, while the earl of Albemarle and the whole army were landed under the direction of commodore Keppel, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about ſix miles to the eaſtward of the Moro-caſtle. A body of Spaniards appeared on the ſhore; but, ſome ſloops being ordered to ſcour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops paſſed the river Coxemar in great order, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. The firſt attempt was to drive the enemy from a ſmall redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos which overlooked the Moro. This was effected on the 10th, and at the ſame time three bomb-ketches, being anchored on ſhore, began to throw ſhells into the town, under cover of the ſhips Stirling-caſtle and Echo.

The principal body of the army, deſtined to act againſt the Moro, was divided into two corps, one of which, commanded by general Elliot, advanced a conſiderable way into the country, towards the ſouth-eaſt of the harbour in order to cover the ſiege, and to ſecure the parties employed in watering and procuring proviſions. The other, conducted by general Keppel, was immediately employed in the attack on the fort, and a detachment headed by colonel Howe, was encamped to the weſtward of the town, partly with a view to cut off the communication between it and the country, and partly to make a diverſion in favour of the grand operation.

The ſeamen having landed faſcines, ſtores, and artillery with great expedition, the engineers, under the direction of Mr. Mackellar,

keſſar, whoſe abilities were equally diſtinguiſhed at Louiſbourg and the Havannah, began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed in cutting parallels, and forming a line with faſcines to ſecure the troops from the fire of the enemy. The hardſhips ſuſtained in this ſervice are almoſt inexpreſſible. The thinneſs of the earth made it extremely difficult to cover the approaches. It was neceſſary to cut roads for communication through thick woods. The artillery was to be dragged a great way over a rough rocky ſhore. During this fatigue the ſupplies of proviſion were not plentiful, and water was to be brought from a great diſtance. Many men dropped down dead with heat, thirſt, and fatigue. But the ſpirit and ardour of the troops, the unanimity and conduct of the commanders by ſea and land, overcame every difficulty. On the 29th, 2000 choſen Spaniards, with a numerous body of negroes and mullattoes landed in two diviſions, to the right and left of the Moro, with an intention to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers. They were repulſed by the piquets and advanced poſts with great bravery, and compelled to retreat in confuſion, leaving behind them 200 of their number killed or taken. A. D. 1762.

The cannonading began, on the 1ſt of July, from two batteries bearing twelve cannon, ſix large mortars, three ſmall ones, and twenty-ſix royals. The enemy had ſeventeen pieces of artillery on the front attacked. The fire was for a conſiderable time pretty near on an equality, and kept up with great vivacity on both ſides. At length that of the enemy began to fail. Their attention was divided in conſequence of an attack made upon the north-eaſt face by three ſhips of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the captains Gooſtrey, Hervey, and Barnet. Theſe ſhips, having laid their broadſides againſt the fort, kept up one of the warmeſt firings ever ſeen, for ſeven hours, without intermiſſion. But the Moro, ſituated upon a high hill, had great advantages, and the fire from the oppoſite fort of Puntal galled them exceedingly. They were obliged to retire in a very ſhattered condition, after loſing above 100 men, among whom was captain Gooſtrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer.

When

A. D. 1762. When the Spaniards were releaſed from the fire of the ſhips, they redoubled their activity againſt the batteries, and on both ſides a conſtant unremitted fire was kept up for ſeveral days. During this ſharp and doubtful contention the merlons of the grand battery unfortunately took fire on the 3d of July. The flames became too powerful for oppoſition, and the labour of 600 men, for ſeventeen days, was deſtroyed in a few hours. This ſtroke was felt the more ſeverely, becauſe the other hardſhips of the ſiege were become ſcarcely ſupportable. Sickneſs had reduced the army to almoſt half its number. Three thouſand ſeamen were at one time unfit for ſervice, and near double that number of ſoldiers. The ſcarcity of water, and the total want of wholeſome proviſions, exaſperated the diſeaſe. The army was ready to periſh by theſe calamities; and, if the hurricane ſeaſon came on before the place were reduced, the deſtruction of the fleet was inevitable.

The unconquered ſpirit of the commanders could hardly maintain the languiſhing activity of the troops, when Sir James Douglas who had parted from the admiral, in order to ſteer his courſe for Jamaica, arrived with the fleet from that iſland, carrying many conveniencies for the ſiege. This favourable circumſtance with the hopes of a conſiderable reinforcement from New York, which arrived a few days afterwards, reſtored the vigour of the men, and rouzed them to every effort. New batteries aroſe in the place of the old, the fire of which ſoon became equal, and afterwards ſuperior to that of the enemy; the cannon of the fort was ſilenced, the upper works demoliſhed, and a lodgement at length made in the covered way. Notwithſtanding this advantage, the immenſe ditch cut in the ſolid rock formed an obſtacle that was very difficult to ſurmount. To fill it up was impoſſible, and the work of mining would have been impracticable, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwiſe have been open to the ſea. On this narrow ridge the miners paſſed wholly uncovered, and with very little loſs made a lodgement at the foot of the wall. While they formed a mine for throwing the counterſcarp into the ditch, another ſap was carried on along the glacis. In the night of the 21ſt a ſerjeant and twelve men ſcaled

led the wall by ſurprize; but, the garriſon being alarmed before any additional troops could ſuſtain them, they were obliged to retreat. A. D. 1762.

The governor of the Moro now plainly ſaw, that the place muſt be ſpeedily reduced, unleſs ſome bold meaſure were tried for its immediate relief. Accordingly, next day at four in the morning, he ordered a ſally to be made from the town by 1500 men, compoſed chiefly of the country militia and negroes, divided into three detachments, who attacked the beſiegers in as many different places. Meanwhile a warm fire was kept up from the fort of Puntal, and the ſhipping in the harbour. But the Engliſh guards, though ſurprized, defended themſelves with great reſolution, the poſts attacked were ſpeedily reinforced, and the enemy were driven precipitately down the hill, without being able to deſtroy any part of our approaches. The Engliſh loſt fifty men killed or wounded, and the Spaniards had 400 killed or taken priſoners.

On the 30th of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed into the harbour, and fired with grape-ſhot and ſmall arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the cloſe fire of the covering party ſoon compelled the enemy to retire. This was the laſt effort for the relief of the Moro: for on that day the mines did their work. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach which, though very narrow and difficult, the engineer judged practicable. Orders were immediately given for the aſſault. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart commanded the attack. The troops hoping to ſee an end of all their hardſhips, entered on this moſt dangerous ſervice with the greateſt reſolution. The enemy who were drawn up to receive them, when they had paſſed the breach, were terrified at the determined valour which appeared in their countenances, and fled on all ſides. In vain don Lewis de Velaſco the governor, whoſe bravery and conduct had excited during the whole ſiege the admiration of his enemies, endeavoured, with romantic courage, to defend the colours of Spain. He fell, as well as his ſecond the marquis Gonſales, while attempting to no purpoſe to rally his troops. About 400 of the garriſon laid down their arms, and were

A. D. 1762. made priſoners: as many were ſlaughtered on the ſpot; others ran to the boats, and were drowned in attempting to eſcape to the town.

The Moro-fort thus came into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh after a vigorous ſtruggle of 40 days from the commencement of the operations againſt it. This advantage was not immediately followed by the ſurrender of the Havannah. The governor ſeemed ſtill determined to defend that place, the fire of which was immediately turned againſt the fortreſs which had been loſt, while a ſhip of the line was ſent down into the harbour, in order to batter it with more effect. Meanwhile lord Albemarle ordered a line of batteries to be erected along the hill of the Cevannos, which commanded almoſt the whole eaſtern ſide of the city. Batteries were likewiſe erected on the weſtern ſide of the town, which had hitherto been only guarded. When theſe preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, his lordſhip, by meſſage, repreſented to the governor the irreſiſtible force of the attack which he was ready to make on the place, but which, in order to prevent unneceſſary effuſion of blood, he was willing to ſuſpend, that the Spaniards might have time to capitulate. This repreſentation was made on the 10th of Auguſt, but to no purpoſe, the governor returning for anſwer, that he was determined to defend the place, committed to him, to the laſt extremity. Next morning at day-break, forty-five cannon and eight mortars, erected on the batteries at Cevannos, began to play againſt the town and the Puntal with ſuch continued and irreſiſtible fury, that this fortreſs was ſilenced before ten. In another hour the north baſtion was almoſt diſabled. About two in the afternoon white flags were diſplayed from every quarter of the town, and in a little time after a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with propoſals of capitulation. The eſtabliſhed religion and the ancient laws were to be preſerved, and private property was ſecured to the inhabitants. The garriſon, which was reduced to 700 men, were to have the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Old Spain, together with the Spaniſh commodore, the governor of the Havannah, the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena. The Spaniards ſtruggled hard to ſave twelve ſhips of the line which lay in the harbour;

bour; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmiſſible. A. D.
They likewiſe made powerful attempts to have the harbour de- 1762.
clared neutral during the war; but this would have deſtroyed, in a great meaſure, the importance of the conqueſt. It was debated for two days, when hoſtilities were on the point of being renewed; which made the enemy recede from their demand; and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the place the 14th of Auguſt[b].

The acquiſition of the Havannah united in itſelf all the advantages that can be obtained in war. The enemy loſt a whole fleet; they were deprived of a wealthy eſtabliſhment commanding a rich and extenſive territory; and they ceded a port which commanded the only paſſage by which their ſhips could conveniently ſail from the bay of Mexico to Europe. While this port is in the hands of an enemy, who are maſters at ſea, the court of Madrid can receive no ſupplies of treaſure from the Weſt Indies, except by beating up to windward from Carthagena, which would expoſe them to infinite trouble as well as danger from the Engliſh ſquadrons, or by ſurrounding Cape Horn, or paſſing through the Straits of Magellan from the South Sea, a voyage of intolerable length, and ſubject to equal inconveniencies. The reduction of the Havannah, while it diſtreſſed the enemy in the moſt eſſential manner by ſtopping the ſources of their wealth, opened an eaſy avenue to the conquerors for reaching their American treaſures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired ſuch immenſe ſums at the expence of her enemies. Her ſucceſs in the Eaſt Indies is ſaid to have brought into England near ſix millions ſince the commencement of hoſtilities; and, in the conqueſt now made, ſhe obtained, beſides an immenſe quantity of artillery, ſmall arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores, about three millions ſterling in ſilver, tobacco, and valuable merchandize, collected, on account of the king of Spain, in the magazines of the Havannah. In this calculation of national profit we muſt not omit the capture of the Hermioné, a regiſter ſhip, the value of which fell little ſhort of a million ſterling. If it had not been for theſe extraordinary pecuniary ſupplies, with which the war was attended, it would have been difficult to

[b] See Appendix, N°. 12.

A. D. 1762. carry it on to ſuch an amazing extent. The money which was brought into the kingdom invigorated commerce, and urged the hand of induſtry. The remittances for foreign ſubſidies were in a great meaſure paid by bills on merchants ſettled abroad, who had received the value of theſe draughts in the produce of Britiſh manufactures. The trade of England increaſed gradually every year, and ſuch a ſcene of national proſperity, during the courſe of a long, expenſive, and bloody war, was never exhibited by any people in the world.

In the expedition againſt the Havannah, the ſpirit, unanimity, and perſeverance of the army and navy were eminently conſpicuous. Never indeed was there a period of ſuch cordial co-operation between the land and ſea forces, or ſuch a punctual attention to orders. One captain only, of the name of Campbell, having neglected to perform his duty in leading the ſquadron which attacked the Moro, was obliged to quit the ſervice.

As it is our plan to give an account of the more important enterprizes, which ſucceeded through the co-operation of the navy, before we proceed to relate the exploits purely naval, which diſtinguiſhed the year 1762, we muſt now carry the reader's attention to the expedition againſt the Philippine iſlands, which is one of the beſt conducted, moſt ſplendid, and moſt important of all the ſucceſſes which adorn the annals of this glorious war. The deſign of this expedition, which, if ſucceſsful, would give as ſevere a wound to the intereſts of Spain in the Eaſt Indies, as ſhe had received, by the taking of the Havannah, on the ſide of America, was ſuggeſted by the following accident. After the memorable defence of Madras in 1759, colonel Draper's bad ſtate of health obliged him to leave that country. He embarked in company with the honourable captain Howe, then commander of the Winchelſea, for Canton in China, a place with which the inhabitants of the Philippines carry on a conſiderable traffic. Here the colonel employed himſelf in acquiring a minute knowledge of the preſent ſtate of the Spaniards in theſe iſlands, and diſcovered that, confiding in their remote diſtance from Europe, they were perſuaded, that no attempt againſt them would ever be deemed practicable. This had lulled them into ſuch a perfect

fect ſecurity, that they had totally neglected the keeping up of a regular military force for their own defence. A. D. 1762.

Colonel Draper communicated his ideas on this ſubject to lord Anſon and lord Egremont, upon the firſt rumours of a war with Spain. His information met with that attention which it deſerved. He was deſired to give a memorial in writing, explaining his plan at full length, and aſſured, that, if a Spaniſh war became unavoidable, the undertaking ſhould be recommended to his majeſty.

The motives to the execution of this enterprize were many and powerful. The Philippines or Manillas form a principal diviſion of that immenſe Indian Archipelago, which conſiſts of above 1200 iſlands, extending from the nineteenth degree of north latitude, almoſt in a continued chain, to the ſhores of New Guinea and the great ſouthern continent. The Philippines, which form the northermoſt cluſter of theſe iſlands, are, ſome of them, among the largeſt, and all of them, naturally, among the richeſt iſlands in the world. They were added to the Spaniſh monarchy, in its meridian glory, under Philip II. and, being happily ſituated for commerce, they were uſed as the centre of communication for the Aſiatic and American trade. They may receive European goods by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and connecting the traffic of China, Japan, and the Spice iſlands with that of Europe and America, unite all the extenſive dominions of Spain in one commercial chain with the richeſt countries upon earth.

The principal iſland of the Philippines is called Manilla or Luconia, extending 300 miles in length, and 90, at a medium, in breadth. The ſoil is cultivated by the natives with uncommon induſtry for this part of the world; the Chineſe, who, after the Tartar conqueſt in the laſt century, fled here in great numbers, are the artizans, and the Spaniards enjoy the government, and beſt part of the commerce. The reſt of the Philippine iſlands, as far as the Spaniſh power prevails in them, are under the government of Luconia, the capital of which is Manilla, ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt of the iſland, and lying upon a very fair and ſpacious harbour. Here the large veſſels or galleons annually arrive, and from this place they ſail for Acapulco

A. D. 1762. pulco in America, loaded with money or goods to the value of near a million ſterling. In the war of 1739, the taking one of theſe galleons was conſidered as the moſt brilliant ſucceſs which attended the Britiſh ſquadrons. But now they were to aim at an higher object; not at a particular cargo, but at the principal mart of commerce which ſupplied this cargo; and which, when put in our poſſeſſion, would enable us to deſtroy the intercourſe of any other European ſtate with the empires of China and Japan, while it procured the higheſt reſpect for the Britiſh flag all over thoſe wealthy and extenſive regions.

The grandeur of this deſign was ſufficient to rouze the moſt vigorous efforts of adminiſtration. But the additional weight of Spain, in the ſcale of the enemies of Great Britain, required all the exertions of her ſtrength nearer home. It was impoſſible, therefore, to ſpare ſhips or troops for undertaking a conqueſt ſo diſtant and precarious, however advantageous and ſplendid. But, fortunately, the preceding events of this glorious war naturally paved the way for thoſe which were to follow. The ſucceſs of one expedition not only ſuggeſted the idea but facilitated the execution of another. By the fortune of our arms in the eaſt, we were become arbiters of the great peninſula of India; the French were expelled; the Dutch humbled; and there was nothing in thoſe parts to reſiſt the Britiſh force, or even to afford employment to all the troops that were kept on foot. Nothing, therefore, was demanded from Great Britain, but a light frigate to carry colonel Draper to Madras, where alone ſuitable preparations might be made for this important enterprize. He arrived there the latter end of June, 1762, and was appointed brigadier-general and commander in chief of the land-forces to be employed in the expedition. The ſquadron commanded by vice-admiral Corniſh, a brave and able officer, conſiſted of ſeveral ſhips of the line [i], beſides frigates. The troops allotted for this expedition conſiſted of one regiment,

[i] Theſe were the Norfolk, Panther, America, Seaford frigate, Eliſabeth, Grafton, Argo frigate, Lenox, Weymouth, Seahorſe frigate. The Falmouth was left at the requeſt of the preſident and council of Madras, to convoy the Eſſex Indiaman which had on board the treaſure for the China cargoes; but ſhe arrived time enough to have her ſhare in the expedition.

with

with a company of the royal artillery, reinforced with 600 ſepoys, A. D.
one company of Caffres, one of Topazes, one of pioneers, with 1762.
ſeveral hundreds of unarmed Laſcars, for the uſe of the engineers and the park of artillery. The admiral ſupplied a fine battalion of 550 ſeamen, and 270 marines. The whole force amounted to no more than 2300 effective men; an inconſiderable number, but of tried valour, inured to toil and hardſhip, and rendered equal by their diſciplined bravery to the ſtrength of a great army. The 79th regiment, which was the only regular body of troops employed on this ſervice, had been the firſt who checked the progreſs of the French in India; their valour had given the happy turn to the war under colonel Coote; they were inured to the climate, and accuſtomed to victory; and their arms were worthy to extend the glory of Great Britain to the remoteſt verge of Aſia.

The enterprize was no ſooner reſolved upon, than the admiral detached captain Grant of the Seahorſe to the entrance of the Chineſe ſea, with inſtructions to intercept all veſſels bound for Manilla, that the enemy, who were even ignorant of the declaration of war, might receive no intelligence of any deſign formed againſt them. The ſucceſs of the enterprize depended much on expedition, not only in order to prevent the enemy from being rouzed from their ſecurity, but in order to take advantage of the wind; for if the north-weſt Monſoon ſhould ſet in with any violence before the fleet were well advanced on their voyage, the whole deſign would be defeated. Accordingly no time was loſt. In the ſpace of three weeks the troops were embodied and formed, and the ſtores got ready and ſhipped, notwithſtanding a raging and perpetual ſurf, which in thoſe climates is one of the greateſt difficulties in any expedition, greatly embarraſſing the embarkation, and rendering ſtill more hazardous the debarkation of troops, eſpecially in the face of an enemy.

The fleet ſailed in two diviſions the beginning of Auguſt, and on the 19th arrived at Malacca; a place formerly conſidered as the key of the Indian commerce, and ſtill the centre of a very conſiderable trade. The Dutch, to whom it now belonged, although they looked with no very favourable eye on the progreſs

of

A. D. 1762. of the Engliſh in thoſe eaſtern regions, were afraid to diſcover any ſymptom of jealouſy. The Engliſh fleet uſed Malacca as a port of their own, and ſupplied themſelves not only with refreſhments, but with every neceſſary not already provided for the ſiege of Manilla. In 39 days from Malacca they came in ſight of Luconia; the weather having in general proved favourable, although the ſquadron was once ſeparated in a ſtorm.

The next in command to the vice-admiral was commodore Tiddeman; and the battalion of ſeamen and marines was under the captains Collins, Pitchford, and Ourry, who behaved during the whole ſervice with equal gallantry and conduct. The officers ſubordinate to brigadier-general Draper were the lieutenant-colonels Monſon and Scott, major Barker who commanded the artillery, and major Moore. Mr. Drake, and ſome other gentlemen in the Eaſt India company's ſervice, were appointed to take care of the intereſts of their conſtituents, according to a convention made with the preſident and council of Madras, by which the Eaſt India company were to have a third part of the booty or ranſom, and to be inveſted with the government of the conquered country. The land and ſea forces agreed by common conſent to participate in the diſtribution of their ſeveral captures, according to the rules eſtabliſhed in the navy. The character of the commanders, as well as theſe wiſe precautions, prevented the leaſt diſagreement from ariſing between the army and marine, either in the conduct of the enterprize, or in the diviſion of the fruits of their ſucceſs.

The admiral having ſounded the coaſt, diſcovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the ſouthward of Manilla. On the 24th of September, the proper diſpoſitions being made, and the three frigates Argo, Seahorſe, and Seaford, moored very near the ſhore, to cover the deſcent; three diviſions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the captains Parker, Kempenfield, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata. This was not performed without great difficulty, on account of a violent ſurf, which daſhed many of the boats to pieces. At the ſame time the enemy began to aſſemble in great numbers, both horſe and infantry, to oppoſe the deſcent, but the captains

King,

King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, maintained ſuch a warm fire of cannon to the right and left that they ſoon diſperſed, and the general diſembarked his troops without the loſs of a ſingle man. The days which immediately ſucceeded their landing were ſpent in ſeizing the moſt advantageous poſts, in ſecuring the communication with the navy, and in reconnoitring the roads and approaches to the town. They found it defended by ſome good works, conſtructed in a regular manner, and garriſoned by about 800 Spaniſh troops. The Engliſh forces were too few to inveſt the place, ſo as to prevent it from being ſupplied with proviſions from the country, or from receiving aſſiſtance from the natives, a fierce and daring people, who, though unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms and the regular diſcipline of war, were like all the inhabitants of the Indian iſles, extremely formidable on account of their martial ſpirit, native intrepidity, and contempt of death. The governor of the place was a churchman and archbiſhop, who ſtiled himſelf captain-general of the Philippines; and, however ill qualified by his profeſſion for the defence of a town attacked, ſeemed well fitted for this taſk by his ſpirit and reſolution. A. D. 1762.

The day after the troops landed the enemy abandoned a ſmall fort called the Pulveriſta, which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the ſtores and artillery. Colonel Monſon, with an advanced party of 200 men, occupied the church of the Hermita, about 900 yards from the city. The head quarters were fixed in the curate's houſe, and ſecured by the ſeventy-ninth regiment, as a poſt of the utmoſt importance, both from its ſtrength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impoſſible to encamp. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Pulveriſta, to preſerve the communication with the fleets, and guard the ſtores and artillery, which, on account of the ſurf, were not landed without great danger and fatigue. The battalion of ſeamen were ſtationed between the ſeventy-ninth regiment and the marines; and a body of men was advanced within 300 yards of the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the church of St. Jago, which they

A. D. 1762. maintained, notwithſtanding its being expoſed to the fire of the enemy.

Before batteries could be erected, the enemy, on the 26th of September, attempted a ſally with about 400 men. They were commanded by the chevalier de Fayette, and having two field-pieces, advanced to the right of the Engliſh advanced poſts, and began to cannonade. But colonel Monſon at the head of the piquets, reinforced by a ſmall body of ſeamen, ſoon drove them back into the town. Their retreat was ſo precipitate that they left one of their field-pieces on the glacis.

It was imagined that the evidence of their inferiority in this ſlight encounter would be an inducement to the governor to endeavour at obtaining advantageous terms by an early ſurrender. A ſummons was ſent to him for this purpoſe; to which he returned ſuch an anſwer as ſhowed we had nothing to expect but what we were able to command. Indeed, had the valour of the garriſon correſponded to the ſpirited declaration of the governor, the town would have had nothing to apprehend from an enemy, whoſe numbers obliged them to confine their operations to one corner of the place, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of ſupplies. The front, to which the attack was directed, was defended by the baſtions of St. Diego and St. Andrew; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way and glacis. The baſtions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine braſs cannon; but the ditch had never been completed, the covered way was out of repair, and the glacis was too low.

While the works were going forward with great rapidity, ſome ſtraggling ſeamen were murdered by the ſavages, which induced the governor to ſend out a flag of truce to apologize for this barbarity, and at the ſame time to requeſt the releaſe of his nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay by the boats of the fleet. His demand was complied with, and lieutenant Fryar was ſent under a flag of truce, to conduct the priſoner to town. At that time a detachment of the garriſon, intermixed with a body of Indians, ſallied out to attack one of the poſts of the beſiegers; when the ſavages ignorant of the law of nations, and diſregarding the ſacred character of an officer under a ſafe

conduct,

conduct, aſſaulted Mr. Fryar with the moſt brutal fury, mang- A. D.
ling his body in a moſt ſhocking manner, and mortally wound- 1762.
ing the Spaniſh gentleman, who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack they were ſoon repelled by the Britiſh party who defended the poſt; their ſavage cruelty had exaſperated the troops, and whenever they fell into the hands of the Engliſh ſoldiers, they found no mercy.

Meanwhile the indefatigable vigour and unconquerable ſpirit of our ſoldiers and ſeamen had raiſed three batteries for cannon and mortars, which played on the town with conſiderable effect. The navy which had hitherto aſſiſted no otherwiſe than in covering the landing, and in furniſhing men and ſtores, began now to take a direct part in the ſiege. On the 29th the admiral ordered the Eliſabeth and the Falmouth to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and to enfilade the enemy's front in order to ſecond the operations of the army. Although the ſhallows kept them at too great a diſtance to have all the effect which could have been wiſhed, their fire did not fail to produce great confuſion and terror among the inhabitants, and to add very conſiderably to the fatigue of the garriſon.

The operations of the beſiegers were for ſome days retarded by an event which threatened to deſtroy at once all the effects of their induſtry and courage. During the firſt days of October a deluge of rain poured down, accompanied by a mighty ſtorm of wind. The ſquadron was in the greateſt danger, and all communication with it and the army entirely cut off. The South-Sea Caſtle ſtore-ſhip, which had lately arrived, and contained the greateſt part of the tools and neceſſaries for proſecuting the ſiege, was driven on ſhore. The governor, or archbiſhop of the place, added to the advantage of theſe appearances in his favour, by calling in the aid of his eccleſiaſtical character. He gave out, that the angel of the Lord was gone forth to deſtroy the Engliſh, like the hoſt of Sennacherib of old; and this miſerable ſuperſtition did not fail to raiſe the ſpirits of a fearful and cowardly garriſon.

The circumſtances of this ſtorm, by an extraordinary ſpecies of good fortune, became favourable to the beſiegers. The South-ſea Caſtle, by being driven on ſhore without any conſi-

A. D. 1762. derable damage, gave an eaſy and ready acceſs to all the ſtores and proviſions which ſhe contained. In the ſituation in which ſhe lay on ſhore, her cannon became a protection to the rear of the Engliſh camp; and, by enfilading the whole beach to the ſouthward, ſhe kept in awe a body of Indians who threatened an attack on the Pulveriſta and the magazine of the beſiegers at the Malata. At the ſame time the confidence which the enemy derived from the natural helps ariſing from the ſtorm, and in the ſupernatural ones added by their ſuperſtition, rendered them more remiſs and languid in their defence; while the roaring of the ſea, occaſioned by the great ſurf, prevented them from hearing the noiſe of the Engliſh workmen, who were buſy in the night in completing the ſeveral batteries, in finiſhing a parallel and communication from theſe to the advanced poſt at the church, on the left of which they eſtabliſhed a ſpacious place of arms. All this was accompliſhed on the 3d, and, the battery being opened againſt the left face of St. Diego's baſtion, the fire was ſo well directed by the ſkill of major Barker, that in a few hours twelve pieces of cannon, mounted on the face of the baſtion, were totally ſilenced, and the enemy obliged to retire. In leſs than two days all their other defences were greatly impaired.

The Spaniards, ſeeing their fortifications no longer tenable, projected a ſally diſpoſed in two attacks upon the two moſt important poſts of the Engliſh. The firſt was to be made upon the cantonment of ſeamen, who were known to have had the moſt conſiderable part in the management of the artillery during the whole ſiege. The ſecond was to be made on the church of St. Jago, which had been of ſo much conſequence in protecting the beſiegers in their approaches, and which covered a flank of the army.

In the middle of the night preceding the 4th of October, 1000 Indians marched out upon the firſt attack. They were much encouraged by the inceſſant rains, which they hoped had rendered the fire-arms uſeleſs; while their own arms, conſiſting only of bows and lances, could ſuffer nothing from ſuch accidents. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick buſhes, growing on the ſide of a rivulet, through which they paſſed

paſſed in the night, without being perceived by the patroles. When they arrived at the quarter of the ſeamen, they began the work of deſtruction with a more than hoſtile fury. The Engliſh, though ſurprized, maintained their ground with ſteadineſs, and repelled the mad rage of the ſavages with manly perſevering courage. Prudently ſatisfied with this advantage, they remained firm in their poſts till day-break, when two piquets of the ſeventy-ninth regiment arrived to their aſſiſtance. The Indians, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of their armour, advanced in the moſt reſolute manner to the attack, fought with incredible ferocity, when repulſed, returned with redoubled fury to the muzzles of the Engliſh muſkets, and died like wild beaſts gnawing their bayonets. At length, however, they were obliged to retreat before the diſciplined valour of the Engliſh, having loſt 300 men in this daring and unequal attack. A. D. 1762.

The bad ſucceſs of the firſt attempt did not diſcourage thoſe who were ordered on the ſecond. This began juſt as the former had been defeated, and appeared at firſt more favourable to the hopes of the Spaniards. The Seapoys, who defended the church of St. Jago, were far from poſſeſſing the firmneſs of the Engliſh ſailors, and, being diſlodged without difficulty, retired in confuſion from their poſt. The enemy, who conſiſted not only of Indians but of a ſtrong detachment from the Spaniſh garriſon, immediately ſeized the church, climbed to the top, and from thence poured down a violent fire on our people, who maintained themſelves with patience and reſolution, until a detachment with ten field-pieces came to their relief. Then the Spaniards were compelled to give way, leaving 70 of their number dead on the ſpot. Nor were we freed from theſe reſolute attacks without conſiderable loſs. This, with the former action, coſt the beſiegers above 40 men, including captain Strahan of the ſeventy-ninth regiment, and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers who fell univerſally regretted.

This was the laſt effort of the garriſon in its own defence. The unruly ſpirit of the Indians, impatient of repulſe, and diſcouraged by repeated defeats, led them to return home. The fire of the garriſon grew faint, and all the outworks of the enemy were now in a ruinous condition. The operations of the beſiegers,

A. D. 1762. ſiegers, on the other hand, were ſo well directed, and carried on with ſuch vigour, that on the 5th the breach appeared practicable. It was expected, that the garriſon would demand a capitulation, when no law of honour, becauſe there was no proſpect of ſucceſs, required a farther defence. But the beſiegers had to do with the ſullen obſtinacy of Spaniards, who neglected all opportunities of obtaining favourable terms, and without taking proper meaſures for defending the breach.

The Engliſh general, not finding any deſire of capitulation in the enemy, prepared without delay, and with the moſt judicious arrangements for the ſtorm. On the 6th at four in the morning, the troops deſtined for this ſervice, filed off from their quarters in ſmall bodies to avoid ſuſpicion, and gradually aſſembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themſelves in the place of arms, and on the parallel between the church and the battery. Meanwhile major Barker maintained a cloſe fire upon every part of the enemy's works, from which we might apprehend any moleſtation. At day-break a large body of Spaniards were ſeen formed on the baſtion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended aſſault, and had reſolved to annoy the aſſailants from the retired flanks of the baſtion, where they had ſtill two cannon fit for ſervice. But the exploſion of ſome ſhells thrown among them by the beſiegers had ſo good an effect, that it made them diſperſe and retire in confuſion.

The Britiſh troops took immediate advantage of this event, and directed by the ſignal of a general diſcharge from the artillery and mortars, ruſhed on to the aſſault under cover of a thick ſmoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Ruſſel, at the head of 60 volunteers from different corps, led the way. They were ſupported by the grenadiers of the ſeventy-ninth regiment. A body of pioneers, to clear the breach, and if neceſſary, to make lodgements, followed; a battalion of ſeamen advanced next, ſupported by two grand diviſions of the ſeventy-ninth regiment; and the troops of the Eaſt India company formed the rear. Diſpoſed in this excellent order, the aſſailants, to the number of 2000 men, mounted the breach with amazing ſpirit and activity. The Spaniards retired ſo ſuddenly that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stevenſon was ordered to examine the ground, which removed all apprehenſion

apprehenſion from this danger; and the Engliſh troops penetra- A. D.
ted into the town without meeting with any oppoſition until they 1762.
came to the royal gate, where there was a guard-houſe defend-
ed by 100 Spaniards and Indians. Here major More was tranſ-
fixed with an arrow, and about twenty of our men fell. The
guard refuſed quarter, and were cut to pieces. In proceeding
forward the troops were galled with ſhot from the galleries of
lofty houſes, ſurrounding the great ſquare. But the Spaniſh ſol-
diers every where gave way before them. Three hundred pe-
riſhed in endeavouring to eſcape by paſſing a deep and rapid ri-
ver. The governor and principal magiſtrates imprudently re-
treated to the citadel, which was by no means a tenable poſt;
and as the Engliſh general had no offer of capitulation either on
the part of the garriſon or inhabitants, it was impoſſible to pre-
vent ſome of the calamities which uſually happen to cities taken
by ſtorm, from the cruel rapacious licenſe of the common ſol-
diers. Thoſe who had retired into the citadel dreading to be
expoſed to equal ſufferings, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The
marquis of Villa Medina, with the reſt of the Spaniſh officers,
were admitted as priſoners of war on their parole of honour;
and all the Indians were diſmiſſed in ſafety. At the ſame time
admiral Corniſh and general Draper, influenced by a generoſity
familiar to our commanders, though able to command every
thing by force, admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by
which they enjoyed their liberties, lives, properties, and the ad-
miniſtration of their domeſtic government. In conſequence of
this agreement the town and port of Cavité, with the iſlands and
forts depending upon Manilla, were ſurrendered to his Britannic
majeſty; and four millions of dollars were promiſed as a ranſom
for ſaving the houſes and effects of the inhabitants [k]. The admi-
ral took poſſeſſion of ſeveral large ſhips, with a vaſt quantity of
military and naval ſtores; and the Engliſh found here every re-
freſhment to recruit the men, and every neceſſary to refit the
ſquadron. The Eaſt India company were intitled to one third
of the ranſom, and the conqueſt according to agreement was
delivered up to Dawſon Drake, Eſq; and the other individuals
appointed to receive them in behalf of that company.

[k] As this ranſom was never paid, commanders in future will do well to take hoſtages.

This

A. D. 1762. This important acquiſition was rendered complete by another fortunate event. During the ſiege admiral Corniſh received intelligence by the capture of an advice-ſhip, that the galleon from Acapulco was arrived at the ſtraits which form the entrance into the Archipelago of the Philippines. This intelligence was not to be neglected, as ſo rich a prize would greatly enhance the value of the conqueſt, and not a little compenſate the diſadvantage of a repulſe. Two ſhips of war, the Panther a ſhip of the line, captain Parker, and the Argo frigate, captain King, were immediately diſpatched in queſt of the galleon. After twenty-ſix days cruizing they deſcried on the 30th of October, being off the iſland Capul, a ſail ſtanding northward. The Panther being driven by the current among the Narangor, was obliged to anchor; but the Argo coming up with the chace, engaged her for near two hours, during which the Engliſh frigate was roughly handled, and even obliged to deſiſt, until his damage could be repaired. The current ſlackening, captain Parker was enabled to get under ſail, and about nine next morning came up with the enemy, who after having been cannonaded near two hours at a very ſmall diſtance, ſtruck her colours. The Engliſh captain was not a little ſurprized to learn when the Spaniſh officers came on board, that inſtead of the Sancta Philippina, which was expected from Acapulco, he had taken the Sanctiſſima Trinidad, which was bound for that port. This veſſel had left Manilla the 1ſt of Auguſt, and had ſailed 300 leagues to the eaſtward of the Embocadero; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, and being diſmaſted, was obliged to put back and refit. In the firſt engagement with the Argo this galleon mounted only ſix guns, though ſhe was pierced for ſixty. In her engagement with the Panther, ſhe mounted but thirteen. The Engliſh captains had both been ſurprized to find ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance with ſo little activity of oppoſition. But their wonder ceaſed when they examined the galleon with attention. She was a huge veſſel that lay like a mountain on the water, and her ſides ſo exceſſively thick that the ſhot had made no impreſſion upon any part, except her upper works. She had 800 men on board; and the value of her cargo was regiſtered at one million and a half

half of dollars; that which was unregiſtered in order to be ſmuggled amounted to full as much; ſo that this capture was a valuable addition to the conqueſt, and a freſh wound to the enemy. A. D. 1762.

At no period of time had the Spaniſh monarchy ſuffered ſuch mortifying diſaſters as in the courſe of this war, of which there was no conqueſt more advantageous in itſelf, or more honourably atchieved than that of the Philippines. The Britiſh forces effected their landing before Manilla on the 24th of September; their battery of cannon was not completed until the 3d of October, and on the 6th they were maſters of the city. In this ſhort time, notwithſtanding the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year which prevented the communication between the land and ſea forces, a territory was acquired conſiſting of fourteen conſiderable iſlands, which from their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furniſhed the materials of a great kingdom. The conqueſt of the Havannah had in a great meaſure interrupted the communication between the wealthy American colonies of the Spaniards and Europe. The reduction of the Philippines now excluded them from Aſia. The two together ſecured all the avenues of the Spaniſh trade, and cut off all intercourſe between the parts of their vaſt but unconnected empire. Never indeed were any people more to be pitied than the Spaniards. They were plunged precipitately into a war againſt every principle of ſound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of their ſovereign, in favour of the intereſts of his family, which ſtood in direct oppoſition to thoſe of his people. Unfortunately for the happineſs of mankind the former intereſts will always be preferred under the government of an abſolute prince. Whatever concluſions, therefore, may be drawn, at any future period, in favour of the pacific intentions of the Spaniards from the national advantages that would reſult from a pacific conduct, ought not to have great weight on the councils or meaſures of Great Britain. We ought in this caſe to diſtruſt appearances. The advantage, at leaſt the ſuppoſed advantage of a king of Spain and of his ſubjects, are not always the ſame. The national advantage is moſt obvious to ſtrangers, but that of the king will prevail in the cabinet; and Spain will undertake another

A. D. 1762. war againſt Great Britain, though more ruinous than the former, whenever the intereſts or honour of the houſe of Bourbon demand her aſſiſtance. We may be permitted another obſervation at this particular time [k]. The ſucceſs of the laſt war againſt Spain, than which none more brilliant is recorded in hiſtory, depended in a great meaſure on the rapidity with which all our meaſures were carried into execution. The garriſon at the Havannah was in no ſtate of defence; the inhabitants of Manilla were unacquainted with the declaration of war. The dominions of Spain from which ſhe draws her principal reſources, lying at an immenſe diſtance from the capital and one another, renders it more neceſſary for her than for any other power to temporize, until ſhe can inſpire with activity all the parts of her extenſive but diſjointed empire. For this reaſon Great Britain cannot be too much on her guard to watch the firſt ſymptom of approaching hoſtility. To take the advantage of the firſt ſtroke, without waiting for the formal declaration of war, may expoſe her to the cenſure of minute politicians; but to wait patiently till ſhe herſelf receives it, will render her the ſcorn of her enemies.

The reduction of the Manillas will be handed down as a memorable event to the lateſt poſterity. Another expedition, which was much celebrated at the time, and which adorned the luſtre of the Britiſh arms in the courſe of this autumn, was the recovery of the iſland of St. John in Newfoundland. About the latter end of May, intelligence was received by the admiralty that a French ſquadron under the command of M. de Ternay had ſailed from Breſt under cover of a fog. The deſtination of this ſquadron being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York as rear-admiral, were immediately ordered from Spithead with ſeven ſhips of the line, and two frigates, in hopes that they might fall in with the enemy. They viſited the coaſt of France; and after cruizing for ſome time in the chops of the Channel for the protection of our trade, returned to Portſmouth not having ſeen M. de Ternay's fleet. It was deſcried, however, on the 11th of May, about fifty leagues to the north-

[k] October, 1778.

ward

ward of the Lizard by captain Rowley, who had ſailed with three ſhips of war, the Superbe of 74 guns, the Goſport of 44, and the Danaé of 38, as convoy to a fleet of merchantmen bound to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley no ſooner perceived them than he made a diſpoſition for battle, though greatly inferior in ſtrength. The French ſhips bore down upon him; when he hoiſted Britiſh colours, and fired at the neareſt, when ſhe was within little more than random ſhot. The enemy immediately hoiſted Engliſh colours, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chace till three in the afternoon when they were ſcarcely in ſight; and having no hope of bringing them to action, he diſcontinued the purſuit, and rejoined his convoy. A. D. 1762.

The French ſquadron conſiſted of the Robuſte of 74 guns, the Eveille of 64, the Garonne of 44, and the Licorne of 30, carrying 1500 ſoldiers under the command of the count d'Hauſonville. They ſteered their courſe for Newfoundland, and on the 24th of June entered the bay of Bulls, where the troops were landed without oppoſition. Having taken poſſeſſion of an inconſiderable Engliſh ſettlement in this bay, they ſteered for the town of St. John's, which being defended by no more than ſixty-three men, ſurrendered upon capitulation. This little garriſon were made priſoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majeſty's ſloop the Gramont, which was in the harbour. The French likewiſe took ſeveral merchant veſſels, deſtroyed the ſtages erected for curing cod, and every thing elſe belonging to the fiſhery. They afterwards began to repair the fortifications of the town, of which they had determined to keep poſſeſſion.

When the news of this loſs reached England, the antiminiſterial party employed it as a ſubject of reproach againſt the king's ſervants. Their abuſe, though mean, illiberal, and vulgar, was not altogether ill-founded. Mr. Pitt's advice for guarding Newfoundland from any ſuch attempt, had been neglected by the miniſtry, who, while on this occaſion they repreſented the loſs of a place cold, barren, and inhoſpitable, as of very little conſequence, did not delay to prepare an armament for regaining the poſſeſſion of it.

A. D. 1762. But their preparations for this purpoſe were rendered unneceſſary by the vigilant celerity of lord Colville and Sir Jeffery Amherſt, who commanded by ſea and land in North America. The former, upon receiving advice of the progreſs of the French in Newfoundland, immediately ſailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John's with one ſhip of the line and one frigate only, even while M. de Ternay lay at anchor in it, with a ſuperior ſquadron. On the 11th day of September his lordſhip was joined by colonel Amherſt, whom his brother Sir Jeffery had detached from New York, with orders to touch at Louiſbourg, and take on board ſome troops, which, with thoſe embarked at Halifax, amounted to about 800 men, chiefly Highlanders and light infantry. The light infantry landed, after a ſhort reſiſtance, at Torbay, about ſeven miles to the northward of St. John's, it not being poſſible to land at Kitty-vitty, where the enemy had ſtopped up the narrow entrance, by ſinking ſhallops in the channel. The French had continued to annoy the boats, as the troops landed; until the light infantry obliged the enemy to retreat. The French afterwards took to the woods, through which the Britiſh had to march for four miles. They wounded ſeveral of our men with their buſh fire, which was very troubleſome till captain M'Donald's company of light infantry ruſhed in upon them, took ſome priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt. The Britiſh forces advanced to the ſtrong poſt of Kitty-vitty which they took ſword in hand. This advantage ſecured their communication with the ſhips for landing the ſtores and artillery. The enemy poſted on a hill on the other ſide of the river fired upon our men; but a detachment was ſent to drive them from this eminence from which they retreated in precipitation, leaving ſeveral priſoners behind. The French were ſtill in poſſeſſion of two very high and ſteep hills, the one in the neighbourhood of our advanced poſts, and the other in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and commanding all the intermediate ſpace. It was neceſſary to diſlodge them; which was performed by captain M'Donald with great bravery and reſolution, at the head of his own and the provincial light infantry. With this corps he paſſed the ſentries and advanced guard unobſerved, and was not diſcovered till the main body of the French

ſaw

saw him climbing up the rocks, and almoſt at the top which he gained; having received the enemy's fire, he poured in his own with ſuch vivacity that the French gave way. The gallant captain received a mortal wound; his lieutenant with four men were killed, and eighteen wounded. A. D. 1762.

On the 16th colonel Amherſt proceeded vigorouſly in his preparations to attack the town of St. John's. The breaſt-work and unfiniſhed battery which commanded the harbour being taken, the entrance of the channel was cleared, and the ſtores and artillery were landed without difficulty. This was fortunately performed before a violent gale of wind, which happened immediately after, and drove lord Colville to a conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt. In his abſence M. de Ternay took advantage of a thick fog, to ſlip his cables and to make his eſcape, leaving the garriſon of St. John's to defend itſelf. His ſhips were ſeen at a great diſtance by the Britiſh ſquadron; but his conduct was ſo unlike that of Engliſhmen in abandoning a place intruſted to his protection, that it was not imagined the ſhips which they deſcried could be thoſe of M. Ternay.

On the 17th at night the colonel opened a battery, with one eight-inch mortar, ſeven cohorns, and ſix royals. The enemy, at the ſame time, began a briſk fire from the fort, and threw ſeveral ſhells. In the morning of the 18th the count of Hauſonville, who had declared two days before in a letter to colonel Amherſt that he would not ſurrender the fort until it were totally deſtroyed, thought proper to alter his reſolution, and to demand a capitulation. The garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Breſt with the firſt opportunity; which condition was immediately fulfilled by lord Colville, who had, by this time, returned into the harbour. Thus the town and fort of St. John's with all the other places which the French had taken on this coaſt were recovered by the indefatigable labour and perſevering bravery of a handful of men, without the loſs of above 20 ſoldiers in this important ſervice.

In the retaking of St. John's as well as in the reduction of the Havannah and the Philippines, the fleet and army co-operated with ſingular harmony and ſucceſs. As they underwent the

ſame

A. D. 1762. ſame fatigue, and were expoſed to ſimilar dangers, they were intitled to an equal ſhare of glory as well as of reward. But it is obvious that the vaſt ſuperiority of the Engliſh ſeamen to the French and Spaniſh, and their firm hardineſs in performing ſome branches of ſervice which no land troops in the world would have dared to attempt, was the principal cauſe of that uniform and uninterrupted train of good fortune which crowned the Britiſh arms. The manly firmneſs and perſevering reſolution of our ſeamen, directed by the experienced valour and active vigilance of our naval commanders, overcame obſtacles of art and nature which appeared at firſt ſight unſurmountable. Every meaſure was taken at that critical moment which was moſt favourable to its ſucceſs; no advantage was left unimproved, no error unrepaired. The whole plan of every expedition, as well as its ſubordinate parts, was conducted with heroic bravery, and guided by conſummate wiſdom.

Nor was the merit of the fleet leſs conſpicuous in thoſe attempts which were more immediately directed againſt the naval ſtrength and reſources of the enemy. In the courſe of the year we meet with ſeveral actions at ſea, which would adorn the annals of any country. We ſhall relate them in the order of time in which they happened.

Had the enemy's deſigns ſucceeded, we ſhould have had few exploits to boaſt of near the coaſt of France. In the month of December of the year 1761, they attempted to burn at once all the Britiſh ſhips of war that lay at anchor in the road of Baſque. They prepared three fire-ſhips, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and ſet on fire with a ſtrong breeze that blew directly on the Engliſh ſquadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation, and the wind luckily ſhifting drove them clear of the ſhips they were intended to deſtroy. They were conſumed to no purpoſe, after blowing up with a terrible exploſion and every perſon on board periſhing. On the 7th of March, his majeſty's ſhip Milford fell in with a Spaniſh letter of marque in her paſſage to St. Domingo. She had been a privateer of Bayonne and pierced for 20 guns, but carried at preſent only 16 ſix-pounders, ten ſwivels, and 94 men, and had a valuable cargo on board. The engagement was hot

and

and deſperate. Captain Man of the Milford ſoon received a mortal wound. Mr. Day the firſt lieutenant, taking the command of the ſhip, was immediately ſhot through the head. The defence of the king's ſhip devolving on lieutenant Naſh, this officer received ſeveral wounds in his hands and face. The engagement continued almoſt for 24 hours, when the enemy ſtruck, both ſhips being miſerably ſhattered. A. D. 1762.

About the ſame time his majeſty's ſhip Fowey, of 24 guns, nine pounders, and 135 men, commanded by captain Mead, fell in with La Ventura, a Spaniſh frigate of 26 guns, 12 pounders, and 300 men, carrying money to pay the Spaniſh troops at Porto-Rico and St. Domingo. Theſe frigates engaged about ſeven leagues from Cape Tiberone. The fight continued an hour and an half, when their mutual damages obliged them both at the ſame time to ſheer off and repair. This done, captain Mead at ten o'clock of the night bore down a ſecond time on the enemy; but after exchanging a broadſide without any viſible effect, it being too dark to form any ſatisfactory notion of the diſtance and motion of the Spaniſh veſſel, he made ſail to windward, keeping a proper look-out, that he might not loſe ſight of her, but be able to renew the attack with advantage by day-light. Accordingly in the dawn of the morning, the Fowey, keeping her men at their quarters, ran up as cloſe to the Ventura as it was poſſible without falling on board of her. The engagement, renewed for the third time, was more bloody and deſperate than before. It laſted with extraordinary courage and conduct on both ſides till half an hour paſt eight, when the Spaniſh frigate having received ſeveral ſhot between wind and water, and being reduced almoſt to a wreck, was compelled to ſtrike her colours. She had near 50 men killed; and both ſhips were ſo much diſabled that neither of them had tackles left to hoiſt out a boat, nor indeed a boat that could ſwim. Captain Mead, who is known by his uſeful invention for cleaning a ſhip's bottom at ſea, had occaſion for all his ingenuity on this occaſion. He contrived by nailing tarpaulins over the ſhot-holes of a ſmall boat, to bring the Spaniſh officers on board the Fowey. His gallantry was the more conſpicuous on this occaſion, as the ſhip's maſter was drunk and unfit to give the leaſt aſſiſtance during

A. D. during the action. The gunner, too, happened to be wounded
1762. in the beginning of the engagement; and a lieutenant, with 24 men, were on ſhore.

On the 3d of April, after this wreck was carried into Port-Royal in Jamaica, the Huſſar frigate, captain Carket, attacked four ſhips, lying under a fort in Tiberone bay; one of which carrying 16 guns ſhe burnt, ſunk another of 14 guns, cut out one of 16 and another of 12, and carried them into Jamaica. In this deſperate enterprize the Huſſar had but one man killed and 12 wounded; whereas the French had 17 killed and 35 wounded. But moſt of the crews of the enemy's ſhips eſcaped aſhore in their boats during the engagement.

On the 21ſt of May two Britiſh frigates, cruizing off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter-ſhip, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with ſuch a quantity of treaſure and valuable effects as enriched all the captors. The Hermione had but 28 guns, and ſurrendered with little or no reſiſtance; ſhe was indeed in no ſituation to make a proper defence, the officers on board not being acquainted with the declaration of war between the two kingdoms. This ſhip carried 2,600,000 hard dollars; and her whole cargo was valued at a million ſterling, which is more than had ever been before taken in one bottom. The loſs of ſuch an immenſe treaſure at the beginning of a war which required the greateſt expence, muſt have been a heavy blow to the ambition of the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and ſilver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in proceſſion to the bank, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who conſidered this as an auſpicious omen of ſucceſs in the war againſt Spain.

In the beginning of April captain Ourry of the Acteon, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spaniſh regiſter-ſhip, bound for Lagueira, laden with artillery, ſtores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of 25 ſail of French merchant-ſhips, richly laden with ſugar, coffee, and indigo, took their departure from Cape Francis for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of theſe veſſels were ſurprized and taken in the night by ſome privateers of New York and Jamaica. Next day it was their misfortune

misfortune to fall in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port Royal in Jamaica. A. D. 1762.

Nor were the Britiſh cruizers leſs ſucceſsful on the coaſts of Europe. In the beginning of April captain Gambier of the Burford arrived at Plymouth with a large Eaſt Indiaman which had ſailed from the iſle of Bourbon with a valuable cargo, and been taken by one of admiral Pocock's ſquadron in the chops of the channel. About the end of Auguſt captain Hotham of the Æolus chaced two Spaniſh ſhips into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the 2d day of September, ſtanding into the bay, came to an anchor in ſuch a ſituation as to bring his guns to bear not only upon one of the ſhips, but alſo upon a ſmall battery ſituated on an eminence. After a ſhort but warm conteſt both the battery and ſhip were abandoned; but before captain Hotham could take poſſeſſion of his prize, ſhe ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. On the 20th of September he took a veſſel of conſiderable value belonging to Bourdeaux. In the beginning of November captain Ruthven of the Terpſichore took a French ſhip of 20 guns bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francis. The action, in which the captain was wounded, was ſharp and obſtinate. On the ninth of the ſame month the enemy loſt the Oiſeau, a frigate of 26 guns, commanded by the Chevalier de Modene, who fell in with captain Tonyn of the king's ſhip the Brune, about ſeven leagues from Carthagena. The engagement was maintained with great ſpirit on both ſides: but at length the chevalier was obliged to ſubmit, having loſt about 30 men, including all his officers, excepting three, who with himſelf were wounded in the action.

A continuation of ſucceſs had inſpired the Engliſh with an enthuſiaſm of valour as well as of magnanimity. Of the firſt we have an example in an exploit of the Brilliant and Duke of York privateers; and of the latter in the behaviour of captain Clark of the Sheerneſs frigate. Theſe privateers entered a ſmall port near Cape Finiſterre, defended by a battery at the entrance. In two hours time they beat the Spaniards from the fort, hoiſted Engliſh colours, and ſpiked up the cannon. They might have laid the town in aſhes, but were ſatisfied with burning two ſhips,

A. D. 1762. and bringing off four more which were loaded with wine for the uſe of the Spaniſh fleet at Ferrol. The Minerva, a French frigate, had, in company with four other ſhips of war, given chace to the Sheerneſs commanded by captain Clark, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing freſh. He was immediately followed by the captain of the Minerva, who, actuated by an idle ſpirit of vanity and inſolence, reſolved to lie between him and the ſhore, and ran his ſhip upon the rocks which bound the eaſtern ſide of the harbour. Being himſelf ignorant of the art of ſeamanſhip, and ill aſſiſted by a crew little acquainted with ſuch emergencies, his ſhip was in a ſhort time daſhed in pieces; and a conſiderable number of his people periſhed, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance he could receive from his conſorts. On this melancholy occaſion captain Clark, forgetting they were enemies, and that this very calamity was occaſioned by their reſentment againſt him and his country, exerted himſelf vigorouſly for their relief. He could not have done more if his friends had been in danger. By this generous aſſiſtance the greateſt part of the crew and all the officers were ſaved.

The ſame firm and reſolute ſpirit, and the ſame enterprizing gallantry, appeared in every branch of the Engliſh marine. Even the packets performed exploits which would have done honour to ſhips of war of any other country. The Hampden, of eight carriage guns and 30 men, ſailing between Faro and Gibraltar, was attacked by 11 privateers, which bore down in order of battle. The commodore was a barcolongo of eight guns and 60 men; the ſecond was a xebeque of the ſame number of guns and men; five of a leſſer ſize followed a little a-ſtern; other four carrying 30 men each, with one gun in the prow, brought up the rear. The engagement began at eleven in the forenoon, in ſight of Gibraltar, and continued till half paſt one, when that mighty ſquadron were ordered by the commander in chief to haul their wind, and to return from whence they came. The Hampden proceeded to Gibraltar, with her ſails and rigging greatly damaged, but without any other conſiderable loſs. The Harriot packet, in her paſſage from New York to Falmouth, diſcovered equal gallantry, having twice repulſed a French

French privateer of more than double her force. The captain was rewarded with a purſe of an hundred guineas, and promoted to the command of a Liſbon packet. A. D. 1762.

It would be tedious to relate every naval exploit of the year 1762, in the courſe of which our men of war and privateers fought and took 120 conſiderable prizes, carrying 844 guns and near 6000 men. Neither French nor Spaniards had force at ſea which was fit to annoy our trade in any great degree, and they were deterred from riſking their lives and properties on board of privateers, by the rough treatment which theſe commonly met with from the Engliſh frigates or armed merchantmen. Since the Spaniards, through the ambition of the court, had been precipitated into this fatal war, they had loſt 12 ſhips of the line beſides frigates; and the French had been deprived of a marine ſufficient to conſtitute the ſtrength of a great kingdom. Their whole loſs amounted to 18 ſhips of the line and 36 frigates taken; fourteen ſhips of the line and thirteen frigates deſtroyed. On the other hand, the French took two and deſtroyed three Engliſh frigates; and thirteen Britiſh ſhips of the line, with fourteen frigates, were loſt by accident. But not one capital Engliſh ſhip fell into the hands of the enemy.

The proſpect of rich plunder, which always attends a Spaniſh war, had revived the ſpirit of privateering, after it was in a great meaſure extinguiſhed by the repeated diſaſters of the French, which had left them ſcarcely any thing more to loſe by ſea. Some attempts were made in this way, which ſeem bold and daring beyond the ſpirit and abilities of private perſons. The expedition againſt Buenos Ayres in particular, though it ended unfortunately by a fatal accident againſt which human prudence is too weak to provide, deſerves, on account of the boldneſs and magnitude of the deſign, to be recorded among the memorable naval exploits of the year. It was the laſt act of hoſtility between the Engliſh and Spaniards, and concluded in a manner the moſt proper for diſpoſing brave and generous nations to a mutual forgiveneſs of injuries, and a ſincere deſire of accommodation.

The attempt againſt this Spaniſh ſettlement was undertaken by ſome private adventurers, after we had made ourſelves ma-

A. D. 1762. ſters of the Havannah, and taken meaſures for the conqueſt of the Philippines. Government thought proper to encourage their deſign, not ſo much from any lucrative motive as on account of the ſituation of Buenos Ayres, which of all the Spaniſh colonies lies the moſt conveniently for moleſting the poſſeſſions of our Portugueſe allies, and which, if we ſhould be ſo fortunate as to get it into our power, would afford a ſtation well adapted for enterprizes againſt the trade and the dominions of Spain in the South Seas. The embarkation was made from the Tagus, and conſiſted of the Lord Clive and Ambuſcade privateers, the former of which was equal in force to a ſhip of 50 guns. They were reinforced by a Portugueſe frigate, and ſome ſmall armed veſſels and ſtore ſhips, and had on board 500 ſoldiers, partly Engliſh, partly Portugueſe. The expedition was under the command of captain Macnamara, an adventurer of ſpirit and experience, who had been many years a captain in the Eaſt India company's ſervice, and had embarked his whole fortune in the preſent enterprize.

The armament ſailed from Liſbon the 30th of Auguſt, 1762, from which place to the mouth of the Plata the voyage proved favourable. But when they had entered that vaſt river the 2d of November, difficulties and obſtructions began to encounter them on every ſide. A violent gale of wind, attended with thunder and lightning, attacked them at their entrance. When the tempeſt ceaſed, they found that the river was ſhoaly, and of ſo difficult navigation that they muſt meet with no ſmall obſtructions in making their way to Buenos Ayres. The Spaniards were not here, as in other places, unacquainted with the declaration of war. They were well prepared for making a vigorous reſiſtance, and had begun, ſome weeks before, to act on the offenſive by taking the Portugueſe ſettlement of Nova Colonia.

This unexpected intelligence and the difficulties of the voyage to Buenos Ayres determined the adventurers to abandon for ſome time this firſt deſign, and to begin with the recovery of Nova Colonia. An Engliſh pilot who knew the place and river, and whom they accidently met with on board a Portugueſe veſſel, encouraged them to the attempt, undertaking to carry the commodore's

commodore's ſhip into the harbour, and within piſtol-ſhot of A. D.
the enemy's principal battery.

On the 1ſt of January, 1763, he made good his promiſe. 1763.
The Engliſh ſhips arrived before Nova Colonia in good order, and the men in high ſpirits. They adorned their veſſels with all the pomp and parade of a naval triumph. Their colours were fully diſplayed; the ſoldiers dreſt in new red uniforms, and diſpoſed upon the poop and upon the tops, made a gallant appearance. In this manner they advanced to the attack the 6th of January, with horns ſounding and drums beating, and every movement expreſſive of hope and victory.

The Lord Clive made the ſignal for engaging, and ſoon after anchored under the eaſtmoſt battery of the place, while the Ambuſcade was expoſed to a warm fire from the middle and weſt batteries, as well as from two Spaniſh frigates. But the plan of engagement was not exactly followed; the Portugueſe frigate on which they had great dependence, having anchored at ſuch a diſtance that none of her ſhot reached the ſhore. The Spaniards pointed their guns well, and ſtood to them with firmneſs. But the ſhips having rectified ſeveral miſtakes in their firſt diſpoſition, began a moſt fierce cannonading, which laſted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon, when the enemy's fire began viſibly to abate, and their men to retire to the eaſtmoſt battery as the place of greateſt ſecurity. Againſt this the fire of the Engliſh was directed with redoubled violence; and they had hopes every minute of ſeeing the Spaniſh colours ſtruck. But when they were on the point of attaining the object of all their deſires, the commodore's ſhip, by ſome accident which has never been accounted for, unfortunately took fire. In a moment ſhe was all in a blaze; and the ſame inſtant diſcovered the flames and the impoſſibility of extinguiſhing them. There was to be ſeen a moſt dreadful ſpectacle. The ſides of the veſſel were immediately crowded with naked men, who but a few minutes before reckoned themſelves in the aſſured proſpect of wealth and conqueſt. Some clung to the ſails and rigging until the violence of the flames obliged them to forego their hold; others precipitated themſelves into the ſea; many died by their own hands; and ſeveral of ſtill more determined

courage

A. D. 1763. courage went to the lower guns in the midſt of all this ſcene of confuſion and horror, and kept up a conſtant fire on the enemy, till they were driven by the flames to periſh in another element. The commodore periſhed; and of 340 men, only 78 eſcaped.

None of the other veſſels durſt approach the Clive for fear of ſharing her fate. The Ambuſcade, which had ſuffered greatly from the enemy's fire, eſcaped to the Portugueſe ſettlement of Rio de Janeiro. Such of the Lord Clive's crew as, by uncommon dexterity in ſwimming, reached the ſhore, were humanely received by the Spaniards, whoſe reſentment was extinguiſhed in the calamity of their enemies. The Engliſh came to them naked; they clothed them decently: they were deſtitute of every neceſſary; they ſupplied abundantly all their wants, received them into their houſes, and treated them rather like their deareſt friends than enemies come to expel them from their poſſeſſions.

The war thus cloſed with an action the fitteſt that can be imagined to diſpoſe the minds of men to humanity, gentleneſs, and benevolence, and to prepare them for receiving with approbation the meaſures which had been taken for giving peace[1] to the four quarters of the world.

1 Concluded at Paris the 10th of February, 1763. See Appendix, N°. XIII. for the articles of this treaty of peace.

LIVES

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT BRITAIN from the end of the War in 1763 to the year 1779.

AS the war of 1755 had been undertaken in order to protect the Britiſh colonies in America againſt the encroachments of the French, ſo the ſecurity of theſe colonies ſeems to have been the principal object in the treaty of peace, of which the terms were, doubtleſs, more advantageous to the Engliſh ſettlements in America than to the iſland of Great Britain. The unexampled ſucceſs of the war enabled England to dictate the conditions of peace. She had it in her option to retain the Weſt India iſlands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, and Deſiderade, the poſſeſſion of which would have brought the moſt important advantages to her commerce, or by ceding theſe iſlands, to ſecure the American ſettlements on the north A. D. 1763.

A. D. 1763. north by the acquiſition of Canada. She preferred the intereſt of her colonies. It was no leſs in her power to retain the important conqueſts ſhe had made from Spain, as to obtain an equivalent for theſe conqueſts by ſtipulating ſuch commercial advantages as would have added immenſe wealth to Great Britain, or to defend her American colonies in the ſouth by acquiring the forts of St. Auguſtine and Penſacola, and the extenſive country of Florida. In this inſtance, alſo, the intereſt of America prevailed. The colonies were ſecured from every hoſtile attack, and, at the price of Britiſh blood and treaſure and every national advantage, were placed in ſuch a ſituation as no longer required the protection of Great Britain. From that moment they may be ſaid to have obtained independence, when their condition enabled them to aſſume it.

It has long been obſerved, that England generally loſes by negociation the advantages which ſhe has acquired by force of arms. If this obſervation be well founded, the circumſtance, perhaps, does not ſo much ariſe from the unſkilfulneſs of her miniſters as from the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution. In a free country there are a great many little intereſts, all of which muſt be conſidered by a miniſter, and ſome of which may be allowed, at certain times, in conſequence of a particular combination of circumſtances, to prevail over the general intereſt of the community. At the time that the public attention was employed in conſidering the propoſed terms of peace, the conduct of the Weſt India intereſt in parliament was extremely remarkable. The popular lord-mayor of London aſſumed the lead among thoſe coloniſts, who compoſed a powerful and complete body in the houſe of commons. Theſe gentlemen, while the peace was in agitation, ſpared neither pains nor expence to perſuade the Engliſh nation, that it was far more eligible to retain Canada than the Weſt India iſlands. The reaſon for their being ſo anxious to ſpread this opinion, was, becauſe the poſſeſſion of the French Weſt Indies would have annihilated their own importance; whereas the poſſeſſion of Canada could not detract any thing from the value of Jamaica, Antigua, and the other iſlands, in which their property conſiſted. It is ſaid that the late miniſter had, againſt his own ſentiments, purchaſed

their

their friendſhip by complying with their deſires in this particular; A. D.
and their clamorous efforts to render their own voice that of the 1763.
public, had, doubtleſs, a conſiderable influence with the miniſters who negociated the peace. But this was not all. The Engliſh had not yet learned to ſeparate their own intereſts from thoſe of America; and thoſe who then held the helm of affairs were fooliſhly dazzled with the notion of acquiring an extenſive and undiſturbed empire acroſs the Atlantic. When the Weſt India patriots obſerved them determined in this deſign, and that the retaining Canada and the ceſſion of the iſlands was a point irrevocable in the negociation, they joined heartily in oppoſing the whole ſyſtem of the peace. The odium of this meaſure was thrown entirely on adminiſtration; but the clamour of pretended patriots and the ambition of courtiers had united in bringing about an event which has been one conſiderable ſource of the ſubſequent calamities which have befallen Great Britain.

The parliament which met in the year 1763 approved of the peace, and voted 16,000 men to be employed for the ſea ſervice for 1764, including 4287 marines. The king in his ſpeech had recommended keeping the fleet on a reſpectable footing; the ordinary of the navy amounted to 368,598l. and 200,000l. was voted towards the building and repairs of his majeſty's ſhips for 1764. Nothing could be more proper than theſe preparations, which inſured the performance of the articles of the general peace on the part of France and Spain; all of which, excepting the liquidation of the Canada bills, and the Manilla ranſom, were fulfilled with great punctuality.

Notwithſtanding the pacific intentions of the French and Spaniſh courts, ſome occurrences unavoidably happened in diſtant parts which were employed as arguments by the oppoſers of the peace for again embroiling Great Britain with both theſe kingdoms. The firſt event of this kind was a miſunderſtanding between the Engliſh and French commanders in America. This afforded matter for popular declamation; but when the facts were fully explained, it appeared that the differences had intirely ariſen from the commander of an Engliſh frigate having, purſuant to his orders from England, obliged a French ſhip to keep within the bounds of navigation preſcribed by treaty. This mat-

A. D. 1763. ter was hardly explained to the ſatisfaction of the public, when a ſloop of war arrived at Portſmouth from Newfoundland, which repreſented the French fleet on that coaſt as extremely formidable. It was aſſerted that the French, in direct oppoſition to the treaty of peace, intended to fortify St. Peter's, and that the Britiſh ſquadron in thoſe parts commanded by Mr. Paliſer, was by no means in a condition to prevent this meaſure. Upon this intelligence, the party in oppoſition pronounced a French war to be unavoidable, unleſs we were diſpoſed to ſacrifice all our late conqueſts. Meanwhile Mr. Paliſer diſpatched a ſloop to the French governor at St. Peter's to inquire into the truth of the reports which prevailed, and to know if he had mounted cannon and erected works on that iſland. The governor anſwered by aſſurances that there was no more than one four-pounder mounted, without a plat-form, and with no other intention, than to make ſignals, and to anſwer thoſe which were made by the fiſhermen; that the guard had never exceeded 50 men; and that no works or buildings whatever had been erected contrary to the treaty. The ſuſpicions had ariſen from the equivocal conduct of a captain of a French ſhip of 50 guns, which, as it appeared by the commodore's letters, was the only large veſſel the French had in thoſe parts. This ſhip, with one frigate of 26 guns, and another of inferior force, formed their whole ſtrength, and Mr. Paliſer was aſſured that none of thoſe veſſels had ever attempted, or would ever attempt to enter into any of the harbours on the coaſt of Newfoundland.

The clamour which was excited by the conduct of a French ſquadron at Turk's iſland, was ſupported on a better foundation. This place is the moſt conſiderable of a number of ſmall iſlands which go under the ſame name on the coaſt of Spaniſh Hiſpaniola. It is only four miles in length, has not any good harbour, and is ſo barren and uncomfortable a ſpot that it is impoſſible for any ſettlement to ſubſiſt upon it. But as the coaſt abounds with various kinds of fiſh, eſpecially turtle, and affords great quantities of ſalt, the Bermudians and other Britiſh ſubjects reſorted thither in order to fiſh, and to gather ſalt in the dry ſeaſon. Two hundred of them were employed in this manner in the month of June, when a French ſhip of 74 guns,

guns, with a ſnow, ſloop, and xebeque, arrived from Cape François. Having landed on Turk's iſland, they laid hold of the Engliſh, plundered and burnt their cabins, detained their perſons for ſome days as priſoners, and when diſmiſſed, ordered them never to return into thoſe parts. Mr. Lyttelton the governor of Jamaica was no ſooner informed of thoſe hoſtilities than he ſent notice of them to the miniſtry, who gave ſuch inſtructions as the occaſion required to lord Hertford, then ambaſſador in France. Meanwhile an account of the whole tranſaction was laid before the public; and it was generally thought that the French intended to attempt a ſettlement on Turk's iſland. The oppoſition repreſented the attack upon the Engliſh ſalt-gatherers as a premeditated plan of the French politics, which was to be executed by the treacherous d'Eſtaign then governor of St. Domingo, for expelling the Britiſh ſubjects not only from theſe wretched iſlands but from all their other poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies. They inſiſted that the paſt hoſtilities and preſent intentions of the French were a juſtifiable ground for a new war. But this clamour was effectually ſilenced by the declaration of the French court in anſwer to the demands of the Britiſh ambaſſador. It diſavowed the proceedings of the French ſubjects in the Weſt Indies, diſclaimed all intention of acquiring or conquering Turk's iſland, ordered the count d'Eſtaign to cauſe theſe iſlands to be immediately abandoned, and every thing therein to be reſtored to the condition in which it was before the late violent proceedings. Full reparation alſo was ordered to be made to the Britiſh ſubjects for the loſs of their property and other injuries, according to an eſtimation to be immediately ſettled by the governors of Jamaica and St. Domingo. A. D. 1763.

The uſual remiſſneſs of the court of Spain in giving inſtructions to their governors in diſtant parts, concerning the obſervation of treaties negociated in Europe, had almoſt occaſioned a rupture betwixt England and that kingdom, which, however, terminated in a manner equally honourable for Great Britain. On the 22d of February 1764, an order came from don Joſeph Roſado, governor of Baccabar, commanding the Engliſh ſettlers in the bay of Honduras to retire from every other place, and to confine themſelves to the banks of the river Balis. The Engliſh 1764.

A. D. 1764. in thoſe parts are under the protection of the governor of Jamaica, to whom they formed a petition, ſetting forth, "That "the Spaniſh orders had occaſioned a total ſtagnation of buſi- "neſs; that the commanders of ſhips who had hitherto ſupplied "the petitioners with proviſions, ſeeing no probability of being "paid for what they had already furniſhed, declined being "longer concerned in that commerce; and that having no "plantations of their own, and being cut off from the only "ſupply in which they could confide, they ſaw no poſſible "means of preſerving themſelves and their families from fa- "mine." In conſequence of this petition governor Lyttelton ſent an agent from Jamaica to inquire into the true ſtate of the grievances complained of, and to uſe his beſt endeavours to redreſs them. Upon inquiry it was found, that the order of the Spaniſh governor of Baccabar was in conſequence of a letter of the 29th of December, 1763, written by Mr. d'Eſtines, captain-general of Jucatan, who had arrived at Campeachy on the 7th of the ſame month. This letter injoined the neceſſity of confining the logwood cutters to particular diſtricts, in order to prevent the Spaniards from being impoſed on by pretenders to the rights of Britiſh ſubjects. Accordingly the Engliſh were limited to 20 leagues up the ſouth ſide of the new river; in the river Balis, and four leagues to the ſouthward of its mouth, they were not to be interrupted; but if diſcovered beyond theſe limits, their negroes were ſeized, their property confiſcated, and their own perſons arreſted.

While proper meaſures were uſed in America for removing theſe grievances, and for keeping the Spaniards to the 17th article of the treaty, which aſcertained the right of the Engliſh to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, the earl of Rochford, then ambaſſador at Madrid, had inſtructions to complain of the conduct of Mr. d'Eſtines. To his memorial, which was dictated in the moſt ſpirited terms, the Spaniſh miniſter replied, "That he had no advices from that governor relative to the "ſubject of the complaint; but that it was certainly his Catho- "lic majeſty's intention to abide by the 17th article of the laſt "treaty of peace; that he had already given poſitive orders to "his governor of Jucatan for that purpoſe; that theſe orders

"ſhould

" ſhould be renewed, and the Engliſh no longer interrupted in A. D.
" cutting logwood in the ſtipulated places." 1764.

This anſwer, though in appearance ſufficiently explicit, did not ſatisfy the antiminiſterial party in Great Britain. They affirmed that the reply of his Catholic majeſty's miniſter was diſingenuous, becauſe it ſtipulated no ſatisfaction to the ſufferers, nor any puniſhment on the offending party; and they called out for an immediate declaration of war againſt Spain. Partly, perhaps, in order to quiet the violence of their clamours, the earl of Rochford was ordered to make freſh remonſtrances. Theſe occaſioned the ſending of new orders to the governor of Jucatan, in which his proceedings with regard to the Britiſh ſubjects in the bay of Honduras are diſapproved by his Catholic majeſty; he is commanded to repair their injuries, to give them no diſquiet in future under any pretence whatever; it being the deſire of the king of Spain to preſerve peace with Great Britain, and to give the greateſt proofs of his friendſhip to the Britiſh nation.

The pacific intentions of France and Spain, which had been ſufficiently diſcovered in every tranſaction ſince the concluſion of the treaty, was entirely owing to the known ſtrength of the Britiſh navy in thoſe parts where the natural enemies of this kingdom are moſt vulnerable. The American ſeas were covered with Engliſh ſhips of war, which in a great meaſure interrupted the illicit commerce between the Britiſh colonies and the French and Spaniſh ſettlements. This occaſioned affecting repreſentations to be ſent from acroſs the Atlantic. The coloniſts complained that all the Britiſh ſhips of war were now converted into guarda-coſtas, and their commanders into ſo many cuſtom-houſe officers, who ſeized every foreign ſhip carrying gold and ſilver to be exchanged for Britiſh commodities; and they aſſerted that, if this reſource by which they were ſupplied with ſpecie from France and Spain was cut off, it would be impoſſible for them to make their remittances to England.

The univerſality of theſe complaints engaged the miniſtry to mitigate the rigour of the orders which they had ſent out at the concluſion of the peace to the Weſt India governors, and commanders of ſhips, for annoying the contraband trade of the colonies

A. D. 1764. colonies with France and Spain. The navy of Great Britain was thus delivered from a ſervice, which was in ſome meaſure unworthy of that dignity and ſplendour by which it had been diſtinguiſhed; and a few veſſels were henceforth employed in an undertaking which was more ſuitable to the naval greatneſs of this iſland.

It had long been a queſtion with the learned, whether the unexplored part of the ſouthern hemiſphere contained another continent, or whether ſo great a part of the globe exhibited only an immenſe expanſe of water. The former opinion ſeemed to be rendered probable by analogical reaſoning concerning the geography of the earth, and received ſome additional ſtrength from the various diſcoveries of new lands in thoſe remote parts, by the ſeveral commercial powers who held poſſeſſions in America. The Engliſh, Portugueſe, Dutch, and French navigators had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, for above two centuries, in this immenſe field of enterprize; and, although they failed in all their attempts to determine the main queſtion, they met with ſuch a variety of new objects as gave riſe to other queſtions, and excited freſh curioſity. Soon after the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty to the throne, a deſign was formed of ſending out veſſels for examining with particular attention the wonders of the ſouthern hemiſphere, and for confirming what was true and detecting what was falſe in the various and contradictory accounts of former navigators. In the year 1764, the kingdom being then in a ſtate of profound peace, the Dolphin and the Tamer, the former a ſhip of war of the ſixth rate, and the latter a ſloop mounting ſixteen guns, were diſpatched for this purpoſe, under the command of commodore Byron, whoſe inſtructions, dated the 17th of June in that year, explain the nature and object of the expedition. "Whereas nothing can redound "more to the honour of this nation as a maritime power, to "the dignity of the crown of Great Britain, and to the ad-"vancement of the trade and navigation thereof, than to make "diſcoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and whereas there "is reaſon to believe that lands and iſlands of great extent, "hitherto unviſited by any European power, may be found in "the Atlantic ocean, between the Cape of Good Hope and

"the

" the Magellanic Straits, within the latitude convenient for na- A. D.
" vigation, and in climates adapted to the produce of commo- 1764.
" dities uſeful in commerce; and whereas his majeſty's iſlands
" called Pepy's iſland and Falkland iſlands, lying within the
" ſaid track, notwithſtanding their having been firſt diſcovered
" and viſited by Britiſh navigators, have never yet been ſo ſuf-
" ficiently ſurveyed, as that an accurate judgment may be form-
" ed of their coaſts and product, his majeſty taking the premi-
" ſes into conſideration, and conceiving no conjuncture ſo proper
" for an enterprize of this nature as a time of profound peace,
" which his kingdoms at preſent happily enjoy, has thought fit
" that it ſhould now be undertaken." Captain Byron, purſuant to theſe inſtructions, ſailed from the Downs on the 21ſt of June; and having viſited the Falkland iſlands, paſſed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, where he diſcovered the iſlands of Diſappointment, George, Prince of Wales, Danger, York iſland, and Byron iſland. He returned to England in the month of May in the year 1766—having determined in the courſe of this long navigation many doubtful points, the reſult of which is highly intereſting to the public, and may be of great importance to future navigators.

Commodore Byron came in ſight of Cape Frio on the coaſt of Brazil on the 11th of September, and anchored the day following in the great road of Rio de Janeiro. This city is governed by the viceroy of Brazil, who received the Engliſh officers with a ceremonious politeneſs. The people aboard the commodore's ſhip, having been ſupplied with freſh proviſions and greens every day, were very healthy; but there being many ſick aboard the Tamer, a place was appointed for them on ſhore, where they ſoon recovered. On the 16th of October both ſhips weighed anchor; and the crews were impatient to get to ſea, in order to avoid the exceſſive heats which prevail on that coaſt. They were obliged, however, to remain five days above the bar, waiting for the land breeze; nor was it without much difficulty they got out at laſt, on account of the narrowneſs of the entrance between the two firſt forts, which renders the paſſage ſo dangerous that the ſhips muſt have been loſt, had they followed the advice of the Portugueſe pilot. During the delay at Rio de

Janeiro

A. D. 1764. Janeiro ſeveral Engliſh ſailors were decoyed by the Portugueſe to leave their reſpective ſhips. This is a common practice on the coaſt of Brazil, eſpecially at Rio de Janeiro, where the Portugueſe, carrying on a great trade, ſpare no pains, nor labour, nor deceit to entice foreign ſeamen to enter into their ſervice.

The commodore, having loſt ſight of the coaſt of Brazil on the 22d of October, called all hands upon deck, and informed them that he was not, as they imagined, bound immediately to the Eaſt Indies, but upon certain diſcoveries, which it was thought might be of great importance to our country, in conſideration of which the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty had been pleaſed to promiſe them double pay, and ſeveral other advantages, if during the voyage they ſhould behave themſelves to his ſatisfaction. They all expreſſed the greateſt joy upon the occaſion; aſſured him they would undergo with chearfulneſs every difficulty and danger in the ſervice of their country, and obey his orders with the utmoſt zeal. The commodore continued to ſteer his courſe towards the ſouth; and on the 11th November found himſelf in the latitude, 42 degrees 34 minutes ſouth; longitude, 58 degrees 17 minutes weſt. While he was in the latitude of 35 degrees 50 minutes, he found the weather as cold as it is in the ſame ſeaſon in England, although the month of November is a ſpring month in the ſouthern hemiſphere, anſwering to the month of May in Europe; and they were 20 degrees nearer the line than we are in Britain; ſo much colder is it towards the ſouthern regions of the earth. The people on the forecaſtle were frequently deceived with the appearance of land. On the 12th November they called out at once, "Land right a-head." The commodore looked forward under the fore-ſail, and ſaw what at firſt appeared to be an iſland, riſing in two rude craggy hills. He ſent officers to the maſt-head who called out that they ſaw land a great way to the windward. As they continued their navigation, the land ſtill kept the ſame appearance, and the hills looked blue, as they generally do at a diſtance. Many of the ſeamen ſaid they ſaw the ſea break upon the ſandy beaches; but having ſteered for above an hour, what they had taken for land vaniſhed at once, and, to their great aſtoniſhment, appeared to have been a fog bank.

bank. After this extraordinary diſappointment the commodore ſhaped his courſe for Cape Blanco, which he diſcovered on the 17th, but after two days ſailing was ſtill at a loſs for Port Deſire, no deſcription being more confuſed than that which Sir John Narborough had given of that harbour. On the 20th he diſcovered an iſland, which correſponded with Narborough's deſcription of Penguin iſland; and in the evening ſaw a remarkable rock, riſing from the water's edge like a ſteeple, on the ſouth ſide of the entrance of Port Deſire. This rock is an excellent land-mark for the harbour, which is otherwiſe very difficult to find. During his ſtay at this place, which was till the 5th of December, the commodore ordered every part of it to be ſounded, and found that there is no danger but what may be ſeen at low water. He diſcovered ſeveral wells of freſh water at a ſmall diſtance from the beach, and found great quantities of guanicoes and wild fowl. Here is alſo ſuch plenty of excellent muſcles, that a boat may be loaded with them every trip at low water; and in ſome parts of the coaſt there are buſhes which might produce a tolerable ſupply of fuel. On the whole, Port Deſire would be a very convenient place for ſhips to touch at, if it were not for the rapidity of the current. A. D. 1764.

Having unmoored on the 5th December, they proceeded in ſearch of Pepy's iſland, which is ſaid in Cowley's voyage to ly in 47 degrees ſouth latitude. But they ſought for it during ſeveral days in vain, and were at length obliged by hard weather to ſteer for the Cape Virgin Mary, the north entrance of the Streights of Magellan. On the 20th they ran cloſe in ſhore to this cape, there being a long ſpit of ſand running to the ſouthward. In the evening they brought up cloſe to this ſpit of ſand, having ſeen many guanicoes feeding in the vallies, and a great ſmoke all the afternoon. At this place the Dolphin anchored; but the Tamer, not being able to fetch the anchoring ground, kept under way all night. However, both veſſels anchored next morning two miles from the ſhore. This was the coaſt of Patagonia, which, according to very early accounts was ſaid to be inhabited by a race of giants; but the veracity of theſe accounts had become doubtful, from the contradictory aſſertions of many later navigators who had been on that coaſt, and had

A. D. 1764. never met with any men of an extraordinary ſtature. This circumſtance naturally engaged the commodore's attention. When his ſhip, therefore, had come to an anchor, he ſaw exactly what had happened to the crew of the Wager, as mentioned in the account written by Mr. Bulkeley of her voyage. A great number of horſemen rode backwards and forwards directly abreaſt of the ſhip, waving in their hands ſomething white as an invitation for them to come on ſhore. The commodore, being extremely deſirous to know what theſe people were, ordered out his twelve-oared boat, and went towards the beach with Mr. Marſhal his ſecond lieutenant, and a party of men well armed, Mr. Cumming his firſt lieutenant following in the ſix-oared cutter. When they came within a ſhort diſtance of the ſhore, they ſaw above 500 people, ſome on foot, but the greater part on horſeback, who continued waving and hallooing, as invitations to land. They appeared to be entirely unarmed; but the commodore made ſigns to them to remove to a little diſtance, with which they immediately complied. The Engliſh then landed, and were drawn up on the beach, where the commodore ordered them to continue, while he alone went forward towards the Indians, who retired as he approached, He therefore again made ſignals that one of them ſhould come near, which one of them who appeared to be a chief immediately complied with. He was of a gigantic ſtature, and ſeemed to realize in part the tales of Polyphemus of old. He had the ſkin of a wild beaſt thrown over his ſhoulders, and his face was painted ſo as to make a moſt hideous appearance. The commodore did not meaſure him, but ſuppoſes his height to have been about ſeven feet. With this frightful Coloſſus he marched forward to join the reſt, who ſtill continued at a diſtance, as they had been deſired. Mr. Byron made ſigns for them to ſit down, which they readily obeyed. There were among them ſeveral women proportionably large, and few of the men ſeemed leſs than the chief who had firſt come forward. They received with much pleaſure the trinkets which were diſtributed among them, and behaved in a moſt regular and orderly manner, no one teſtifying the leaſt impatience or diſpleaſure, that his neighbour was ſerved before him, or that his preſent was better than his own. They made

made ſigns for the commodore to go along with them, and of- A. D.
fered him one of their horſes; but he made them underſtand 1764.
that he muſt return to his ſhip, at which they expreſſed great concern. During the pantomimical conference, an old man often laid his head down upon the ſtones, and ſhutting his eyes for about half a minute, firſt pointed to his mouth, and afterwards to the hills, meaning probably, that if the ſtrangers could ſtay all night, he would bring them ſome proviſions. Theſe people are not only tall, but well proportioned: except the ſkins which they wore with the hair inwards, moſt of them were naked, a few only having on their legs a kind of boot, with a ſhort pointed ſtick faſtened to each heel, which ſerved as a ſpur. When the commodore, and ſome of his people who had by this time come up, thought proper to leave them, not one of them offered to follow, but continued to remain in the ſame poſition in which they had been placed. They had a great number of dogs, with which they probably hunt the wild animals which ſerve them for food. Their horſes were not large, nor in good caſe, yet they appeared to be nimble and well broken. The bridle was a leathern thong, with a ſmall piece of wood that ſerved for a bit, and the ſaddles reſemble the pads, which are uſed among the country people in England. The women rode aſtride, and both men and women without ſtirrups; yet they galloped fearleſsly over the ſpit upon which the Engliſh landed, the ſtones of which were large, looſe and ſlippery.

Mr. Byron, having quitted this part of the coaſt, and being in latitude 51 degrees ſouth, and longitude 63 degrees 22 minutes weſt, obſerved on the 14th of January a low flat iſland, full of high tufts of graſs reſembling buſhes. He continued his courſe along the ſhore of this iſland about ſix leagues, and then ſaw another iſland low and rocky. On the former he diſcovered one of the fineſt harbours in the world, which he named Port Egmont in honour of the earl, who preſided at the board of admiralty. The mouth of this harbour is ſouth-eaſt, diſtant ſeven miles from the rocky iſland, which is a good mark to know it by. In every part of Port Egmont, where the whole navy of England might ride in perfect ſafety, there

A. D. 1764. is great plenty of freſh water; and geeſe, ducks, ſnipes and other birds are ſo numerous, that the ſhip's company grew tired of them. Here are wild celery and wood ſorrel in the greateſt abundance, beſides many other refreſhments which are in the higheſt degree ſalutary to thoſe who have contracted ſcorbutic diſorders during a long voyage. Nor is there any want of muſcles, clams, cockles and limpets; the ſeals and penguins are innumerable, and it is impoſſible to walk on the beach without firſt driving them away. The coaſt, alſo, abounds with animals of a more dangerous kind. There are ſea lions of an enormous ſize; and a very fierce quadruped reſembling a wolf. The fangs of this creature are remarkably long and ſharp; and it is ſo fierce as to run againſt every animal that it ſees. It is not eaſy to gueſs how this quadruped ſhould have got to theſe iſlands, which are diſtant at leaſt one hundred leagues from the continent. The firſt navigator who viſited thoſe parts is ſuppoſed to be captain Davies, the aſſociate of Cavendiſh, in 1592. In 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins ſaw land, ſuppoſed to be the ſame, and, in honour of his miſtreſs queen Eliſabeth, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. Long afterwards they were ſeen by ſome French ſhips from St. Maloes; and Frezier, probably for that reaſon, called them the Malouins, a name which has ſince been adopted by the Spaniards. Commodore Byron thinks there is little reaſon to doubt they are the ſame called Pepy's Iſlands by Cowley; and he took poſſeſſion of Port Egmont and all the neighbouring iſlands for his majeſty King George the Third, by the name of Falkland Iſlands.

Commodore Byron having examined thoſe parts with a degree of attention that had never been before beſtowed on them, made ſail for Port Deſire, and on the 6th of February ſaw land, and ſtood in for the port. During the run from Falkland Iſlands to this place, the number of whales about the ſhip was ſo great as to render the navigation dangerous. On the 14th he put to ſea, in order to go through the Streights of Magellan, and to examine with attention the principal bays and harbours formed by the coaſt on each ſide. He entered the Streight the 17th of February, and quitted it the 9th of April, having employed ſeven weeks and two days in the voyage, which

which was attended with incredible difficulties and dangers. A. D.
Theſe, however, were to be aſcribed entirely to his entering 1764.
the Streight near the time of the equinox, when the worſt weather was to be expected: but at a proper ſeaſon of the year, not only a ſingle veſſel but a whole ſquadron might paſs the Streight in leſs than three weeks. One great advantage of this paſſage above the doubling Cape Horn, is the facility with which fiſh is almoſt every where to be procured, with wild celery, ſcurvy graſs, berries, and many other vegetables.

Having cleared the Streight, he purſued his courſe to the weſtward, and on the 9th of May, being in latitude 26 degrees 46 minutes ſouth, longitude 94 degrees 45 minutes weſt, determined to ſteer a north-weſt courſe until he got the trade wind, and then to ſtand to the weſtward till he ſhould fall in with Solomon's iſlands, if any ſuch there were, or make ſome new diſcovery. On the 31ſt there was a great number of birds about the ſhip, which made him conclude that land was at no great diſtance. But none was diſcovered till the 7th of June, in latitude 14 degrees 5 minutes ſouth, longitude 144 degrees 58 minutes weſt. Then a ſmall iſland was obſerved at the diſtance of ſome leagues. In a very ſhort time another iſland was diſcovered to windward, much larger than the firſt. The ſhip ſtood for the ſmall iſland, which had a moſt beautiful appearance, being ſurrounded with a beach of the fineſt white ſand, and within covered with tall trees, which extended their ſhade to a great diſtance. It ſeemed to be about five miles in circumference, and from each end of it a ſpit runs into the ſea, upon which the ſurge broke with great violence. The natives appeared on the beach with ſpears in their hands, at leaſt ſixteen feet long. They made large fires, probably for ſignals, as the ſame appeared immediately after on the larger iſland. The commodore ſailed round this iſland, but, to the great regret and diſappointment of the ſhip's company, no anchoring-place could be found within leſs than a cable's length of the ſhore, which was ſurrounded cloſe to the beach with a ſteep coral rock. The ſailors, diſtreſſed with the ſcurvy, ſaw cocoa nuts in great abundance, the milk of which is perhaps the beſt antiſcorbutic in the world. They had reaſon to believe that there were limes,

bananas,

A. D. bananas, and other fruits which are generally found between
1764. the tropics; and, to increaſe their mortification, they ſaw the ſhells of many turtles ſcattered about the ſhore. Having viewed this forbidden paradiſe with ſenſations of inexpreſſible diſtreſs, they wrought up to the other iſland, which was diſcovered to be equally inacceſſible. They perceived ſeveral other low iſlands, or rather peninſulas, moſt of them being joined one to the other by a neck of land very narrow, and almoſt level with the ſurface of the water. Here the cocoa trees are eaſily diſcovered, being higher than any other part of the ſurface. A boat being ſent to ſound the lee ſide of theſe iſlands for an anchoring place, the Indians ran down in great numbers to the ſhore, armed with long ſpears and clubs, and making uſe of many threatening geſtures. A gun was fired over their heads, which made them fly to the woods; but the boat returned without being able to diſcover any ſoundings cloſe in with the ſurf, which broke very high upon the ſhore. The commodore thus finding it impoſſible to obtain any refreſhment here, named this cluſter of iſles the Iſlands of Diſappointment, and continued his voyage to the weſtward.

Land was again diſcovered in leſs than twenty-four hours, at the diſtance of ſix leagues. In the morning of the 10th of June, being within three miles of the ſhore, they perceived it to be a long low iſland, with a white beach, of a pleaſant appearance, full of cocoa-nut and other trees. It was ſurrounded with a rock of red coral, and the natives behaved in the ſame hoſtile manner as thoſe of the Iſlands of Diſappointment. No anchoring place was to be found, nor was it poſſible to eſtabliſh any friendly intercourſe with the Indians. When the veſſel came to the weſtermoſt point of this iſland the ſailors obſerved another about four leagues diſtant. They viſited every part of its coaſt, but could find no ſoundings. The boats having approached very near the ſhore, made ſigns to the natives, who appeared in great numbers, that they wanted water. The Indians readily underſtood them, and directed them to run down farther along the ſhore. Some of them ſwam off to our boats, carrying cocoa nuts, and water in the ſhells. The principal object of the boats was to obtain ſome pearls; and the

men,

men, to aſſiſt them in explaining their meaning, had taken with A. D.
them ſome of the pearl-oyſter ſhells, which they had found in 1764.
great numbers upon the coaſt. But all their endeavours to make themſelves underſtood by the Indians were ineffectual; and, as no anchorage could be found for the ſhips, the commodore proceeded to the weſtward, having named theſe iſlands, which are ſituated in latitude 14 degrees 41 minutes ſouth, longitude 149 degrees 15 minutes weſt, King George's iſlands.

On the day following, that is, the 13th of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, land was again diſcovered, bearing S. S. W. diſtant about ſix leagues. The commodore ſtood for it, and found it to be a low and very narrow iſland, lying eaſt and weſt, with a very green and pleaſant appearance, but a dreadful ſurf breaking on every part of it. It abounds with inhabitants, is about twenty leagues in length, and lies in latitude 15 degrees ſouth, and the weſtermoſt point of it in longitude 151 degrees 53 minutes weſt. To this place, which was every where inacceſſible, the commodore gave the name of the Prince of Wales iſland.

From the weſtern extremity of this iſland he ſteered towards the north-weſt, and on the 16th ſaw vaſt flocks of birds, which always took their flight to the ſouthward when evening came on. This appearance, as well as the obſervation that all the little iſlands, which had been diſcovered, were full of inhabitants, made it probable, that there was a continent, or at leaſt ſome larger iſlands to the ſouthward. But the ſickneſs of the ſhip's crew made it impoſſible for them to purſue their diſcoveries in that direction. On the 21ſt of June they were in latitude 12 degrees 33 minutes ſouth, longitude 167 degrees 47 minutes weſt, and next morning diſcovered a moſt dangerous reef of breakers, at the diſtance of a league. Land was ſeen a little afterwards from the maſt-head, having the appearance of three iſlands, with rocks and broken ground between them. The ſouth-eaſt of theſe iſlands is about three leagues in length between the extreme points, from both which a reef runs out, upon which the ſea breaks to a tremendous height. The iſlands themſelves had a more fertile and beautiful appearance than any before diſcovered, and, like the reſt, ſwarmed with people, whoſe

A. D. 1764. whoſe habitations were ſeen ſtanding in cluſters all along the coaſt, which is unfortunately ſurrounded in ſuch a manner by rocks and breakers, that it cannot be approached without the moſt imminent danger. The commodore, therefore, named theſe the Iſlands of Danger. They ly in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes ſouth, longitude 169 degrees 28 minutes weſt.

He ſteered from thence N. W. by W. and on the 24th diſcovered another iſland bearing S. S. W. diſtant about ſeven or eight leagues. It appeared, upon approaching nearer to it, to be low, and covered with wood, among which were cocoa-nut trees in great abundance. It is near thirty miles in circumference; a dreadful ſea breaks upon almoſt every part of the coaſt, where no anchorage is to be found. The commodore ſent out the boats with orders to land, if poſſible, and procure ſome refreſhments for the ſick. They brought off about 200 cocoa nuts, which, to perſons afflicted with the ſcurvy, were an ineſtimable treaſure. They reported, that there was no ſign of the iſland's ever being inhabited. They found thouſands of ſea-fowl ſitting upon their neſts, which were built in high trees; and theſe birds were ſo tame, that they ſuffered themſelves to be knocked down, without taking to flight. The commodore was at firſt inclined to believe that this iſland was the ſame that in the Neptune François is called Maluita, and laid down about a degree to the eaſtward of the great iſland of St. Eliſabeth, the principal of the Solomon's iſlands; but, being afterwards convinced of the contrary, he called it the Duke of York's iſland.

He continued his courſe till the 29th, in the track of Solomon's iſlands, but found no reaſon to believe that any ſuch exiſted in the ſituation aſſigned them by the French. He diſcovered, however, on the 2d of July, an iſland bearing north, diſtant about ſix leagues. Next morning it was found to be low and flat, of a delightful appearance, and full of wood, among which the cocoa-nut tree was very conſpicuous. It is extremely populous, and the natives, in more than ſixty canoes, put off from the ſhore and made towards the ſhip, which lay by to receive them. "After theſe Indians," ſays the commodore, "had gazed at us ſome time, one of them ſuddenly jumped "out of his proa, ſwam to the ſhip, and ran up the ſide like a

"cat;

" cat; as ſoon as he had ſtepped over the gunwale, he ſat A. D.
" down upon it, and burſt into a violent fit of laughter, then 1764.
" ſtarted up, and ran all over the ſhip, attempting to ſteal
" whatever he could lay his hands upon, but without ſucceſs,
" for being ſtark naked it was impoſſible for him to conceal his
" booty for a moment. Our ſeamen put on him a jacket and
" trowſers, which produced great merriment, for he had all
" the geſtures of a monkey newly dreſſed; we alſo gave him
" bread, which he eat with a voracious appetite, and after ha-
" ving played a thouſand antic tricks, he leaped overboard,
" jacket and trowſers and all, and ſwam back to his proa.
" After this ſeveral others ſwam to the ſhip, ran up the ſide to
" the gun-room ports, and having crept in, ſnatched up what-
" ever lay in their reach, and immediately leaped again into the
" ſea, and ſwam away at a great rate, though ſome of them,
" having both hands full, held up their arms quite out of the
" water to prevent their plunder from being ſpoiled. Theſe
" people are tall, well proportioned and clean limbed; their
" ſkin is a bright copper colour, their features extremely good,
" and there is a mixture of intrepidity and chearfulneſs in their
" countenances that is very ſtriking. They had long black
" hair, which ſome of them wore tied up behind in a great
" bunch, others in three knots; ſome of them had long beards,
" ſome only whiſkers, and ſome nothing more than a ſmall
" tuft at the point of the chin. They were all of them ſtark
" naked, except their ornaments, which conſiſted of ſhells,
" very prettily diſpoſed and ſtrung together, and were worn
" round their necks, wriſts, and waiſts. One of theſe men,
" who appeared to be a perſon of ſome conſequence, had a
" ſtring of human teeth about his waiſt, which was probably a
" trophy of his military courage, for he would not part with
" it in exchange for any thing that I could offer him. Some
" of them were unarmed, but others had one of the moſt
" dangerous weapons I had ever ſeen. It was a kind of ſpear,
" very broad at the end, and ſtuck full of ſhark's teeth, which
" are as ſharp as a lancet, at the ſides, for about three feet of
" its length. We ſhowed them ſome cocoa nuts, and made
" ſigns that we wanted more; but inſtead of giving any inti-

A. D. 1764: "mation that they could ſupply us, they endeavoured to take "away thoſe we had." The commodore ſent out boats to ſound, and they reported that there was ground at the depth of thirty fathom within two cables length of the ſhore; but as the bottom was coral rock, and the ſoundings much too near the breakers for a ſhip to lie in ſafety, he was obliged to make ſail, without procuring any refreſhments. This iſland, to which his officers gave the name of Byron's Iſland, lies in latitude 1 degree 18 minutes ſouth, longitude 173 degrees 46 minutes eaſt. Here ended the diſcoveries made by the Dolphin. She afterwards ſhaped her courſe for the iſle of Tinian, which, to her great regret and diſappointment, appeared to be no longer that delightful place of which the elegant author of Anſon's voyage has given ſo luxuriant a deſcription. From thence ſhe proceeded to Batavia, and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, proceeded on her return to England. She came to anchor in the Downs on the 9th of May, 1766, having been juſt nine weeks in coming from the Cape, and ſomewhat more than two and twenty months upon the voyage round the world.

We have not interrupted the courſe of commodore Byron's diſcoveries, by relating the tranſactions of the year 1765, which if not the ultimate cauſe, were the immediate occaſion of thoſe diſturbances that gradually proceeded to ſuch a degree of violence, as required the moſt vigorous exertions of the naval ſtrength of this kingdom. The parliament, which aſſembled towards the cloſe of the year 1764, voted 16,000 men to be employed in the ſea ſervice for the year 1765, including 4287 marines; and a ſum not exceeding 4 l. *per* man *per* month for their maintenance. The ſhips ſtationed in the Britiſh ſeas had no call to exert their activity; but thoſe on the coaſt of America were employed in the ſame ſervice which had been attended with ſuch bad effects the preceding year. The trade of America with Great Britain had increaſed, during the laſt years, and after the concluſion of the war, beyond the hopes and ſpeculations of the moſt ſanguine politicians. The Americans bought annually to the amount of three millions of Britiſh commodities. Their trade, however, was not confined to the mother country. It ſwelled out on every ſide; and having filled

led all its proper channels to the brim, overflowed with a rich abundance. In ſhort, the contraband trade kept pace with the regular, and was its moſt natural effect. This, doubtleſs, was an evil; but being connected with the cauſe of our proſperity, it was an evil that ought to have been treated with the greateſt delicacy and addreſs. Unfortunately for the intereſts of the Britiſh empire on both ſides of the Atlantic, a gentleman now preſided in the treaſury, who had beheld with peculiar jealouſy the increaſe of this contraband trade. Mr. Grenville, when firſt lord of the admiralty, and not ſtrictly called upon in his official line, had preſented a very ſtrong memorial to the lords of the treaſury, heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit trade in America. We have already hinted at the bad conſequences ariſing from the attempt to put an entire ſtop to the commerce between the Britiſh and Spaniſh colonies. Theſe were ſeen and acknowledged even by adminiſtration. A law was made therefore, the 5th of April, 1764, which rendered legal, in ſome reſpects, the intercourſe between the different eſtabliſhments in the new world. But the ſame law loaded this commerce with very heavy impoſitions, and ordered the money ariſing from theſe to be paid in ſpecie, into the Britiſh exchequer. While it was thought expedient to fit out armed cutters, under the command of ſea officers, to prevent ſmuggling in the Britiſh ſeas, the naval commanders on the coaſts of America were employed in rendering effectual the late commercial regulations. Theſe gentlemen could not be ſuppoſed to become acquainted with all the forms which this buſineſs required. They were unacquainted with the caſes in which ſhips were liable to penalties; nor did they better underſtand thoſe caſes in which they were even exempted from detention. Hurried on by the natural violence of their diſpoſitions, and acting with that irregular vivacity and contempt of formal rules, which they had exerted with ſuch advantage and glory in defence of their country againſt the common enemy, they ruined the intereſts of trade, while they diſappointed the expectations of the treaſury. The commerce between Britiſh ſubjects was the firſt that ſuffered, notwithſtanding that vaſt number and intricacy of bonds, clearances, cockets, regiſters, &c. which had been e-

A. D. 1764.

A. D. 1764. ſtabliſhed to protect it. The trade carried on between the Britiſh and Spaniſh colonies, which was ſo extremely advantageous to the former, was nearly annihilated. The new-made cuſtom-houſe officers ſeized, indiſcriminately, all veſſels carrying on that trade, whether belonging to fellow-ſubjects or foreigners, which the ordinary cuſtom-houſe officers, ſtationed on them, had always permitted to paſs unnoticed. Beſides the general traffic between the Engliſh, French, and Spaniſh Americans, there was a particular and moſt advantageous trade carried on between North America and the French Weſt Indies. It conſiſted chiefly in an exchange of ſuch commodities as muſt otherwiſe have remained a drug, if not an incumbrance, on the hands of the poſſeſſors. The balance was paid in ſpecie to North America, which, together with the balance of the Spaniſh trade, enabled them to make their remittances to Great Britain. This intercourſe between North America and the French Weſt India iſlands, was conſidered as ſo neceſſary to the former, that it was permitted to be maintained during the firſt years of the war; directly, by means of flags of truce; indirectly, through the Dutch and Daniſh iſlands; and, at length, through the Spaniſh port of Monte Chriſti in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. When the Engliſh, towards the concluſion of the war, had obtained the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantages, and in a manner laid ſiege to all the French Weſt India iſlands, government determined to put a ſtop to this intercourſe, not ſo much in the light of a contraband trade, as in that of a treaſonable practice, without which it would be impoſſible for theſe valuable iſlands to hold out againſt our attempts to reduce them. When the war concluded, the arguments of treaſon ceaſed, and this intercourſe again returned to its former flouriſhing condition. But, upon the eſtabliſhment of the new revenue laws, it ſunk under the ſame blow which deſtroyed the general commercial intercourſe of the new world.

Before the eſtabliſhing of theſe laws produced any conſiderable effect in Great Britain, it was attended with very fatal conſequences to the ſituation and circumſtances, as well as to the temper and diſpoſition of the coloniſts. Immediately on a ſtop being put to their trade, they came to a reſolution not to buy

any

any clothing they could poſſibly live without, that was not of their own manufacturing. Not having the uſual returns to make to Great Britain for the woollen goods which they uſually purchaſed from her, they adopted a plan of retrenchment dictated by neceſſity, and gave up all hopes of being clothed in the finery of their mother country. The reſolution taken with regard to this article was rendered general by a vote of the houſe of commons, which followed the law impoſing new duties upon their foreign trade: "That, towards farther defraying the neceſſary expences of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain ſtamp-duties upon them." When this determination of the Britiſh legiſlature was known in America, the inhabitants entered into aſſociations, not only to abide by their former reſolution taken in conſequence of the interruption of their trade by the naval cuſtom-houſe officers, but to encourage as much as poſſible all kinds of manufacture within themſelves. Theſe meaſures were deſpiſed by the miniſtry, who concluded that becauſe the wool of the colonies is not ſo good as that of Great Britain, it would be impoſſible for them not to depend upon her for that article; and becauſe the other commodities which they purchaſed from this country were ſuch as it would be extremely inconvenient for them to want, they muſt be ſoon diſguſted with an agreement, entered into in a moment of reſentment, which muſt be more diſtreſſing to themſelves than injurious to the mother country. But the firm perſeverance of the colonies in adhering to the principles of their aſſociation, proved the weakneſs of this reaſoning. They were ready to ſubmit to every other hardſhip rather than yield to what they deemed an infringement of their liberties. A.D. 1764.

In conſequence of this general diſpoſition of perſons of all ranks in theſe colonies, great evils began to be felt, and ſtill greater to be apprehended. A temporary interruption of commercial intercourſe between England and America immediately took place which could not fail to be extremely prejudicial to the former. The numerous body employed in preparing, buying, or tranſporting goods to the American market, were deprived of employment. While individuals were reduced to beggary, the revenue ſuffered in proportion by the want of the export and import

A. D. 1765. import duties. Yet neither theſe evils, nor the fear of totally alienating America from the intereſts of Great Britain, deterred the miniſtry from paſſing that law, the bare ſuſpicion of which had occaſioned ſuch diſguſt. The ſtamp-act made its way through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, the 22d of March, 1765.

The news of this unfortunate event firſt reached the province of New England, which of all the Engliſh colonies has ever had the ſtrongeſt bent towards republican licentiouſneſs. The ſullen obſtinacy and hatred which already poſſeſſed them, were converted, by this freſh inſtance of what their leaders taught them to deem little better than tyranny, into the moſt violent fury, which every where broke out into action. The ſhips in the harbour hoiſted their colours half-maſt high, in token of the deepeſt mourning; the bells rang muffled; the populace treated the act with the moſt licentious contempt; many of the better ſort gradually mixed in theſe tumults, and the aſſemblies not only of New England but of all the conſiderable provinces, which had by this time caught the flame, inſtead of barely conniving at the people's aſſerting their independence by tumultuous acts, proceeded to avow it themſelves in the moſt expreſſive terms, grounding it on the ſame arguments which their friends on this ſide the water had already uſed to prove it. The hiſtory of what follows is that of the diſgrace of Great Britain. The miniſtry, whether unwilling or unable to ſupport by force of arms the law which they had thought proper to enact, reſigned their places. Their ſucceſſors yielded to the ſtorm, inſtead of reſiſting it, while reſiſtance could yet be effectual. They obtained a momentary popularity by repealing the ſtamp-act, which had been ſo offenſive to the colonies, and ſo hurtful to a conſiderable part of the trading intereſt of Great Britain. But the factious, turbulent ſpirit which had taken poſſeſſion of the former, was far from being mollified by the lenient conceſſions in their favour, and the great conſideration ſhewn to their circumſtances by their legiſlature. The miniſtry, whoſe debility or moderation had tended to confirm them in their diſregard to the authority of parliament, did not long continue in office. But the effects of their adminiſtration were permanent. The coloniſts were no longer ſatisfied in committing private acts of outrage;

rage; they did not content themſelves with ſhowing diſreſpect to their governors and other ſervants of the crown; but openly ſet at defiance the power of the whole legiſlative body. Even the aſſembly of New York, a province where the ideas of legal ſubordination had been long and firmly eſtabliſhed, voted in direct oppoſition to an act of laſt ſeſſion for providing the troops with neceſſaries in their quarters, and paſſed an act of aſſembly by which theſe provinces were regulated in a mode totally inconſiſtent with that preſcribed by parliament. A. D. 1765.

Adminiſtration combated this rebellious uſurpation of power by another act of the legiſlature, incapacitating the aſſembly of New York for all legal functions, till they had in every reſpect complied with the Britiſh regulations reſpecting the troops. At the ſame time they oppoſed the licentious ſpirit of the other provinces by new revenue laws, which, as no vigorous means were uſed to enforce them, were as nugatory as the former. The Rockingham adminiſtration repealed the ſtamp- 1766.
act, but aſſerted the right of taxation; their ſucceſſors (the duke of Grafton was now at the head of the treaſury) exerciſed this right, by laying duties on the importation of glaſs, 1767.
paper, and ſome other commodities, into the colonies. The officers appointed to collect this revenue were every where treated like criminals; and the authority of Great Britain was totally diſregarded. Beſides the tumultuous riots which happened in particular parts, the temper general and conduct of the whole people became every day more licentious. That republican ſpirit, which is as inconſiſtent with the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution as it is agreeable to the wild doctrines and levelling principles in which the inhabitants of Boſton had been nurſed, began firſt openly to diſplay itſelf in that capital. Having adopted reſolutions of a nature the moſt violent and factious, the aſſembly there ſent a circular letter, ſigned by the ſpeaker, the 11th of February, 1768, to all the other aſſem- 1768.
blies of North America. In this they expatiated largely on the natural rights of men, and the tyranny of the Britiſh legiſlature, and they ſummoned the colonies to unite in one common cauſe for maintaining their privileges inviolate. This letter was anſwered by many of the provinces in a ſimilar tone; and the flame of

rebellion

A. D. 1768. rebellion began to ſpread over the whole North American continent.

One vigorous meaſure gave it a conſiderable check in the place where it had firſt broke out. Two regiments were ordered from Ireland to ſupport the authority of parliament over the inhabitants of Boſton, and ſeveral detachments from different parts of the continent rendezvouſed at Halifax for the ſame purpoſe. Upon the firſt rumour of theſe movements, the Boſtonians were as much alarmed as if they had been on the point of ſuffering all the horrors of invaſion from a cruel foreign enemy. The aſſembly, or convention, which on many occaſions had treated not only their governor, but even the parliament of Great Britain with the moſt indecent aſperity of expreſſion, drew up a memorial in terms of great moderation, diſclaiming all pretence to any authority whatever, and adviſing and recommending it to the people to pay the greateſt deference to government, and to wait with patience the reſult of his majeſty's wiſdom and clemency for a redreſs of their grievances. If the moſt unhappy infatuation had not prevailed over the councils of Great Britain, the ſudden change produced by this appearance of vigour might have opened the eyes of adminiſtration, and taught them that coercive meaſures alone could reduce the Americans to a ſenſe of their duty. But inſtead of puſhing the advantage which they had obtained, in order to deſtroy the very ſeeds of rebellion, the firſt deceitful appearance of tranquillity made them relax their ſeverity; the Americans had time to recollect themſelves and to recover from their panic; and the important moment was again loſt of eſtabliſhing, without great effuſion of blood, the ſovereignty of parliament over the whole Britiſh empire.

While ſo little attention was beſtowed on preſerving the dominions of which we were already in poſſeſſion, continual efforts were made for extending the limits of our territories by freſh diſcoveries. In Auguſt, 1766, the Dolphin, in which commodore Byron had circumnavigated the world, was again ſent out under the command of captain Wallis, with the Swallow, commanded by captain Carteret. They proceeded together to the weſt end of the Streights of Magellan, and ſeparated

ted in the great ſouthern ocean. Captain Wallis directed his A. D.
courſe more weſterly than any navigator before him had done 1768.
in ſo high a latitude; but he met with no land till he came within the tropic, where he diſcovered the iſlands, Whitſunday; Queen Charlotte; Egmont; Duke of Glouceſter; Duke of Cumberland; Maitea; Otaheite; Eimeo; Tapanamou; Howe; Scilly; Boſcawen; Keppel, and Wallis; and returned to England in May, 1768. Captain Carteret kept a different route, in which he diſcovered the iſlands, Oſnaburgh; Glouceſter; Queen Charlotte; Carteret; Gower; and the Streight between New Britain and New Ireland; and returned in March, 1769.

Captain Wallis having cleared the Streights of Magellan the 12th of April, 1767, proceeded weſtward, but did not fall in with any undiſcovered land till the 6th of June. A few days before the ſailors had obſerved ſeveral gannets, which, with the uncertainty of the weather, inclined them to believe that land was not far diſtant. This belief was confirmed by their ſeeing a great many birds on the 5th; and the day after, being in latitude 19 degrees ſouth, and longitude 137 weſt, they ſaw plainly from the deck a low iſland, at about five or ſix leagues diſtance. When they were within a few miles of this iſland they ſaw another, bearing north-weſt by weſt. The captain ſent his boats manned and armed to the ſhore of the former, which returned in a few hours, bringing with them ſeveral cocoa nuts and a conſiderable quantity of ſcurvy graſs. The crews reported, that they had ſeen none of the inhabitants, but had viſited ſeveral huts, or rather ſheds, conſiſting only of a roof, neatly thatched with cocoa-nut and palm leaves, ſupported upon poſts, and open all around. They had found no anchorage, and the ſurf was ſo high that it was with difficulty they had got on ſhore, the whole iſland being ſurrounded with a reef of rocks, which rendered it extremely difficult of acceſs. The captain, therefore, finding it anſwered no purpoſe to continue longer at this iſland, which, being diſcovered on Whitſun-eve, he called Whitſun-iſland, ſtood away for the other, diſtant about four leagues. When the ſhip came under the lee of the latter, the boats were immediately diſpatched, but could find no ſoundings till within half a cable's length of the ſhore.

A. D. 1768. They landed, however, and found the iſland ſandy and level, full of trees, but without underwood, and abounding with ſcurvy graſs, and wells of excellent water. As the boats approached the ſhore, the Indians thronged down towards the beach, and put themſelves upon their defence with long pikes, as if to diſpute the landing. The boats crew then lay upon their oars, and made ſigns of friendſhip, ſhewing at the ſame time ſeveral ſtrings of beads, ribbands, knives, and other trinkets. The Indians ſtill made ſigns for them to depart, but at the ſame time eyed the trinkets with ſuch a wiſhful curioſity, as left room to expect that it might be poſſible to eſtabliſh an intercourſe. This, however, was not effected, but the boats landed, and the ſhip was ſupplied with water and other neceſſary refreſhments. Captain Wallis took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the name of George the Third, and named it Charlotte's Iſland in honour of her majeſty. It is about ſix miles long, and one broad, and lies in latitude 19 degrees 18 minutes ſouth, longitude 138 degrees 4 minutes weſt. The ſame day that they left this place they diſcovered another iſland, bearing eaſt by north, diſtant fifteen miles. Here the ſea breaks over a reef of rock, running from eaſt to weſt, and forms itſelf into a lagoon in the middle of the iſland, which is low, covered with trees, but without any huts or inhabitants. The Indians belonging to Charlotte Iſland had fled thither in their canoes when the Engliſh landed on their coaſt; and ſeeing their enemies, as they imagined, purſuing them to this place, they left their women and children on the beach, and advanced with pikes and firebrands, making a great noiſe, and dancing in a ſtrange manner. The ſoil of this iſland was ſandy, there is no verdure under the trees, the ſhore every where rocky, and no anchorage. The captain therefore left a place where there was no proſpect of obtaining any refreſhment, having firſt named it Egmont Iſland in honour of the firſt lord of the admiralty. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 20 minutes ſouth, longitude 138 degrees 30 minutes weſt.

On the 11th of June, about mid-day, they ſaw an iſland, bearing weſt ſouth-weſt, and ſtood for it. At four in the afternoon they were within a quarter of a mile of the ſhore, but could

could find no ſoundings, the iſland being ſurrounded by rocks, A. D.
on which the ſea breaks very high. As to appearance, ſoil, and 1768.
inhabitants, it differed little from the iſlands which they had juſt left. The captain named it Glouceſter Iſland, in honour of his royal highneſs the duke of that name. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 11 minutes ſouth, longitude 140 degrees 4 minutes weſt.

In ſailing weſtward the captain diſcovered two other ſmall iſlands, the firſt of which he named after the duke of Cumberland, and the ſecond after Prince William Henry. Theſe, however, had nothing to recommend them above thoſe already mentioned; ſo that he continued to proceed weſtward, in hopes of finding higher land, where the ſhip might come to an anchor, and ſuch refreſhments as they ſtood in need of be procured. On the 17th he diſcovered high land, with frequent fires, which proved it to be inhabited. This alſo was an iſland, nearly circular, about two miles in diameter. There was no anchorage to be found, but the inhabitants appeared more numerous than the ſmallneſs of the place could ſupport, which gave hopes that there were lands of greater extent not far diſtant, which might be leſs difficult of acceſs. The captain having named this iſland, which lies in latitude 17 degrees 51 minutes ſouth, longitude 147 degrees 30 minutes weſt, Oſnaburgh, in honour of Prince Frederick, bore away to the ſouth-weſt; and the ſame day diſcovered very high land in the weſt-ſouth-weſt. This was the famous iſland of O-Taheite, which captain Wallis named King George the Third's Iſland. It conſiſts of two principal diviſions, which are united by a narrow neck of land. The circumference of both is about forty leagues, lying in latitude 17 degrees 46 minutes ſouth, and longitude 149 degrees 13 minutes weſt. The Dolphin happened to approach this coaſt the 18th of June, during a thick fog; and the crew were much ſurpriſed, when it cleared away, to find themſelves in the middle of ſome hundreds of canoes. The Indians, who aſſembled to the number of many thouſands, behaved at firſt in a friendly manner; one of them holding up a branch of the plantain tree as a token of peace. But afterwards having ſurrounded the ſhip with a number of canoes loaded with ſtones, they began, on a ſignal

A. D. 1768. given, to throw them with great violence, which obliged the captain to order ſome guns to be fired. The terror of the fire-arms ſoon made them deſiſt from hoſtilities; and an intercourſe was eſtabliſhed by which the Engliſh procured hogs, fowls, bread, fruit, apples, bananas and cocoa nuts, in exchange for nails, hatchets and various trinkets, which the Indians held in great value. The Dolphin lay off this iſland from the 24th of June to the 27th of July; during which the Engliſh examined the interior parts as well as the coaſt, which they found to be luxuriantly fertile and extremely populous. The inhabitants are well lodged, and clothed with a ſtuff made of the macerated fibres of a ſhrub which grows in great abundance in their country. They are of the ordinary European ſize, a tawny complexion, the men well made, and the women handſome. Captain Wallis could not diſcover what were their religious ſentiments, or whether they entertained any ideas of ſuperior and inviſible powers. But having become ſomewhat acquainted with them, he found them not only juſt in their dealings, but generous and humane; and ſo extremely ſuſceptible of attachment, that ſeveral of them, eſpecially the queen of the iſland, were exceedingly afflicted when their viſitants were obliged to depart.

After leaving this iſland, which has been examined with more attention in later voyages, the captain ſteered his courſe for Tinian. In his way thither he fell in with ſeveral ſmall iſlands, none of which afforded good anchorage. The principal of them is Boſcawen's Iſland, lying in latitude 15 degrees 50 minutes ſouth, longitude 175 degrees weſt; Keppel's Iſle, in latitude 15 degrees 55 minutes ſouth, longitude 175 degrees 3 minutes weſt; and Wallis's Iſle, in latitude 13 degrees 18 minutes ſouth, longitude 177 degrees weſt. The boats, in examining the laſt, found that in two or three places there is anchorage in eighteen, fourteen, and twelve fathom, upon ſand and coral, without a reef of rocks which ſurrounded the iſland. There is alſo a breach in this reef, about ſixty fathom broad; and a ſhip, if preſſed with neceſſity, might anchor here in eight fathom, but it is not ſafe to moor with a greater length than half a cable. The plans of all theſe iſlands were delivered by the captain

tain on his return into the hands of the admiralty, with their longitudes and latitudes ſo accurately laid down, that ſucceeding navigators had no difficulty in finding them. A. D. 1768

Captain Carteret, as we have already mentioned, ſeparated from his companion after paſſing the Streights of Magellan, and ſteered a courſe conſiderably nearer to the equator. On the 26th of July, 1767, being in latitude 10 degrees ſouth, longitude 167 degrees weſt, he was in hopes of falling in with ſome of the iſlands called Solomon's Iſlands, this being the latitude in which the ſouthermoſt of them is laid down. What increaſed this expectation was the ſeeing a number of ſea birds, which often hovered about the ſhip; but the captain was not ſo fortunate as to meet with any land; and as he ſailed over the ſouthern limits of that part of the ocean in which Solomon's Iſlands are ſaid to lie, and commodore Byron, in the voyage formerly deſcribed, had traverſed the northern without finding them, there is reaſon to conclude, that, if there be any ſuch iſlands, their ſituation in all our charts is erroneouſly laid down.

Captain Carteret continued his voyage nearly in the ſame parallel, towards the weſt; but did not diſcover land till the 12th of Auguſt, when he fell in with a cluſter of iſlands, of which he counted ſeven. Having anchored at about three cables length from the ſhore, he ſoon obſerved ſome of the natives, who were black, with woolly heads, and ſtark naked. A boat was diſpatched in ſearch of a watering place, at which the natives diſappeared; and the boat returned with an account that there was a fine run of freſh water abreaſt of the ſhip, and cloſe to the beach, but that the whole country in that part being almoſt an impenetrable foreſt, the watering would be very dangerous if the natives ſhould endeavour to prevent it; that there were no eſculent vegetables for the refreſhment of the ſick, nor any habitations as far as the country had been examined, which was wild, foreſty and mountainous. The captain, therefore, tried ſome other places, where the ſailors ſaw hogs, poultry, cocoa-nut trees, plantains, bananas, and a great variety of other vegetable productions, as they ſailed along the ſhore. Unfortunately, however, an unhappy diſpute aroſe between the boat's crew and the natives, who defended themſelves bravely with bows

A. D. 1768. bows and arrows, which they fired in regular platoons. This prevented all friendly intercourſe; and the ſhip's company were ſo much weakened by diſeaſe, that they could not hope to obtain what they wanted by force. The captain gave the general name of Queen Charlotte Iſlands to the whole cluſter, and aſſigned particular names to the moſt remarkable. That which he called *Howe*'s lies in latitude 11 degrees 10 minutes ſouth, longitude 164 degrees 43 minutes eaſt. Egmont Iſland lies in latitude 10 degrees 40 minutes ſouth, longitude 164 degrees 49 minutes eaſt. The eaſt ſides of theſe two iſlands which lie exactly in a line with each other, including the paſſage between them of four miles, extend about eleven leagues; both of them appear to be fertile, and afford a very agreeable proſpect, being covered with tall trees of a beautiful verdure. Lord Howe's Iſland, though more flat and even than the other, is notwithſtanding high land. At the diſtance of about thirteen leagues from the north-eaſt point of Egmont Iſland is another of a ſtupendous height, and a conical figure, the top of which is ſhaped like a funnel, emitting ſmoke, though no flame. This he called Volcano Iſland. To a low flat land, which, when Howe and Egmont iſlands were right a-head, bore north-weſt, he gave the name of Keppel's Iſland. It lies in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes ſouth, longitude 165 degrees 4 minutes eaſt. The largeſt of two others to the ſouth-eaſt he called Lord Edgecumb's Iſland, the ſmall one Perry's Iſland; the other iſlands, of which there are ſeveral, he did not particularly name.

As all hopes of obtaining refreſhment in thoſe parts were at an end, and the ſhip was not in a condition of purſuing her voyage to the ſouthward, the captain gave orders to ſteer north, hoping to refreſh at the country which Dampier has named *Nova Britannia* Accordingly he ſailed from Egmont Iſland the 18th of Auguſt, with a freſh trade wind; and on the 20th diſcovered a flat low land, in latitude 7 degrees 56 minutes ſouth, longitude 158 degrees 56 minutes eaſt, which he called Gower's Iſland. Here, to the great mortification of all on board, no anchorage could be found, but ſome cocoa-nuts were purchaſed from the natives, who approached the ſhip in their

canoes.

canoes. They were in every reſpect the ſame ſort of people that had been met with in the neighbouring places. The night was exceedingly dark, and by day-break a current had ſet the ſhip conſiderably to the ſouthward of the iſland, and in ſight of two others, ſituated nearly eaſt and weſt of each other. That to the eaſt is much the ſmalleſt, and was named Simpſon's iſland. The other is lofty, has a ſtately appearance, lies in latitude 8 degrees 26 minutes ſouth, longitude 159 degrees 14 minutes eaſt, and its length from eaſt to weſt is above ſix leagues. It was named by the officers Carteret's Iſland, in honour of their commander. A boat was ſent on ſhore, which the natives endeavoured to cut off, and hoſtilities having thus commenced, the Engliſh ſeized their canoe, in which they found an hundred cocoa nuts. The canoe was large enough to carry eight or ten men, neatly built, adorned with ſhell-work and figures rudely painted. The people were armed with bows and arrows, and ſpears pointed with flints. By ſome ſigns which they made, it appeared that they were not wholly unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. Like the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands they were quite naked, and equally dexterous at ſwimming and managing their canoes. In the following days the ſhip found no ſoundings at the ſmall iſlands which ſhe fell in with, and which the captain ſuppoſes to be thoſe called Ohang Java, diſcovered by Taſman. They are nine in number, and to the north lie two others which are mentioned by no preceding navigator, and which the captain named Sir Charles Hardy and Winchelſea Iſlands. The former lies in latitude 40 degrees 50 minutes ſouth, longitude 154 degrees eaſt; the latter is diſtant about ten leagues, in the direction of ſouth by eaſt. A. D. 1768.

On the 26th of Auguſt they ſaw another large iſland to the northward, which was ſuppoſed to be St. John's iſland, diſcovered by Schouten, and ſoon after they ſaw high land to the weſtward, which proved to be Nova Britannia. The next day a north-weſterly current ſent them into a deep bay or gulf, which has been diſtinguiſhed by Dampier by the name of St. George's bay. From this place they ſailed to a little cove at ſeveral miles diſtance, to which they gave the name of *Engliſh Cove*. Here they found wood and water in great plenty, alſo

rock

A. D. 1768. rock oyſters and cockles of a very large ſize. Higher on the ſhore they procured cocoa nuts, and the upper part of the tree that bears them, which is called the cabbage. This cabbage is a white, criſp, juicy ſubſtance, which, uſed raw, taſtes ſomewhat like a cheſnut, but, when boiled, is ſuperior to the beſt parſnip. For each of theſe cabbages they were obliged to cut down a tree, by which means they deſtroyed, in the parent ſtock, a great deal of cocoas, which are the moſt powerful antiſcorbutic in the world. The ſhip's company, who were extremely afflicted with the diſorder, recovered faſt, and had an opportunity of examining the neighbourhood, where the country is high and mountainous, but covered with trees of various kinds, ſome of which are of an enormous growth, and probably would be uſeful for many purpoſes. Among others they found the nutmeg tree in great plenty, though the nuts were not then ripe, and appeared not to be of the beſt kind, owing perhaps to their growing wild, and being overſhadowed by taller trees. The different kinds of palm, with the beetle nut tree, various ſpecies of the aloe, canes, bamboos, and rattans, grow with wild luxuriance. The woods abound with pigeons, doves, rooks, parrots, and a large bird with black plumage, that makes a noiſe ſomewhat like the barking of a dog. The people ſent out to examine the country fell in with ſeveral habitations of the natives, which appeared by the ſhells that were ſcattered about them, and the fires half conſumed, to have been but very lately deſerted. From the meanneſs of theſe hovels, it appeared that the inhabitants ſtood low even in the ſcale of ſavage life.

Engliſh Cove lies a few miles from Wallis Iſland, which is diſtant about three leagues from Cape St. George, the latitude of which is 5 degrees ſouth, and its longitude 152 degrees 19 minutes eaſt, about two thouſand five hundred leagues due weſt from the continent of America. The captain weighed anchor the 7th of September, having taken poſſeſſion of this country, with all its iſlands, bays, ports, and harbours, for his majeſty King George the Third. This was performed by nailing upon a high tree a piece of board, faced with lead, on which was engraved the Engliſh union flag, with the name of the ſhip and her

her commander, the name of the Cove, and the time of her coming in and ſailing out of it. A boat had been ſent out ſeveral times to examine the harbours of the coaſt, and from one of theſe expeditions returned with a load of cocoa-nuts, which ſhe procured in a fine ſmall harbour about four leagues weſt-north-weſt from Engliſh Cove. Of this harbour the captain received ſo agreeable accounts that he thought proper to viſit it, and found that it was formed by two iſlands and the main. The largeſt, which is to the north-weſt, he called *Cocoa-nut Iſland*, and the ſmaller, which is to the ſouth-eaſt, he called Leigh's Iſland. His officers named the harbour in honour of their captain; it is by far the beſt ſtation they had fallen in with during their long run from the Streights of Magellan. The captain would have continued here a ſufficient time to give his people all the refreſhments they wanted, if the lives of all on board, in their preſent unhealthy condition, the quantity of ſhip's proviſions, and the ſhattered ſtate of the veſſel, had not depended upon their getting to Batavia while the monſoon continued to blow from the eaſtward. A. D. 1768.

He weighed anchor the 9th, but was again driven by winds and currents into St. George's bay, which, contrary to what had been ſuppoſed, he found inſtead of a bay to be a channel between two iſlands. This channel he found to be divided by a pretty large iſland, which he named in honour of the duke of York, and ſeveral ſmall ones lying ſcattered around it. The land of the Duke of York's Iſland lies level, and has a delightful appearance; the center is covered with lofty woods, and near the ſhore are the houſes of the natives, extremely numerous, built among groves of cocoa-nut trees, the whole forming a proſpect the moſt beautiful and romantic that can be imagined. The largeſt of the two iſlands that are divided by the channel or ſtreight, which is about eight leagues broad, the captain left in poſſeſſion of its ancient name of New Britain. It lies on the ſouth ſide, and there is upon it ſome high land, and three remarkable hills cloſe to each other, which he called the Mother and Daughters. To the northern iſland he gave the name of New Ireland, and to the ſtreight that of St. George's Channel. Continuing to ſteer along the coaſt of New Ireland, he diſco-

A. D. 1768. vered a large iſland, with a pleaſant appearance, very populous, which he named in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 53 minutes ſouth, longitude 149 degrees 17 minutes eaſt. All the time the ſhip lay off this iſland there was an inceſſant noiſe like the beating of a drum; and ten canoes put off from New Ireland, with about an hundred and fifty men on board. The people are black and woolly headed, but have not the flat noſes and thick lips of the Africans. None of them would come on board, but conveyed ſuch trifles as they exchanged for the nails and iron offered them by the Engliſh, upon the end of a long ſtick. The canoes were long, narrow, and neatly made: one of them could not be leſs than ninety feet; formed, however, of a ſingle tree, rowed by three and thirty men, and without any appearance of ſails. Theſe negroes, though ſtark naked, except a few ornaments of ſhells upon their arms and legs, had their heads and beards abundantly covered with white powder.

The weſtern extremity of New Ireland the captain named Cape Byron. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, longitude 149 degrees 2 minutes eaſt. Over againſt the coaſt of New Ireland, to the weſtward of Cape Byron, lies a fine large iſland, covered with trees, to which he gave the name of New Hanover. To the weſtward of New Hanover he diſcovered, at the diſtance of eight leagues, ſeven ſmall iſlands, which were named the Duke of Portland's Iſlands; the middle of which lies in latitude 2 degrees 29 minutes ſouth, longitude 148 degrees 27 minutes eaſt. The ſhip was now clear of the ſtreight, whoſe length from Cape St. George to Cape Byron is above eighty leagues. The neceſſity which puſhed captain Carteret on this diſcovery may be very advantageous to future navigators, as St. George's Channel is a much better and ſhorter paſſage than round all the land and iſlands to the northward; and refreſhments of various kinds may be procured from the natives inhabiting the oppoſite coaſts of the channel, or the iſlands that lie near them, for beads, ribbands, looking-glaſſes, and eſpecially iron tools and cutlery ware, of which they are immoderately fond.

The

The captain proceeded weſtward the 15th of September, and A. D.
the ſame day diſcovered an iſland of conſiderable extent, with 1768.
many others lying to the ſouthward. From theſe many canoes, crowded with Indians, paddled to the ſhip: they made various ſigns, which were repeated, to ſhow that whatever they meant the ſame was meant to them. In order to invite them on board, the ſhip's company held up whatever trifles they thought would give them pleaſure; but they had no ſooner come within reach of the people on deck, than they threw their lances at them with great force. It was neceſſary to repreſs their fury by firing ſmall ſhot, with which one of them was killed, and the canoes rowed off with great expedition. In ſailing along, many other canoes appeared, and behaved in the ſame hoſtile manner. From one, in which a man was killed by the ſhot of a muſket, the reſt precipitately leaped into the ſea, which afforded an opportunity of ſeizing the canoe, which was full fifty feet long, though one of the ſmalleſt that had come out, and filled with fiſh, turtle, yams, and cocoa nuts. The ſhip being diſengaged from this fierce and unfriendly people, purſued her courſe along the other iſlands, which are between twenty and thirty in number, and of conſiderable extent; one in particular would alone make a large kingdom. The captain, not having had an obſervation of the ſun for ſeveral days, and there being ſtrong currents, could not exactly aſcertain their ſituation, but he judged the middle of the largeſt to lie in latitude 2 degrees 18 minutes ſouth, longitude 146 degrees 44 minutes eaſt, at the diſtance of five and thirty leagues from New Hanover. He called them *Admiralty* Iſlands, and, if his ſhip had been in better condition, and provided with proper articles for the Indian trade, he would have examined them with particular attention, eſpecially as their appearance is very inviting, being clothed with a beautiful verdure, the woods lofty and luxuriant, interſperſed with ſpots cleared for plantation, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and houſes of the natives, who ſeem to be very numerous. With theſe iſlands it would be eaſy to eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe, as the ſuperiority of our fire-arms would ſoon perſuade the natives that all conteſt is vain; and the traffic would be advantageous on both ſides, as the Indians might be ſupplied with many arti-

A. D. 1768. cles which they are greatly in want of, and the Engliſh might in all probability be ſupplied with the valuable ſpiceries produced in the Moluccas; for the Admiralty Iſlands lie in the ſame degree of latitude, and the nutmeg tree was found on the coaſt of New Ireland, a ſoil comparatively barren and rocky.

Having paſſed theſe iſlands the ſhip continued her courſe weſt by north with a fine eaſtern breeze, and on the 19th diſcovered two ſmall iſlands, both low land, level and green. The neareſt the captain called Durour's Iſland. Its latitude is about 1 degree 14 minutes ſouth, its longitude 143 degrees 21 minutes eaſt. At no great diſtance is the other, which was called Matty's Iſland, and two others, ſtill ſmaller, lying to the ſouth-weſt, were called Stephen's Iſlands. All theſe have a beautiful green appearance, are covered with trees, and repleniſhed with inhabitants. On the 25th of September the ſhip fell in again with land, which proved to be three iſlands, the largeſt lying fifty miles north of the line, and in longitude 137 degrees 51 minutes eaſt. Several canoes ſoon came off, filled with the natives, who, after making ſigns of peace, came on board without the leaſt appearance of fear or diſtruſt. They ſold their cocoa nuts with great pleaſure for ſmall pieces of iron. They are of the Indian copper colour, their features pleaſing, their teeth remarkably white and even, of the common ſtature, nimble, vigorous and active in a ſurpriſing degree. They are not, like the other people on all the iſlands that had been viſited, quite naked, though they had only a ſlight covering for the waiſt, which conſiſted of a narrow piece of fine matting. They offered to leave a certain number of their people as pledges, if the ſailors would go on ſhore, to which they ſtrongly urged them; and one of them would by no means leave the ſhip when ſhe purſued her courſe; the captain carried him to Celebes, where, being taken ill at ſea, he unfortunately died. The iſlands from which he had been taken were remarkably ſmall and low, the largeſt being no more than five miles in compaſs. The captain gave them the name of *Freewill Iſlands*, from the ſociable and benevolent diſpoſition of the natives.

The remaining route of captain Carteret to the coaſt of Mindanao, and from thence to the iſland of Celebes, had been explored

explored by Dampier and other navigators. But the captain has A. D.
rectified ſeveral miſtakes which his predeceſſors had fallen into, 1768.
particularly in the account of the ſtreight of Macaſſar. He made the entrance of this ſtreight the 14th of November, and anchored before the town of Macaſſar the 15th of December. In the neighbourhood of this place he obtained permiſſion, after much altercation and many threats uſed with the Dutch governor, to continue a conſiderable time, until the crew were a little recovered from their languor and debility, and the ſhip put in a condition to undertake her voyage to Batavia. This voyage being ſucceſsfully performed, the captain doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and had a pleaſant paſſage to the iſland of St. Helena. He left this place the 24th of January, 1769, to proſecute his voyage to England; and after a month's navigation diſcovered a ſhip to leeward, in the ſouth-weſt quarter, which hoiſted French colours. When this ſhip was near enough to hail the Swallow, captain Carteret was ſurprized to hear the Frenchman mention his own name as well as that of his ſhip, inquiring after his health, and telling him, that after the return of the Dolphin to Europe, it was believed he had ſuffered ſhipwreck in the ſtreight of Magellan, and that two ſhips had been ſent out in queſt of him. The captain aſked in his turn who it was that was ſo well acquainted with all theſe particulars, and how this knowledge had been acquired. The Frenchman anſwered, that the ſhip was in the ſervice of their Eaſt India company, commanded by Mr. Bougainville, returning from the iſle of France, who had got an account of the voyage of the Dolphin and Swallow from the French gazette at the Cape of Good Hope. An offer was then made of ſupplying the Swallow with refreſhments, which was a mere verbal civility, as the ſhip had immediately ſailed from the ſame places at which Mr. Bougainville himſelf had been ſupplied; and it was aſked if captain Carteret had any letters to ſend to France. As he happened to have ſeveral, which he had received from French gentlemen at the Cape, this furniſhed an occaſion to Mr. Bougainville to ſend his boat on board, which was preciſely what he deſired. A young officer, dreſſed in a waiſtcoat and trowſers, but whoſe rank captain Carteret ſoon found to be ſuperior to his appearance,

came

A. D. 1768. came down to the cabbin; and being aſked ſeveral queſtions by captain Carteret, to which he replied with great readineſs and ingenuity, contrived to introduce inquiries concerning the ſtreights of Magellan, the hardſhips which the Swallow had ſuffered in her voyage, and other topics equally intereſting. Theſe queſtions the captain endeavoured to elude as long as it was poſſible; but the queries of the young Frenchman becoming too particular and troubleſome, having deſired to know on what ſide the equator the Swallow had croſſed the ſouth ſeas, the captain roſe up abruptly with ſome marks of diſpleaſure. His viſitor was going to make an apology, to prevent which captain Carteret deſired him to preſent his compliments to Mr. Bougainville, and in return for his obliging civilities, preſent him with one of the arrows with which the Indians had wounded ſome of the Engliſh.

When the captain came on deck he was aſked by his lieutenant whether the Frenchman had entertained him with an account of his voyage. This led him to explain the general purport of their converſation, upon which the lieutenant obſerved, that the boat's crew had not kept their ſecret as well as their officer, but given ſufficient intimation, that they had been round the world, mentioning the different places they had touched at, and many particulars of their voyage. This diſingenuous artifice of Mr. Bougainville, to draw captain Carteret into a breach of his obligation to ſecrecy, was unworthy of that ſpirit of enterprize which led him to undertake ſo dangerous a navigation, which he has related with ſo much elegance.

According to his own account, he ſailed from France in November, 1766, in the frigate la Boudeuſe; and having ſpent ſome time on the coaſt of Brazil, and at Falkland iſlands, got into the ſouthern ocean, by the ſtreights of Magellan, in January, 1768. In this ocean he diſcovered the four Facardines, the Iſle of Lanciers, Harpe Iſland, Thrum Cap, and Bow Iſland. About twenty leagues farther to the weſt he diſcovered four other iſlands, and afterwards fell in with Otaheite, iſles of Navigators, and Forlorn Hope, which to him were new diſcoveries. He then paſſed through between the Hebrides; diſcovered the Shoal of Diana, the land of Cape Deliverance; ſeveral ſmall iſlands

iſlands to the north; paſſed the coaſt of New Ireland; touched A. D.
at Batavia; and arrived in France in March, 1769, about the 1768.
ſame time that captain Carteret arrived in England.

The admiralty did not wait for his arrival to fit out another expedition, which was attended with circumſtances peculiarly intereſting. The brilliant diſcoveries of captain Wallis, who returned to England in May, 1768, inſpired the moſt ſanguine hopes of completing the great purpoſe for which all theſe voyages had been undertaken. Many ſouthern lands were already diſcovered, which heightened the probability of finding at length the great *Terra Auſtralis incognita*, which had been ſo long ſought for in vain. Among the countries which Wallis had diſcovered and explored was the iſland of Otaheite, the ſituation of which appeared extremely proper for anſwering a particular purpoſe, which the admiralty had in their view in the preſent expedition, beſides the general deſign of diſcovering unknown lands. The year 1769 was rendered remarkable by the tranſit of the planet Venus over the diſk of the ſun; a phænomenon of the greateſt importance to the ſciences of aſtronomy, geography and navigation; and which every where engaged the attention of the learned in thoſe branches of knowledge. In the beginning of the year 1768 the royal ſociety preſented a memorial to his majeſty, ſetting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate obſervations of this tranſit in different parts of the world; particularly from a ſet of ſuch obſervations made in a ſouthern latitude, between the 140th and 180th degrees of longitude, weſt from the royal obſervatory at Greenwich; but that the ſociety were in no condition to defray the expence neceſſary for equipping veſſels to convey the obſervers to their deſtined ſtations. In conſequence of this memorial the admiralty were directed by his majeſty to provide proper veſſels for the purpoſe. Accordingly, the Endeavour bark, which had been built for the coal trade, was purchaſed and fitted out for the ſouthern voyage, and the command of her intruſted to lieutenant (now captain) Cook, himſelf a diſtinguiſhed member of the royal ſociety, and appointed by his aſſociates, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green the aſtronomer, to make the requiſite obſervations on the tranſit.

Captain

A. D. 1768. Captain Cook ſailed from Deptford the 30th of July, 1768, with inſtructions to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the aſtronomical obſervations ſhould be completed, to proſecute the deſign of making diſcoveries in the Pacific ocean, by proceeding ſouthward to the latitude of 40 degrees, and if he did not find land to continue his voyage to the weſt, between the latitudes of 40 degrees and 35 degrees ſouth, till he fell in with New Zealand, which he was directed to explore; and thence to return to England by ſuch route as he ſhould judge moſt convenient.

In executing theſe inſtructions, Mr. Cook endeavoured to make a direct courſe to Otaheite, and in part ſucceeded; but when he came within the tropic he fell in with ſeveral iſlands, which had not been before diſcovered. He remained three months at Otaheite, and then viſited many neighbouring iſlands, till then unknown. On the 6th of October, 1769, he fell in with the eaſt ſide of New Zealand, and continued exploring the coaſt of this country till the 31ſt of March, 1770. He then proceeded to New Holland, and ſurveyed its eaſtern coaſts, which had not been before viſited; and paſſing between its northern extremity and New Guinea, afterwards touched at the iſland of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

Beſides the aſtronomical purpoſes which were anſwered by this voyage, and the important diſcoveries of new lands, made in the courſe of the longeſt navigation hitherto undertaken, the expedition of captain Cook was diſtinguiſhed by another circumſtance particularly intereſting to the lovers of philoſophy. The expedition was adorned by the preſence of Mr. Banks, a man of letters as well as of fortune, who was accompanied by Dr. Solander, an accompliſhed diſciple of Linnæus. Both theſe gentlemen were remarkable for an extenſive and accurate knowledge of natural hiſtory, and being otherwiſe men of liberal education and principles, they were led to make various obſervations, not only on the natural curioſities and productions, but on the manners, policy, religion and language of the ſeveral countries which they viſited. Seldom have men of ſuch talents poſſeſſed that ſpirit of daring enterprize which prompts to the diſcovery and examination of unknown lands. Seldom have

diſtant

diſtant countries been viſited and deſcribed by philoſophers; for A. D.
avarice and ambition, and not the thirſt of knowledge, have ge- 1769.
nerally excited to ſuch undertakings men of a bold and hardy but of a narrow and illiberal ſpirit. The ingenious obſervations made during the courſe of the preſent voyage tend to fill up the picture of which former navigators had only ſketched the outlines.

The reception which captain Cook and his companions met with from the Portugueſe at Rio de Janeiro, where he put in the 13th of November in order to purchaſe proviſions and neceſſaries, was moſt unworthy of the deſign in which they were engaged. That ignorant ſuperſtitious people could form no idea of the object of their voyage. The purpoſe of making philoſophical diſcoveries they treated with the utmoſt contempt, and watched the perſons of the Engliſh travellers with all the jealous ſeverity of fear and ignorance. Mr. Cook continued his voyage to the Streights of Le Maire, which ſeparate Staten Iſland from Terra del Fuego. He arrived at the entrance of the Streights the 14th of January, which is near the middle of ſummer in thoſe parts. As the weather was calm, Mr. Banks was deſirous of examining the coaſt of the main land, and aſcending a mountain which appeared at a little diſtance in ſearch of plants. This was effected; but ſo exceſſive is the cold in the ſouthern hemiſphere, that, at a degree of latitude which in the ſummer months is temperate in Europe, all thoſe who undertook this expedition were in danger of being frozen to death; and ſeveral of Mr. Banks's attendants actually periſhed.

In this miſerable climate the inhabitants appeared to be the moſt deſtitute and forlorn of all human beings. They have no dwelling but a wretched hovel of ſticks and graſs, which not only admits the wind, but the ſnow and the rain. They are deſtitute of every convenience that is furniſhed by the rudeſt art, having no implement even to dreſs their food. They have no other clothing than the ſkin of the guanicoe or ſeal, which is thrown over their ſhoulders, drawn over their feet, and worn round the waiſts of the women as a ſuccedaneum for a fig-leaf. Shell-fiſh ſeems to be their only food, which being in no great plenty in any particular place, obliges them to wander perpetu-

A. D. 1769. ally in ſmall hordes over thoſe dreary and inhoſpitable regions, which appear ſo ill fitted to be the habitations of men. Yet theſe ſavage tribes are, perhaps, only miſerable in the imaginations of thoſe who ſurvey them, and who, placing themſelves in their ſituation, conceive what exquiſite ſufferings they would feel if reduced to the ſame manner of life. The wandering inhabitants of Terra del Fuego are contented with their lot. Though deprived of whatever is comfortable, they are ſtudious to adorn their perſons. Their faces are painted in various forms; the region of the eye generally white, and the reſt of the face diverſified with ſtreaks of red and black.

The captain fell in with the iſland of Terra del Fuego about twenty leagues to the weſtward of the Streight of Le Maire. The Streight itſelf is about five leagues long and as many broad; and has a bay in the middle of it, which affords good anchorage, as well as excellent wood and water. The doubling of Cape Horn has been ſo much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to paſs through the Streight of Magellan; but captain Cook's experience ſeems to prove the contrary; for he was no more than thirty-three days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, from the eaſt entrance of the Streight of Le Maire; whereas captain Wallis employed above three months in getting through the Streights of Magellan in the ſame ſeaſon of the year.

Captain Cook, continuing his voyage in a north-weſterly direction, obſerved the latitude, on the 24th of March, 1769, to be 22 degrees 11 minutes ſouth, and longitude 127 degrees 55 minutes weſt. Some of the people, who were upon the watch in the night, reported that they ſaw a log of wood paſs by the ſhip, and that the ſea, which was rather rough, became ſuddenly as ſmooth as a mill-pool. However, they fell in with no land till the 4th of April, when an iſland of an oval form appeared at the diſtance of a few leagues. They approached it on the north ſide within a mile, but found no bottom with 130 fathom of line. The whole is covered with trees, eſpecially palms and cocoa-nut trees; among the groves of which the natives were ſeen walking in great numbers. The captain named this Lagoon Iſland. It is ſituated in latitude 18 degrees 47 minutes ſouth,

ſouth, and longitude 139 degrees 29 minutes weſt. In purſuing his voyage weſtward he fell in with ſeveral other inconſiderable iſlands at no great diſtance from the former. Theſe were Thrumb-Cap, The Groups, Bird Iſland, and Maitea, to which captain Wallis had given the name of Oſnaburgh. A. D. 1769.

On the 11th of April land was ſeen a-head, which was known by its ſituation to be Otaheite, the ſame which is deſcribed in the voyage of captain Wallis, to which he gave the name of King George the Third's Iſland. When the ſhip came near to the ſhore, it was immediately ſurrounded by the natives in their canoes, who offered cocoa-nuts, fruit reſembling apples, bread fruit, and ſome ſmall fiſhes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. Soon after arrived other canoes, in which were ſome of thoſe Indians who had maintained a good deal of intercourſe with the crew of captain Wallis's ſhip, and who were immediately known to Mr. Gore, the ſecond lieutenant, who had gone round the world with that captain. One of theſe ancient acquaintance came on board, and as ſoon as the ſhip was properly ſecured, went on ſhore with the captain and the other gentlemen. They were all received with many marks of friendſhip by the hoſpitable Indians, and a treaty was ratified between them by exchanging the green branches of a tree, which was the ſymbol of peace among many ancient and powerful nations. The ſhip continued on the coaſt of Otaheite three months, trading with the natives, and examining the iſland. The ordinary rate of traffic was a ſpike nail for a ſmall pig, and a ſmaller nail for a fowl; a hatchet for a hog; and twenty cocoa nuts, or bread fruit, for a middling-ſized nail. Looking-glaſſes, knives, and beads, are excellent articles of commerce, and for theſe every thing may be obtained which the natives can beſtow. During the whole time that the Engliſh continued here, they lived in the moſt friendly intercourſe with the Indians; and conſidered the iſland not as before in a curſory manner, but with a critical attention.

Though Otaheite lies within the tropic of Capricorn, it is one of the moſt healthy and delightful ſpots in the world. The heat is not troubleſome, and the air is ſo pure that freſh meat will keep very well for two days, and fiſh one day. The winds

A. D. 1769. generally blow from the diviſions between eaſt and ſouth; the tide riſes but little, and being governed by the winds is extremely uncertain. The coaſt is of a bold elevation, riſes like an amphitheatre, and the mountains every where covered with wood, preſent to the view the moſt captivating proſpect. The ſtones all over this iſland appear to have been burnt; and there are other marks of violent concuſſions and ſubterraneous fires, by which the face of nature has been altered in this and the neighbouring iſles. The exterior ranges of hills are ſometimes barren, and contain a great quantity of yellowiſh clay, mixed with iron ore; but this excepted, there are no other indications of metals, or valuable minerals of any kind.

The ſoil of Otaheite is a rich black mold, producing ſpontaneouſly a great variety of the moſt excellent fruits; ſugar canes, which the inhabitants eat raw; ginger, turmeric, and a great number of other excellent roots, which are unknown in other climates. The trees are the greateſt curioſity of Otaheite. The Chineſe paper-mulberry tree is that of which the natives make their cloth. The trunk of the bread-fruit tree, which furniſhes nouriſhment to the whole iſland, is ſix feet in the girth, and about twenty feet to the branches. There is a ſpecies of the fig, the branches of which bending down, take freſh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, united by a common vegetation, which have the appearance of one ſtock of aſtoniſhing magnitude. Another tree, covered with a dark-green foliage, bears golden apples, which reſemble the anana or pine-apple in juicineſs and flavour. The moſt beautiful tree in the world received the name of *Barringtonia*, the natives call it *huddoo*; it had a great abundance of flowers, larger than lilies, and perfectly white, excepting the tips of their numerous chives, which were of a bright crimſon. The fruit, which is a large nut, has the property of various plants of tropical climates, of intoxicating fiſh, ſo that they come to the ſurface of the water, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken by hand. There is a great variety of excellent fiſh, which, as they form the principal object of luxury, the catching of them is the main occupation of the natives. There are no venomous reptiles or troubleſome inſects, but ants and moſquitos. Beſides poultry

exactly

exactly like thoſe of Europe, there are wild ducks; beautiful green turtle doves; large pigeons of a deep blue plumage; parroquets valued for their red falkers, and often ſeen tame in the houſes of the natives. There are no quadrupeds in the iſland, but hogs, dogs and rats; all which are extremely numerous. A. D. 1769.

The perſons of the inhabitants being examined with particular attention, there was no occaſion to alter the idea which captain Wallis had given of them. Captain Cook rather ſeems to heighten the panegyric; and Mr. Bougainville affirms, that were a painter to delineate an Hercules or a Mars, it would be impoſſible to diſcover more advantageous models. The women of the lower ranks are of a ſmaller ſtature than the reſt, which is attributed to their early and promiſcuous intercourſe with men; for the better ſort, who do not gratify their paſſions in the ſame unbridled manner, are above the middle ſtature of the Europeans. The men of conſequence in the iſland wear the nails of their fingers long, which they conſider as a very honourable diſtinction, ſince only ſuch people as have no occaſion to work can ſuffer them to grow to that length. The women always cut their hair ſhort round their heads. Both men and women have the hinder part of their thighs and loins marked with black lines in various directions, by ſtriking the teeth of an inſtrument ſomewhat like a comb through the ſkin, and rubbing into the punctures a kind of paſte made of ſoot and oil, which leaves an indelible ſtain. This cuſtom, which is called tattowing, is common to all perſons beyond the age of twelve years; and the legs of people of ſuperior rank and authority are checquered with the ſame decorations. Both ſexes are not only decently but gracefully clothed with the ſtuff above-mentioned. The dreſs of the better ſort of women conſiſts of ſeveral pieces; one is wrapped round the waiſt, ſo as to hang down in the form of a petticoat, and being of a thin pliable texture, diſplays an elegant figure to the greateſt advantage. "The women of Otaheite," ſays Mr. de Bougainville, "have features as agreeable as thoſe of the Europeans; and are unrivalled in the "ſymmetry and beautiful proportion of their limbs. The men "who live much on the water are of a redder complexion than "thoſe who chiefly reſide on ſhore. Some have their hair "brown,

A. D. 1769. "brown, red or flaxen, in which they are exceptions to all the "natives of Aſia, Africa and America, who have their hair "univerſally black."

Their houſes are nothing more than a roof, ſcarcely four feet from the ground, raiſed on three rows of pillars, one row on each ſide, and one in the middle. The covering conſiſts of palm leaves, the pillars of wood, and the floor is ſtrowed with hay or covered with mats. Theſe ſimple habitations contain no other furniture except a few blocks of wood, which ſerve them as pillows, and their ordinary apparel is made uſe of inſtead of blankets and ſheets. The ſize of the houſe is proportioned to the number which conſtitutes the family, and is ſeldom occupied except during the hours of repoſe. In theſe dormitories it is the eſtabliſhed rule for the maſter and miſtreſs to ſleep in the middle, round them the married people, in the next circle the unmarried women, and the ſervants at the extremity of the ſhed, or in fair weather in the open air.

They are quite unacquainted with the method of boiling water, as they have no veſſels among them that will bear the heat of the fire. Their meat is always broiled or roaſted. They uſe ſhells for carving, but eat with their fingers. Some attempted the uſe of the knife and fork, in imitation of the Engliſh, but we are told by Mr. Hawkeſworth, that they could not guide theſe implements; by the mere force of habit, the hand came always to the mouth, while the food at the end of the fork went to the ear. Their general drink is water, or the milk of the cocoa nut. They have a plant called *ava ava*, of an intoxicating quality, which the men make uſe of ſparingly; the women never; and they teſtified averſion for the ſtrong liquors which were offered them. They eat alone, or at leaſt only in company with a gueſt that happens to come in; and the men and women never ſit down together to a meal. Perſons of rank are conſtantly fed by their inferiors, frequently their women, and this cuſtom is ſo ſtrongly confirmed, that a chief who dined on board the Endeavour would have returned without his meat, if one of the ſervants had not fed him. The origin of theſe ſingular cuſtoms has not been explained. The idea of cleanlineſs to which theſe people are ſo ſtrongly attached, that they

they perform their ablutions ſeveral times every day, may perhaps account for the great men's requiring to be fed. But that a people remarkably fond of ſociety, and particularly that of their women, ſhould exclude its pleaſures from the table, where, among all other nations, whether civil or ſavage, they have been principally enjoyed, is truly inexplicable. Captain Cook imagined this ſtrange ſingularity among the inhabitants of Otaheite muſt have ariſen from ſome ſuperſtitious opinion; but they conſtantly affirmed the contrary. They ate alone, they ſaid, becauſe it was right; but why it was right to eat alone they never attempted to explain. A. D. 1769.

Theſe iſlanders, who ly on the ground, and inhabit huts expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, are remarkably healthy and vigorous, and generally attain to old age, without feeling the inconveniencies of this melancholy period of life. Mr. de Bougainville deſcribes an old man, whom they ſaw on their landing, who had no other character of old age, than that remarkable one which is imprinted on a fine figure. His head was adorned with white hair, and a long white beard; all his body was nervous and fleſhy; he had neither wrinkles, nor ſhowed any other token of decrepitude. This venerable man ſeemed diſpleaſed at the arrival of theſe ſtrangers, retired without making any return to the courteſies which they paid him, and inſtead of taking part in the raptures which the multitude expreſſed, his thoughtful and ſuſpicious air ſeemed to indicate a fear, that the ſociety of a new race of men might diſturb the uninterrupted happineſs which he had ſo long enjoyed. They are utterly deſtitute of medical knowledge, which they hold in contempt; but they are good proficients in ſurgery, the operations of which they often experience to be uſeful. One of the Engliſh ſeamen, when on ſhore, ran a large ſplinter into his foot, which his companion, after giving him exquiſite pain, vainly attempted to extract with his pen-knife. An old Indian, who happened to be preſent, called a man from the other ſide of the river, who, having examined the lacerated foot, fetched a ſhell from the beach, which he broke to a point with his teeth; with which inſtrument he laid open the wound, and extracted

A. D. 1769. tracted the ſplinter: whilſt this operation was performing, the old man went a little way into the wood, and returned with ſome gum, which he applied to the wound, upon a piece of the cloth that was wrapped round him, and in two days time it was perfectly healed. This gum was produced by the apple tree; the ſurgeon of the ſhip procured ſome of it, and uſed it as a vulnerary balſam with great ſucceſs.

The language of the inhabitants of Otaheite is ſoft and melodious, abounding with vowels, which renders its pronunciation eaſily acquired. It is almoſt totally without inflexion either of nouns or verbs; but a ſufficient acquaintance with it has not been attained to determine whether it is copious or otherwiſe. It was impoſſible to teach the Indians to pronounce the Engliſh names of their gueſts, but they did not fail to come as near to it as poſſible, the giving of the name being an indiſpenſible ceremony, which they never omitted when they introduced a new acquaintance. They converted the Engliſh names into words reſembling Spaniſh or Italian; Cook they called Toote; Hicks, Hete; Mr. Gore, Toarro; Dr. Solander, Torano; Parkinſon, Patini; Mr. Monkhouſe, a midſhipman, they called Matté, which ſignifies in their language dead, becauſe he commanded a party that killed a man for ſtealing a muſket. The neareſt imitation they could reach of king George, was by calling him Kihiargō. They are not deſtitute of genius for the ſciences, though they have no opportunity of cultivating them. A map of Otaheite, engraved for captain Cook's firſt voyage, was taken out and laid before Tuahow the high admiral, without informing him any thing of what it was. He preſently diſcovered its meaning, and was overjoyed to ſee a repreſentation of his own country. Theſe people have a remarkable ſagacity in foretelling the weather, particularly the quarter from whence the wind will blow. In their long voyages they ſteer by the ſun in the day, and in the night by the ſtars; all of which they diſtinguiſh ſeparately by names; and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months, during which they are viſible in their horizon; nor are they leſs acquainted with the periods of their annual appearance. They reckon time by moons, thirteen of which compoſe the year. They divide the day and the

the night, each into ſix parts. They judge of the time of the day by the height of the ſun. It is ſaid, that the higheſt number for which they have names is 200. They expreſs the diſtance from one place to another by the time it would take to run over it. They entertain no notion of the baneful influence of comets, but they conſider thoſe meteors which are called ſhooting ſtars, as evil genii. A. D. 1769.

The government of the inhabitants of Otaheite is compared by Dr. Hawkeſworth to the early ſtate of every nation in Europe under the feudal ſyſtem. There is a king or ſovereign in each of the two peninſulas into which the iſland is divided; with the lands of the different diſtricts, whoſe poſſeſſions are cultivated by their vaſſals and villeins. The king poſſeſſes far leſs authority over the whole ſociety, than each chieftain poſſeſſes in his own diſtrict, and the nobles are nearer on a footing with their ſovereign than the lower ranks are with the nobles. Intermarriages are not permitted between the nobles and the vulgar; every advantage and honour is confined to the former; and even ſuch articles of food as are reckoned delicacies, pork, fiſh and fowl, are only to be uſed by the nobility. Of theſe there are different orders, as in all the feudal kingdoms. There are different liveries, ſo to ſpeak, to diſtinguiſh theſe orders; and the rank of every individual is aſcertained by the height at which their ſervants wear their ſaſhes. Like the ancient nobility of Europe, they enjoy the right of private war; and each nobleman at the head of his vaſſals, repels injuries, and maintains his rights, by the deciſion of arms. Their influence, indeed, over their followers is moſt powerful. They have intelligence of every event; they receive notice of every crime that is committed; they beſtow reward, inflict puniſhment, and their deciſions are ſubmitted to with the moſt paſſive and unreſerved obedience. Otaheite, therefore, affords in miniature, the picture of two feudal kingdoms, for the whole inhabitants, including women and children, do not exceed 6000. One circumſtance alone, as it is related by Dr. Hawkeſworth, is peculiar to this people. The child of the prince, or of the baron, ſucceeds to the titles and honours of his father as ſoon as it is born; ſo that a baron who was yeſterday diſtinguiſhed by epi-

A. D. 1769. thets of honour, and approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments and uncovering the upper part of the body, is to-day, if his wife be delivered of a ſon, reduced to the rank of a private perſon; all marks of reſpect being transferred to the child, though the father ſtill continues to poſſeſs and adminiſter the eſtate. If this circumſtance be authentic, it furniſhes a remarkable diſtinction between the government of Otaheite and that of the feudal nations of Europe. In theſe, force generally prevailed over right. The weakneſs of age and ſex often excluded from the ſucceſſion thoſe who were naturally intitled to it. The eſtate of a child or of a woman was often acquired by a diſtant collateral relation; even the deſtination of royalty proceeded not in a regular line, the uncle often uſurping the rights of a ſon, the brother thoſe of a daughter.

The religion of theſe iſlanders is not the circumſtance which firſt attracts the attention of travellers. Captain Wallis, who firſt viſited and deſcribed them, is inclined to believe, that they had not any religious worſhip or belief. But ſubſequent accounts inform us of their religious tenets, which are as ſuperſtitious and abſurd as thoſe of other pagan nations. They admit that great and primitive truth, that all is derived originally from one firſt cauſe. But they ſuppoſe the Supreme Being to have impregnated a rock, which brought forth the year; which daughter, embraced by the father, produced the thirteen months; which, in conjunction with each other, produced the days. In the ſame manner were the ſtars and all the other objects of nature created, ſo that the idea of generation runs through the whole, an idea impreſſed with peculiar force on the imagination of theſe Indians, who of all men are particularly the moſt addicted to the ſexual pleaſures. They believe the exiſtence of the ſoul after death, and of a greater or leſs degree of happineſs to be then enjoyed; but they are ſaid to have no conception of a ſtate of puniſhment or reward hereafter. The ſhare of happineſs in a future life, they imagine, will be proportioned not to the merit but to the rank of individuals; the nobles enjoying the firſt diſtinction of felicity, while their vaſſals and villeins muſt be ſatisfied, even in the region of ſpirits, with a ſubordinate lot. This religious tenet is evidently derived from their

their political uſages. The prieſthood, as in many ancient countries, is hereditary. The prieſts are profeſſedly the men of ſcience, but their knowledge is altogether frivolous, conſiſting in being converſant in the names and rank of the ſubordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of the univerſe, handed down from one generation to another, by real tradition, in detached ſentences, and in a phraſeology unintelligible to thoſe who do not belong to the ſacred families. A. D. 1769.

The general manners and character of the people are ſuch as naturally reſult from the limited ſtate of ſociety in which they live, and the faint gradations of improvement to which they have attained. Their paſſions, like thoſe of children, are violent, but tranſitory. They paſs ſuddenly, yet without any apparent cauſe, from an exceſs of grief to the tranſports of joy. Their propenſity to particular friendſhips, like that of all rude people, is ſtrong; and their fidelity inviolable. When the Engliſh viſited them for the ſecond time, every Indian choſe his friend. With a diſpoſition naturally generous, they diſcovered a ſingular propenſity to theft. Of this there are innumerable examples in all the accounts which are related of them. But perhaps it has not been ſufficiently attended to, that their inclination to this vice might depend leſs on the depravity of their moral principles, than on their limited notions of property. Even after they had experienced the power of their new viſitants, they continued to pilfer as aſſiduouſly as before; and perſons who, in other reſpects, diſplayed no ſmall elevation of character, had a particular predilection for riches acquired by ſtealth.

Another trait of their character, which had been in ſome meaſure miſtaken by the firſt travellers into their country, is the licentiouſneſs of their amours. Mr. de Bougainville and Dr. Hawkeſworth aſſert, that there were no women in the iſland who had the ſmalleſt pretenſions to chaſtity. This aſſertion, however, captain Cook diſcovered to be too general. The women of rank, that is, all the female nobleſſe, are not devoid of honour; although they do not imagine their inferiors ought to be condemned for yielding to promiſcuous love. But, notwithſtanding the exception which the captain has diſcovered, it muſt be acknow-

A. D. 1769. ledged, that their manners in this particular are ſuch as could ſcarcely eſcape obſervation and cenſure. When the Dolphin firſt appeared on the coaſt, a great number of women appeared on the beach, and were very importunate with the men in the boat to come on ſhore. They ſtripped themſelves naked, and endeavoured to allure them by many wanton geſtures; and when they found, that notwithſtanding all their endeavours to detain them, the boat was putting off, they pelted them with apples and bananas, ſhouting and ſhowing every poſſible ſign of deriſion and contempt. After this, canoes, with a number of women, came cloſe by the ſide of the ſhip, where the ſame wanton geſtures were repeated. A regular traffic being eſtabliſhed on ſhore, it was ſettled that a river ſhould ſeparate the natives and the ſtrangers, and a few only of the former ſhould croſs at a time, for the purpoſe of trading. Several young women were then permitted to croſs the river, who, though they were not averſe to the granting of perſonal favours, were tenacious of making the moſt of them. An iron nail was commonly the price of beauty; and in proportion to the charms of the damſel was the ſize of the nail which ſhe received. The men ſcrupled not to promote this kind of dealing, for fathers and brothers would bring their daughters and ſiſters, for the purpoſe of proſtitution to the ſailors. When they preſented the girl, they ſhowed a ſtick of the ſize of the nail which was demanded for her, and he who came up to the price was intitled to the merchandize.

From the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the inhabitants of this iſland, the French gave it the name of the new Cythera. When Mr. de Bougainville arrived on this ſhore, he was received with the ſame laſcivious compliments which had been laviſhed on the Engliſh. "It was very difficult," ſays that officer, "with ſuch ſeducing incitements, to keep at their work 500 "young French ſailors, who had been deprived of the ſight of "women for ſix months." Notwithſtanding the endeavours uſed to keep the crew in order, the captain's cook found means to eſcape on ſhore. He had no ſooner ſingled out a fair one, than he was immediately encircled with a large party of natives, who ſtripped him of his clothes from head to foot, and with great

great tumult and violent exclamations, examined every part of his body very minutely. When their curioſity had been fully gratified they reſtored his clothes, and handing the girl to him, ſignified by ſigns ſufficiently expreſſive, that ſhe was very much at his ſervice. But by this time the ardour of the Frenchman had ſubſided, and every tumultuous paſſion was abſorbed in that of fear. He intreated them, as the only favour they could beſtow, to convey him on board, and he reached the ſhip more dead than alive. A. D. 1769.

When captain Cook lay off this ſhore, the women of Otaheite had ſo totally diveſted themſelves of all apprehenſions of ill treatment from the Engliſh ſailors, that great numbers of the lower claſs remained on board the ſhip, after the numerous tribe of viſitants had returned on ſhore in the evening. They ventured, without ſcruple, to paſs the night on board, having ſtudied the diſpoſition of Britiſh ſeamen ſo well as to know that they ran no riſk by confiding in them, but, on the contrary, might make ſure of every bead, nail and hatchet that their lovers could muſter. The evening, therefore, was as completely dedicated to mirth and pleaſure, as if the ſhip had been at Spithead inſtead of Otaheite. Before it was perfectly dark the women aſſembled on the forecaſtle, and one of them blowing a flute with her noſtrils, all of them danced a variety of dances uſual in their country, moſt of which were little conſiſtent with European ideas of delicacy. Even the better ſort are not entirely exempted from the national weakneſs. A chief named O-tai came on board, accompanied by his wife and two ſiſters; one of whom, named Morarai, was a moſt graceful figure, with the moſt delicate and beautiful *contours* of the hands and all above the zone; an ineffable ſmile ſat on her countenance; her admiration at ſeeing the new objects aboard the ſhip diſplayed itſelf in the livelieſt expreſſions; nor was ſhe ſatisfied with looking round the decks, but deſcended into the officers cabins, attended by a gentleman of the ſhip. Having curiouſly examined every part, Morarai took a particular fancy to a pair of ſheets which ſhe ſaw ſpread on one of the beds, and made a number of fruitleſs attempts to obtain them from her conductor, to whom they belonged. He propoſed a ſpecial favour as the

condition.

A. D. 1769. condition. She hesitated some time, and at last, with seeming reluctance, consented. But when the yielding nymph was about to surrender, the ship struck violently on the reef, and the affrighted lover, more sensible to danger than to his fair mistress, quitted her unrifled charms, and flew upon deck. Repeated shrieks made the condition of the ship more alarming; every person on board exerted himself to the utmost on this emergency; at length they brought her again to float. When the danger was over, the officer bethought himself of his abandoned fair one; but on visiting his cabin he found her gone, and his bed stripped of its sheets. Morarai, however, had conducted the theft with such dexterity, as would have rendered it not only excusable but praise-worthy among the Spartans; having appeared on deck, and continued a considerable time, without exciting any mistrust of her acquisition. Four days after this adventure, the same officer, accompanied by several others, strolling about the country, came to the spot where O-tai and his fair sister resided. He thought it to no purpose to inquire after his lost bed linen, but chose rather to renew his solicitations to the lady. Beads, nails and various trifles were presented to her, which she readily accepted, but remained inflexible to the passionate addresses of her lover. She was already in possession of the sheets, which were the only wealth of sufficient value in her eyes to induce her to admit the transient embraces of a stranger; though she was accused by her countrywomen of admitting towtaws, or men of the lowest rank, to her bed at night; and thus imposing on her brother, who would have been highly offended at the prostitution, not of her person, but of her dignity.

Though it be evident that the general character of the natives of Otaheite is extremely deficient in point of modesty, yet many of their customs, perhaps, are more immodest in appearance than in reality. The usual way of expressing their respect to strangers is by uncovering themselves to the middle; and a ceremony of a similar kind, but expressive only of respect, was used by Oorattao, a woman of rank, who visited Mr. Banks. After laying down several plantain leaves, a man brought a large bundle of cloth, of the manufacture of that country, which

which having opened, he ſpread it piece by piece upon the ground, in the ſpace between Mr. Banks and his viſitants. There were in all nine pieces, but having ſpread three pieces one upon another, the lady came forward, and ſtepping upon them, took up her garments all round her to the waiſt; ſhe then turned about three times with great compoſure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and ſimplicity, which having done, ſhe dropped the veil: when other three pieces were ſpread, ſhe repeated the ſame ceremony; and ſo the third time, when the laſt three pieces were laid out; after which the cloth was again rolled up, and delivered to Mr. Banks, as a preſent from the lady, who, with her attending friend, came up, ſaluted him, and received ſuch preſents in return as he thought proper to offer them. Examples of this kind would lead us to believe, that the indecency of the natives of Otaheite, like that of moſt nations who have made ſmall advancements in the arts of ſocial life, proceeds leſs from a natural propenſity to voluptuous exceſs, than from their imperfect notions of propriety. As what has appeared in them a ſtrong inclination to the vice of ſtealing, ariſes, probably in ſome degree, from their limited ideas of property, ſo the apparent licentiouſneſs of their manners, with regard to the fair ſex, may proceed from a want of thoſe cultivated notions of delicacy which prevail in poliſhed countries. They ſee nothing indecent in the unreſerved intercourſe of the ſexes; among them Venus is the goddeſs of hoſpitality; her worſhip is celebrated without myſtery; and every paſſion is gratified before witneſſes, without any more ſigns of ſhame, than appears in other countries when people aſſociate at a meal. Yet it muſt not be diſſembled, that ſome of their cuſtoms diſcover a certain refinement in ſenſual pleaſure, which is the characteriſtic of a degree of depravity that could hardly be expected in their ſimple ſtate *. A. D. 1769.

We return from this digreſſion, in which we have endeavoured to reduce into a ſmall compaſs the various accounts of Wallis, Cook, Foſter, and Bougainville, concerning the manners and character of a people, whoſe diſcovery is one of the moſt

* Hawkeſw. II. 125. Bougainville, 230, &c.

brilliant

A. D. 1769. brilliant that has been made by modern navigation. The iſland, indeed, is more intereſting to the philoſopher than to the merchant, as it produces nothing that can be converted into an article of diſtant traffic, and can be uſeful only in affording refreſhments to ſhipping, in their voyages through thoſe ſeas. Captain Cook took his leave of Otaheite the 13th of July, 1769, having carried with him Tupia, one of the natives, who informed him that four of the neighbouring iſlands lay at the diſtance of leſs than two days ſail. The names of theſe were Ulietea, Hyaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola. The firſt is about twenty-one leagues in circuit. Its productions are the ſame as thoſe of Otaheite, nor is there any thing to diſtinguiſh the appearance and manners of its inhabitants from thoſe of that iſland. The ſame may be ſaid of the other three, as well as of the ſmall iſlands of Tubai and Maurua; to all of which, as they lie contiguous to each other, captain Cook gave the name of the Society Iſlands, but did not think it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh them ſeparately by any other names, than thoſe by which they are known to the natives. They are ſituated between the latitudes of 16 degrees 10 minutes, and 10 degrees 55 minutes ſouth, and between the longitudes of 150 degrees 17 minutes, and 152 degrees weſt, from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulietea and Otaha lie at the diſtance of two miles from each other, and are both incloſed within one reef of coral rocks, ſo that there is no paſſage for ſhipping between them. Ulietea affords a great many good harbours both on the eaſt and weſt ſide; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow; but when a ſhip is once in, nothing can hurt her. The northermoſt, on the weſt ſide, in which the ſhip lay, is called Ohamaneno; the channel leading into it is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low ſandy iſlands. This harbour, though ſmall, is preferable to the others, becauſe it is ſituated in the moſt fertile part of the iſland, and where freſh water is eaſily to be got. Otaha alſo affords two good harbours, one on the eaſt ſide and the other on the weſt. The iſland of Bolabola lies north-weſt and by weſt from Otaha, diſtant about four leagues. It is ſurrounded by a reef of rocks, and ſeveral ſmall iſlands, in compaſs together about eight leagues. This iſland is rendered remarkable

markable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almoſt A. D.
perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two peaks, one 1769.
higher than the other. The captain did not take time to examine the harbours, but underſtood that Bolabola is not deficient in this particular. The iſland of Houaheine is ſituated in the latitude of 16 degrees 43 minutes ſouth, and longitude 150 degrees 52 minutes weſt, diſtant from Otaheite about thirty-one leagues, and about ſeven leagues in compaſs. The harbour, which is called by the natives Owalle, lies on the weſt ſide, under the northernmoſt high land. The climate is more forward than that of Otaheite, and the country abounds with proviſions. The inhabitants of all theſe iſlands treated the Engliſh with the moſt courteous hoſpitality; and teſtified great ſorrow at the departure of their gueſts, which, however, did not take place till captain Cook had, with the uſual formality, taken poſſeſſion of their territories in the name of his majeſty King George.

The captain left theſe ſhores the 9th of Auguſt, 1769, and met with nothing remarkable in his courſe till the 13th about noon, when he ſaw land bearing ſouth-eaſt, which Tupia told him was an iſland called Oheteroa. It is ſituated in the latitude of 22 degrees 27 minutes ſouth, and in the longitude of 150 degrees 47 minutes weſt, about thirteen miles in circuit, and the land rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other iſlands which had been diſcovered in thoſe ſeas. The chief produce ſeems to be a tree of which they make their weapons, called in their language Etoa; many plantations of it were ſeen along the ſhore, which is not ſurrounded, like the neighbouring iſlands, by a reef. The ſhip, or boats, made the whole circuit of Oheteroa, and found there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it; and the hoſtile diſpoſition of the natives rendering it impoſſible to land without bloodſhed, the captain determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could juſtify the riſk of life.

Tupia mentioned ſeveral iſlands lying at different diſtances and in different directions from this, between the ſouth and the north-weſt; and that, at the diſtance of three days ſail, there was an iſland called Mancoa, or Bird Iſland. But ſo many diſcoveries of this kind had already been made, that the captain

A. D. 1769. purpoſed to ſpend no more time in ſearch of iſlands, only in examining thoſe which he happened to fall in with during his courſe, and to proceed ſouthward in ſearch of a continent. After a navigation of above ſix weeks land was diſcovered, which became the ſubject of much eager converſation, it being generally believed to be the *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*. It was indeed the coaſt of New Zealand, which, ever ſince it had been diſcovered by the Dutch navigator Taſman, in 1642, has paſſed with moſt geographers for a part of the great ſouthern continent. But captain Cook diſcovered that New Zealand conſiſted of two iſlands, divided by a Streight which is called after his name, and ſituated between the latitudes of 34 degrees 22 minutes and 47 degrees 25 minutes ſouth, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees and 180 degrees eaſt. This indefatigable navigator employed almoſt ſix months in fully exploring the coaſts of both iſlands, of which he diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral bays, rivers, capes, &c. by particular names. The firſt place where he anchored, on the northernmoſt iſland, he called Poverty Bay, becauſe he found in it no refreſhments, nor any thing except wood neceſſary for a ſhip. From hence he proceeded ſouthward almoſt to the forty-firſt degree of latitude; and then reverſing his courſe, ſailed to the north-eaſtern point of land, and the broadeſt part of the whole iſland. He afterwards anchored in a port, ſituated in latitude 56 degrees 54 minutes ſouth, and in longitude 184 degrees 4 minutes weſt, which, as he here made an obſervation of the tranſit of Mercury over the ſun, he called Mercury Bay. The river which empties itſelf into the head of this bay he called the Thames, on account of its reſemblance to the Engliſh river of that name. The banks of this river are repreſented as the moſt eligible place in thoſe iſlands for ſettling a colony. More to the north-weſt is the Bay of Iſlands, ſo named from the great number of little iſlands that line its ſhores, forming ſeveral harbours equally ſafe and commodious, where there is depth and room for any number of ſhipping. Captain Cook, in doubling the northern extremity of New Zealand, met with a gale of wind, which, for its ſtrength and continuance was ſuch as he had never experienced before. He was three weeks in making ten leagues, and five

weeks

weeks in making fifty. Having doubled this cape he proceeded A. D.
along the weſtern ſhore, which is extremely barren, conſiſting 1769.
of banks of white ſand, and which he therefore called the Deſert Coaſt. The ſouthern part of this coaſt bends towards the weſt, and is diſtinguiſhed by a remarkably high peak of a moſt majeſtic appearance, covered with perennial ſnow. This peak, which received the name of Mount Egmont, is ſurrounded by a flat country of a pleaſant appearance, cloathed with wood and verdure. Having coaſted this ſhore, the captain entered the Streight which divides the northern from the ſouthern iſland. The latter underwent a very accurate ſurvey. On the eaſtern coaſt he diſcovered a ſmall iſland of a circular form, in the latitude of 43 degrees 44 minutes ſouth, which he called Banks's Iſland. Proceeding ſouthward he found the extremity of the land almoſt ſeparated from the reſt, it being joined by a long and narrow iſthmus. The ſouth-eaſt ſide is of very dangerous navigation, on account of the ridges of rocks which riſe for many leagues out of the ſea. But the weſtern extremity affords a commodious bay, with many harbours and coves ſcattered on different parts of it, where good anchorage may be found. On the ſhore, the ſoil is a deep black mold, formed of decayed vegetables. The trees gradually diminiſh in height and circumference, in receding from the ſhore, contrary to what is obſerved in other parts of the world. The captain having left the above mentioned bay, (which he called *Duſky Bay*), proceeded along the weſtern coaſt, and entered Cook's Streights by the ſouth-weſt point of land, behind which he anchored in a fine harbour, which he named Admiralty Bay. A little more to the eaſtward is Queen Charlotte's Sound, the entrance of which lies in latitude 41 degrees ſouth, longitude 175 degrees 25 minutes eaſt. This ſound is three leagues broad at its mouth, and contains a collection of the fineſt harbours in the world. There are a great number of ſmall iſlands lying at the entrance, and the land about it is ſo high as to be ſeen at the diſtance of twenty leagues. Here the ſailors caught near three hundred weight of fiſh, and found wood and water in abundance. The captain ordered the water-caſks to be filled in this neighbourhood, and prepared to leave New Zealand on the 30th of March, having

A. D. 1769. circumnavigated the whole coaſt, and made frequent excurſions into the interior parts of the country.

Theſe iſlands produce no quadrupeds but dogs and rats; there are few ſpecies of birds, and of thoſe none, except perhaps the gannet, is the ſame with thoſe of Europe. For this ſcarcity of animals upon the land, the ſea makes an abundant recompence; every creek ſwarming with fiſh, equally wholeſome and delicious. The ſhip ſeldom anchored in any ſtation, or with a light gale paſſed any place, which did not afford enough of fiſh with hook and line to ſerve the whole ſhip's company; the ſeine ſeldom failed of producing a ſtill more ample ſupply; and the variety of ſpecies was equal to the plenty. There are mackarel of many kinds, one of which is exactly the ſame as we have in England; and the other ſpecies of fiſh unknown to the European ſeas, were diſtinguiſhed by the names of thoſe kinds to which they bear the neareſt reſemblance, and they do honour to the compariſon. Among the vegetable productions of New Zealand, the trees claim a principal place; there being foreſts of vaſt extent, full of the ſtraighteſt, the cleaneſt, and the largeſt timber, any where to be ſeen. The trees here, however, are too hard and too heavy to be made into maſts; but for every other purpoſe they ſeem to be exceedingly fit, on account of their ſize, their grain, and their apparent durability. There are few eatable vegetables in New Zealand, except wild celery, and a kind of creſſes, which grow in great abundance upon all parts of the ſea-ſhore. Of the eſculent plants raiſed by cultivation, there are only yams, ſweet potatoes, and cocoas. Gourds are cultivated by the natives for the ſake of the fruit, which furniſhes them with veſſels for various uſes. There is a plant that ſerves the inhabitants inſtead of hemp and flax, which excels all that are put to the ſame purpoſes in other countries. Of this plant there are two ſorts; the leaves of both reſemble thoſe of flags, but their flowers are ſmaller, and their cluſters more numerous; on one kind they are yellow, on the other a deep red. Of the leaves of theſe plants, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel, as well as their ſtrings, lines and cordage for every purpoſe, which are ſo much ſtronger than any thing we

can

can make with hemp, that they will not bear a compariſon. A. D.
Of the leaves of this plant, without any other preparation than 1769.
that of ſplitting them into proper breadths, and tying the ſtripes together, they make their fiſhing nets, ſome of which are of an enormous ſize.

From the populouſneſs of the ſea-coaſts, it was at firſt imagined, that the natives of New Zealand were extremely numerous. But it was afterwards found, that the interior parts were intirely deſtitute of inhabitants, or very thinly peopled; for the principal food of the New Zealanders conſiſting in fiſh, they are afraid to remove to a great diſtance from the chief ſource of their ſubſiſtence. The fleſh of dogs, and the few vegetables above-mentioned are the only ſuccedaneum they have to ſupport life; ſo that when the dry ſtock fails in the ſeaſon when few fiſh are caught, the diſtreſs is dreadful; and this calamity, which too often happens, accounts for a practice prevalent in New Zealand of fortifying every village with the utmoſt care, and the horrid cuſtom of eating thoſe who are killed in battle. The New Zealanders rather exceed the European ſize; are ſtout, well limbed and fleſhy; exceedingly active and vigorous; and diſcover great manual dexterity in all the arts to which they apply. Their colour reſembles the brown hue of the Spaniards; the women have not a feminine delicacy in their appearance, but their voice is remarkably ſoft; and by this they are principally diſtinguiſhed, the dreſs of both ſexes being the ſame. This dreſs is to a ſtranger the moſt uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of the hemp plant, ſplit into three or four ſlips, interwoven with each other into a kind of ſtuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper ſide. Of this ſingular cloth two pieces ſerve for a complete dreſs; one of them is tied over their ſhoulders with a ſtring, and reaches as low as the knees; to the end of this ſtring is faſtened a bodkin of bone, which is eaſily faſtened through any two parts of this upper garment to keep them together. The other piece of cloth, or lower garment, is wrapped round the waiſt, and reaches nearly to the ground. When they have only the upper garment on, (for the lower is not ſo conſtantly worn), and ſit upon their hams,

A. D. 1769. hams, they bear a reſemblance to a thatched houſe; but however ugly their dreſs, it is a proper defence againſt the inclemencies of the weather to men who often ſleep in the open air.

Theſe people being inured to war, and accuſtomed to conſider every ſtranger as an enemy, were always diſpoſed to attack the Engliſh until they were intimidated by their manifeſt ſuperiority. But when they were convinced of the power of fire-arms, and obſerved the clemency of their enemies in forbearing to make uſe of theſe dreadful weapons, except in their own defence, they became at once friendly and affectionate; and when an intercourſe was eſtabliſhed, were rarely detected in any act of diſhoneſty. They excel the inhabitants of Otaheite as much in modeſty, as they fall ſhort of them in the cleanlineſs of their perſons, and the convenience of their habitations. The women, however, were not impregnable; but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as thoſe in marriage among us, and according to their notions, the agreement was as innocent. The conſent of friends was neceſſary to obtain the perſonal favours of a young woman, and by the influence of a proper preſent this conſent might generally be obtained.

The ingenuity of theſe people appears principally in the conſtruction and management of their canoes, and in whatever relates to war or fiſhing. The larger canoes are 68 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 3 and a half feet deep; each ſide conſiſting of one intire plank 63 feet long, fitted and laſhed to the bottom with great dexterity and ſtrength. They have no defenſive armour; although they have a great variety of thoſe which are fitted for deſtruction. The principal of theſe are ſpears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo, which is faſtened to their wriſts by a ſtrong ſtrap, leſt it ſhould be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear ſticking to their girdles, conſidering it as a military ornament, and part of their dreſs, like the poniard of the Aſiatic, and the ſword of the European. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace ſeem to be beſt known and moſt practiſed in the northern part of this country. They have an inſtrument which ſerves at once for ſpade and plough. The ground is rendered as ſmooth as in a garden,

garden, and every root has its ſmall hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which were ſeen with the pegs remaining in the ground. The religion, government and language of the New Zealanders bear a remarkable reſemblance to thoſe of the natives of Otaheite. Tupia underſtood their diſcourſe, and was perfectly underſtood by them. This ſimilarity of dialogue proves a common origin; but which of the two countries was firſt peopled; whether they were peopled from one another, or both from ſome more ancient mother-land; and what this land is—are queſtions which in all probability will never be reſolved. A. D. 1770.

Captain Cook ſailed from New Zealand the 31ſt of March, 1770, and made the coaſt of New Holland the 19th of April. It was in latitude 37 degrees 58 minutes ſouth, and longitude 210 degrees 39 minutes weſt, when he firſt diſcovered land. The ſouthernmoſt point of land in ſight at this time was judged to lie in latitude 38 degrees, longitude 211 degrees 7 minutes, beyond which, although the weather was very clear, nothing could be obſerved. The great body of Van Diemen's land, however, ought, according to the maps, to have borne due ſouth; but the captain not having ſeen it, does not determine whether it joins the point now diſcovered or not. Standing to the northward he obſerved a bay, which ſeemed to be well ſheltered from all winds, and into which he determined to go with the ſhip. There he anchored in the afternoon under the ſouth ſhore, about two miles within the entrance, in ſix fathom water, the ſouth point bearing ſouth-eaſt, and the north point eaſt. This place was a-breaſt of a ſmall village conſiſting of about ſix or eight houſes; and while the ſailors were preparing to hoiſt out the boat, they ſaw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of a wood. She was loaded with firewood, and each of the children had alſo its little burden. She often looked at the ſhip, but expreſſed neither fear nor ſurpriſe. Some canoes returned from the fiſhing; the men landed, and the old woman having kindled a fire, they began to dreſs their dinner, to all appearance wholly unconcerned about the ſhip. They were all ſtark naked, the woman herſelf being deſtitute even of a fig leaf. It was natural to imagine that theſe ſavages, who ſeemed to pay no regard to the ſhip's coming into the bay,

would

A. D. 1770. would have paid as little attention to the people's coming on ſhore. But as ſoon as the boat approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to defend their coaſt, and the reſt ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a ſhort ſtick, which he ſeemed to handle as if it was a machine to aſſiſt him in throwing his lance. They called out in a loud harſh tone, and in a language which none of thoſe in the boat, although Tupia was of the party, underſtood a ſingle word. The courage of theſe Indians was remarkable, as they were but two againſt forty in the boat; which the captain ordered to lie on her oars, while he endeavoured to obtain the good-will of his opponents by throwing them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and ſeemed to be well pleaſed with. When he made ſigns to them that the ſhip wanted water, they waved with their hands, which he interpreted as an invitation to land. But this was not their meaning, for when the boat began to advance they renewed their oppoſition. One appeared to be a youth of nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; both of ſuch determined obſtinacy that it was neceſſary to fire a muſket between them. Upon the report the youngeſt dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himſelf in an inſtant, he ſnatched them up again with great haſte, and threw a ſtone at the boat. A ſecond muſket was fired, which ſtruck the oldeſt on the legs, who immediately ran to one of the houſes diſtant about an hundred yards, and returned with a ſhield or target for his defence. A third muſket was fired before they betook themſelves to flight, and left the boat maſter of the ſhore. Here there was abundance of water, and ſuch a variety of plants, that the captain gave it the name of Botany Bay. It lies in latitude 34 degrees ſouth, and longitude 152 degrees 37 minutes eaſt. The country in general is level, low and woody. There are two kinds of trees, larger than the Engliſh oak; one of them yields a reddiſh gum like *ſanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark coloured. The woods abound with birds of an exquiſite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind; and crows exactly the ſame with thoſe in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large flats of

ſand

ſand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl; and on the A. D.
banks themſelves are vaſt quantities of oyſters, muſcles and coc- 1770.
kles, which ſeem to be the principal ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants.

The captain having left this place, where he could eſtabliſh no intercourſe with the natives, proceeded northwards in order to examine the eaſtern coaſt of New Holland, and to diſtinguiſh by name the more remarkable places that he met with in his voyage. Having paſſed what he called Hervey's Bay, diſtinguiſhed by Mangrove trees, he anchored in Buſtard Bay, in latitude 24 degrees 4 minutes ſouth, longitude 151 degrees 42 minutes eaſt. He gave it that name from the great numbers of birds of the buſtard ſpecies, as large as turkeys, one of which weighed ſeventeen pounds and a half, and was the moſt delicate bird that had been met with during the whole voyage. Here are oyſters in great numbers, and of various kinds; among others the hammer oyſter, and abundance of ſmall pearl oyſters. And captain Cook ſays, that if in deep water there is equal plenty of ſuch oyſters at their full growth, a pearl fiſhery might be eſtabliſhed to very great advantage. Proceeding about two degrees farther north, he anchored again in *Thirſty Sound*. From the great variation in the needle, when brought on ſhore, and from ſeveral other obſervations at this place, it ſeems probable that iron ore abounds in the hills. Along the whole coaſt the ſea conceals ſhoals, which ſuddenly project from the ſhore, and rocks that riſe abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom.

Off *Cape Tribulation*, which lies in latitude 16 degrees 6 minutes ſouth, and longitude 146 degrees 39 minutes eaſt, our intrepid and hitherto ſucceſsful adventurers were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. On the 10th of June, at eleven o'clock at night, the ſhip ſuddenly ſtruck againſt a coral rock, and became immoveable, except by the heaving of the ſurge, which beating her againſt the craggs of the rock on which ſhe lay, cauſed ſo violent a concuſſion that it was with the utmoſt difficulty any one on board could ſtand on his legs. At the dawn of day land appeared at eight leagues diſtance, without any iſland in the intermediate ſpace upon which they might be ſet on ſhore by the boats, and afterwards proceed to the main, if the ſhip ſhould go to pieces: the wind, however, died away, till it

A. D. 1770. became a dead calm, by which the ſhip eſcaped inſtant, and otherwiſe inevitable, deſtruction. At eleven in the forenoon it was high water, but ſo much ſhorter was the day-tide than that of the night, that notwithſtanding the ſhip had been lightened near fifty tons, ſhe did not float by a foot and a half. Thus diſappointed, they proceeded to lighten her ſtill more, by throwing overboard every thing that could poſſibly be ſpared. The water now began to ruſh in ſo faſt, that two pumps could ſcarcely keep her free. At five in the afternoon the tide again began to riſe, and with it the leak increaſed ſo faſt that it was neceſſary to man two more pumps, of which one only could be wrought. Three of the pumps, however, being kept going, the ſhip righted at nine; but by this time the leak had gained ſo conſiderably, that it was imagined ſhe muſt go to the bottom as ſoon as ſhe ceaſed to be ſupported by the rock. The floating of the ſhip therefore was anticipated, not as an earneſt of deliverance, but as a forerunner of deſtruction. The boats were not capable of carrying all on ſhore, where, ſhould any of the crew be able to arrive, their fate would be ſtill more melancholy than that of thoſe who periſhed in the ſhipwreck. Baniſhed on a coaſt where even nets and fire-arms could ſcarcely furniſh the means of ſubſiſtence, and poſſeſſing the means of no effectual defence againſt the natives, they muſt ſpeedily fall a prey to indigence or ferocity, or languiſh during the remainder of life in a deſolate wilderneſs, without the hope of any domeſtic comfort, and cut off from the ſociety of men. To thoſe only who have waited in ſuch a ſuſpence, death has approached in his wildeſt terrors. While every one was reading his own ſenſation in the countenance of his companions the ſhip floated, and was heaved into deep water. It was no ſmall conſolation to find that ſhe did not now admit more water than ſhe had done upon the rock. By the gaining of the leak upon the pumps there were no leſs than three feet nine inches water in the hold; and the men having endured exceſſive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind, for more than twenty-four hours, and having but little hope of ſucceeding at laſt, began to flag, when this favourite circumſtance again animated their vigour, and made them exert the moſt extraordinary efforts. But none of them could work at the pumps above five or ſix minutes together, and then, being totally exhauſted,

hauſted, they threw themſelves down upon the deck, though a ſtream of water was running over it from the pumps ſeveral inches deep. When thoſe who ſucceeded them had worked their ſpell, and were exhauſted in their turn, they threw themſelves down in the ſame manner, and the others ſtarting up renewed their labour. At eleven o'clock a breeze from the ſea ſpringing up, the ſhip was got under ſail, and ſtood for the land. The exact ſituation of the leak could not be diſcovered, and therefore it was impoſſible to ſtop it within, and it was as impoſſible to continue that degree of labour, by which the pumps had been made to work. In this ſituation a happy expedient was adopted. It is called fothering the ſhip, and is done by taking a large ſtudding-ſail, on which a quantity of oakum and wool chopped ſmall and mixed together, was ſtitched down in handfuls as lightly as poſſible; over this the dung of ſheep and other filth was ſpread; and the ſail, thus prepared, was hauled under the ſhip's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended. When it came under the leak, the ſuction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the ſurface of the ſail, which in other parts the water was not ſufficiently agitated to waſh off. This contrivance ſucceeded ſo happily, that one pump was able to reduce the water from the leak: and ſo ſuſceptible are mankind of ſudden joy whenever ſo partially relieved from imminent danger, that ſcarcely greater tranſport could have been felt, if they had been arrived into a ſafe harbour, than this favourable alteration occaſioned. At ſix in the evening the ſhip was brought to an anchor for the night in ſeventeen fathom water, at the diſtance of ſeven leagues from the ſhore, and one from the ledge of rocks upon which ſhe had ſtruck. The next morning ſhe came to an anchor within two miles of the ſhore, no harbour having been diſcovered, But the day following was moſt propitious by the diſcovery of a harbour to leeward, moſt excellently adapted to the purpoſe for which it was wanted; and what was no leſs fortunate than remarkable, in the whole courſe of the voyage no place had been ſeen which would have afforded the ſame relief to the ſhip in the ſituation ſhe then was. Three whole days intervened before a favourable wind aroſe to carry them into their deſtined haven, in which time they found leiſure and inclination

A. D. 1770.

A. D. 1770. clination to reflect, that there was nothing but a lock of wool, between them and deſtruction. At length theſe buffeted adventurers ſet their impatient feet on land, after giving the ſtrongeſt proof of a manly, inflexible firmneſs; for, ſays captain Cook, "Upon this occaſion I muſt obſerve, both in juſtice and gratitude to the ſhip's company and the gentlemen on board, "that, although in the midſt of our diſtreſs, every one ſeemed "to have a juſt ſenſe of his danger, yet no paſſionate exclamations or frantic geſtures were heard or ſeen; every one appeared to have the moſt perfect poſſeſſion of his mind, and "every one exerted himſelf to the utmoſt with a quiet and "patient perſeverance, equally diſtant from the tumultuous "voice of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of deſpair *." Their change of ſituation was now viſible in every countenance, for it was moſt ſenſibly felt in every breaſt. They had ſailed three hundred and ſixty leagues, with a man continually in the chains heaving the lead, which perhaps never happened to any other veſſel. They had been theee months entangled among ſhoals and rocks that every moment threatened them with deſtruction; frequently paſſing the night at anchor, within hearing of the ſurge that broke over them; ſometimes driving towards it even while their anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almoſt continual tempeſt expoſed them, they ſhould not hold, every perſon on board muſt inevitably periſh.

The harbour which afforded them relief in this extreme emergency, they named after their veſſel *Endeavour River*. It lies in latitude 15 degrees 26 minutes ſouth, and its longitude by obſervation is 214 degrees 42 minutes 30 ſeconds weſt. It is only a ſmall bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a ſmall brook of freſh water. There is not depth of water for ſhipping above a mile within the bar, and at this diſtance only on the north ſide, where the bank is ſo ſteep for near a quarter of a mile, that a ſhip may lie afloat at low water, ſo near the ſhore as to reach it with a ſtep, and the ſituation is extremely convenient for heaving down; but at low water the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more

* Hawkeſworth, Vol. III.

than

than 17 or 18 at the height of the tide; the difference between high and low water at ſpring tides, being about 9 feet. At the time of new and full moon it is high water between 9 and 10 o'clock. This part of the coaſt is ſo barricaded with ſhoals as to make the harbour exceedingly difficult of acceſs; the ſafeſt approach is from the ſouthward, keeping the main land cloſe upon the board all the way; and the ſituation of the harbour may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down. A. D. 1770.

The captain having refitted at this place, where the principal refreſhment to be procured was turtle, and a plant called in the Weſt Indies, Indian kale, ſet ſail the beginning of Auguſt, to examine the northern extremity of the country. The rocks and ſhoals off this coaſt are more dangerous, perhaps, than in any part of the globe; for here are reefs of coral riſing like an immenſe wall, almoſt perpendicularly out of the ſea; always overflowed at high water, and at low water in many places, dry. The enormous waves of the vaſt ſouthern ocean meeting with ſo abrupt a reſiſtance, break with inconceivable violence, in a ſurf which no rocks or ſtorms in the northern hemiſphere can produce. The danger of navigating the unknown parts of this ocean was greatly increaſed to our adventurers, by their having a crazy ſhip, and being ſhort of proviſions and every other neceſſary. "Yet," ſays captain Cook, "the diſtinction "of the firſt diſcoverers made us chearfully encounter every "danger, and ſubmit to every inconvenience; and we choſe "rather to incur the cenſure of imprudence and temerity, which "the idle and voluptuous ſo liberally beſtow upon unſucceſsful "fortitude and perſeverance, than leave a country which we "had diſcovered, unexplored, and give colour to a charge of "timidity and irreſolution *."

The captain reſolved to keep the main land on board in his future route to the northward; becauſe, if he had gone without the reef, it might have carried him ſo far from the coaſt as to prevent his being able to determine whether this country joined to New Guinea. This was a queſtion which former navigators had left undecided, and which captain Cook was determined to

* Idem. ibid.

decide,

A. D. 1770. decide. In the execution of this enterprize, he braved ſuch dangers as would have appalled the reſolution of any man whoſe ſpirit for diſcovery had not extinguiſhed all regard to perſonal ſafety. He found the two countries to be divided by a narrow ſea, or ſtreight, the north-eaſt entrance of which lies in the latitude of 10 degrees 39 minutes ſouth, and in the longitude of 218 degrees 36 minutes weſt. It is formed by the northern extremity of New Holland, and a congeries of iſlands, which, it is probable, extend all the way to New Guinea. Theſe iſlands differ very much in height and circuit, and many of them ſeemed to be well clothed with herbage and wood, and well peopled with inhabitants.

To this channel or paſſage the captain gave the name of Endeavour Streights. Its length from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt is ten leagues, and its breadth five leagues, except at the north-eaſt entrance, where it is leſs than two miles, being contracted by the iſlands which ly there. On one of theſe iſlands the captain took poſſeſſion of the eaſtern coaſt of New Holland, from the latitude of 38 degrees to 10 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, in the name of his majeſty king George the Third, and diſtinguiſhed that immenſe extent of country by the appellation of *New South Wales*. The aſcertaining of the diviſion between New Holland and New Guinea was the laſt diſcovery made by captain Cook in this voyage. He was now arrived in ſeas which had been already navigated, and where every coaſt had been laid down by Dutch or Spaniſh navigators. Inſtead, therefore, of following this judicious and enterprizing adventurer in his navigation to the iſle of Java, and his voyage homeward, it is proper to look back, and conſider the information that may be derived from his diſcoveries relative to New Holland.

This immenſe iſland, for ſuch is the title by which it ſeems to be improperly diſtinguiſhed, exceeds in magnitude the habitable parts of the continent of Europe; extending from 10 degrees to 44 degrees ſouth, between 110 degrees and 154 degrees eaſt. It received the name of Holland from its having been chiefly explored by Dutch navigators. The land firſt diſcovered in thoſe parts was called *Eendragbt*, or Concord Land, from the name of the ſhip which made the diſcovery in 1716. Two years after,

after, another part of this coaſt was diſcovered by Zeachen, A. D.
who gave it the name of *Arnheim* and *Diemen*, though a diffe- 1770.
rent part from what received the name of *Diemen*'s Land from Taſman; the latter being the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, whereas the former lies in 15 degrees ſouth. Van Meitz, Carpenter, and Dampier diſcovered different parts of the coaſt; but our information derived from all theſe adventurers was nothing in compariſon of what we have received from captain Cook.

The whole eaſtern coaſt of New Holland is well watered by brooks and ſprings, but there are no great rivers. The face of the country, every where bleak and barren, is conſiderably leſs ſo towards the ſouth, where the trees are taller, and the herbage richer; but no underwood is any where to be ſeen. There are but two ſorts of timber trees, the gum tree and the pine; the eſculent plants are few, but there are a variety of ſuch as gratify the curioſity of the botaniſt. The ſpecies of birds are numerous, and many of exquiſite beauty. Venomous ſerpents abound, and great variety of reptiles, moſt of which are harmleſs. The greateſt natural curioſity in this country is the ant, of which there are ſeveral ſorts. One is green, and builds its neſt upon trees, by bending down the leaves, and gluing the points of them together, ſo as to form a purſe. The viſcus uſed for this purpoſe is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. Thouſands of theſe buſy inſects were ſeen uſing all their ſtrength to hold the leaves in a proper poſition, while other induſtrious multitudes were employed within, in applying the gluten. "To ſatisfy ourſelves," ſays captain Cook, "that the "leaves were bent and held down by theſe diminutive artificers, "we diſturbed them in their work, and as ſoon as they were "driven from their ſtation, the leaves in which they were em"ployed ſprung up with a force much greater than we could "have thought them able to conquer by any combination of "their ſtrength. But though we gratified our curioſity at their "expence, the injury did not paſs unrevenged, for thouſands "immediately threw themſelves upon us, and gave us intolera"ble pain with their ſtings, eſpecially thoſe which took poſſeſ"ſion of our necks and our hair, from which they were not "eaſily driven." There is another ſpecies, poſſeſſing no power

of

A. D. 1770. of tormenting, and reſembling the white ants of the Eaſt Indies. Theſe conſtruct neſts upon the branches of trees three or four times as big as a man's head; the materials of which are formed of ſmall parts of vegetables kneaded together with a glutinous matter, with which nature has furniſhed them. Upon breaking the outſide cruſt of this dwelling, innumerable cells, furniſhed with inhabitants, appear in a great variety of winding directions, all communicating with each other, and with ſeveral apertures which lead to other neſts upon the ſame tree. They have alſo another houſe built upon the ground, generally at the root of a tree, and formed like an irregularly ſided cone, ſometimes more than ſix feet high, and nearly as much in diameter. The outſide of theſe is compoſed of well tempered clay, about two inches thick, and within are the cells, which have no opening outward. Between theſe two dwellings, one of which is their ſummer, and the other their winter reſidence, there is a communication by a large avenue, or covered way leading to the ground by a ſubterraneous paſſage. The fiſh here are of kinds unknown to Europe, except the ſhell-fiſh and the mullet. Upon the ſhoals and reef are the fineſt green turtle in the world, and oyſters of various kinds, particularly the rock oyſter, and the pearl oyſter. In the rivulets and ſalt creeks are alligators.

This extenſive country is very thinly inhabited, and that by men in the loweſt ſtage of ſavage life. On the coaſt the natives never appeared in larger companies than thirty together, and the ground being entirely uncultivated, they drew their principal ſubſiſtence from the ſea. It is probable that the inland parts of the country are totally deſtitute of inhabitants. The only tribe with which any intercourſe was eſtabliſhed, conſiſted of 21 perſons, 12 men, 7 women, a boy and a girl. The men are middle ſized, clean limbed, and remarkably vigorous and nimble. Their countenances are expreſſive; their voice ſoft and effeminate; their bodies encruſted with dirt, which makes them appear almoſt as black as negroes. They crop their black hair, and keep their beards ſhort by ſinging them. The women were never ſeen but at a diſtance, for when the men croſſed the river to the ſhip they left them behind. Neither ſex have any conſcious ſenſe of indecency in diſcovering the whole body. They received

ved the things that were given them, but were inſenſible to all A. D.
the ſigns that were made that ſomething was expected in return. 1770.
Many of the trinkets that had been given them were afterwards found thrown negligently away in the woods, like the playthings of children, which pleaſe only when they are new. The bodies of many were marked with large ſcars, inflicted with ſome blunt inſtrument, and which they ſignified by ſigns to have been memorials of grief for the dead. There was no appearance of a town or village in the whole iſland; their houſes were framed without art or induſtry; ſome of them only ſufficient for a man to ſtand upright in, but not large enough for him to extend his length in any direction. They are built with pliable rods, about the thickneſs of a man's finger, in the form of an oven, and covered with palm leaves and bark. The door is a large hole. Under theſe houſes or ſheds they ſleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, in which poſition one of the houſes will hold three or four perſons. Towards the north of the iſland theſe houſes were made ſtill ſlighter; one ſide being entirely open, and none of them above four feet deep. Theſe hovels were ſet up occaſionally by a wandering hord, in any place that would furniſh them for a time with ſubſiſtence, and left behind them when they removed to another ſpot. When they mean to continue only a night or two at a place, they ſleep without any ſhelter except the buſhes and graſs, the latter of which is here near two feet high. They have a ſmall bag, about the ſize of a moderate cabbage net, which the men carry upon their back by a ſtring that paſſes over their heads. It generally contains a lump of paint and roſin, ſome fiſh-hooks and lines, ſhells of which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and ornaments of ſhells and bones, with which they adorn their wriſts and noſes. This is the whole inventory of the richeſt man among them. They are unacquainted with the uſe of nets in fiſhing. Their fiſh-hooks are neatly made, and ſome of them extremely ſmall. For ſtriking turtle they have a peg of wood, about a foot long, and well bearded; this fits into a ſocket at the end of a ſtaff of light wood, as thick as a man's wriſt, and eight feet long. To the ſtaff is tied one end of a looſe line, about four fathoms long, the other end of which is faſtened to

A.D. 1770. the peg. To ſtrike the turtle the peg is fixed into the ſocket; and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the ſtaff flies off, and ſerves for a float to chace their victim in the water. It aſſiſts alſo to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him aſhore. Their lines are made of the fibres of a vegetable, and are from the thickneſs of half an inch to the fineneſs of an hair. They bake their proviſions by the help of hot ſtones, like the inhabitants of the ſouth ſea iſlands. They produce fire with great facility, and ſpread it in a wonderful manner. For this purpoſe they take two pieces of dry ſoft wood. The one is flat, the other a ſtick with an obtuſe point at one end. This they preſs upon the other, and turn it nimbly by holding it between both hands as we do a chocolate mill. By this method they get fire in leſs than two minutes, and from the ſmalleſt ſpark increaſe it with great ſpeed and dexterity. "We have often ſeen," ſays captain Cook, "one of them run along the ſhore, to all appearance with nothing in his hand, who ſtooping down for a moment, at the diſtance of every fifty or an hundred yards, left fire behind him, as we could ſee, firſt by the ſmoke, and then by the flame among the drift wood, and other litter that was ſcattered along the place. We had the curioſity to examine one of the planters of fire when he ſet off, and we ſaw him wrap up a ſmall ſpark in dry graſs, which, when he had run a little way, having been fanned by the air which his motion produced, began to blaze. He then laid it down in a place convenient for his purpoſe, incloſing a ſpark of it in another quantity of graſs, and ſo continued his courſe." Their weapons are ſpears or lances; ſome have four prongs pointed with bone and barbed. To the northward the lance has but one point; the ſhaft is made of cane, ſtraight and light, from eight to fourteen feet long, conſiſting of ſeveral joints, where the pieces are let into each other and bound together. The points of theſe darts are either of hard heavy wood, or bones of fiſh: thoſe of wood are ſometimes armed with ſharp pieces of broken ſhells ſtuck in, and at the junctures covered with roſin. The canoes to the northward are not made of bark, but of the trunk of a tree hollowed by fire; and none of them carry more than four

ſour people. The only tools ſeen among them are the adze, A. D.
wretchedly made of ſtone; ſome ſmall pieces of ſtone in the 1770.
ſhape of a wedge; a wooden mallet, and ſome aukward inſtruments, or rather fragments of ſhells and coral. The uncultivated ſtate of the inhabitants of New Holland; their total ignorance of agriculture, and the arts moſt neceſſary to human life, accounts for their being found in very ſmall numbers together. They could not live in large ſocieties without being expoſed to periſh for want of the neceſſaries of life. But it is hard to ſay how there comes to be ſo very few of theſe little wandering communities in a country of ſuch amazing extent; and whether they are thinned by civil broils, excited by the horrid appetite of devouring each other, that prevails in New Zealand, or that their population is prevented by any other cauſes, cannot be aſcertained. Though their country is at ſo little diſtance from New Guinea, they have never in all probability viſited that iſland. If they had, the cocoa nuts, bread fruits, plantains and other vegetables which abound there, would naturally have been tranſplanted to New Holland. But no traces of them are to be found; and the miſerable inhabitants, deſtitute of all neceſſaries but what they procure by fiſhing, unacquainted with the uſe of clothes to defend them againſt the rigour of the elements, and unprepared to live in ſuch numbers together, as might enable them to obtain the ſmalleſt degree of knowledge even in the rude arts of uncultivated life, are reduced to the loweſt condition in which the human ſpecies have ever been diſcovered in any part of the globe. Yet men ſunk in this humiliating ſtate, preſent us with the rudiments of all the arts and paſſions which diſtinguiſh the greateſt and moſt poliſhed nations. Their contrivances for fiſhing prove them capable to attain the higheſt pitch of mechanical ingenuity. Their regard to ſeparate property ſhows them as ſuſceptible of avarice as they are ſenſible to the dictates of juſtice; and their attempts, however aukward, to adorn their perſons, indicate a deſire to pleaſe, and to render themſelves mutually agreeable. One advantage of theſe voyages into diſtant lands is to furniſh materials for the hiſtory of man. They prove, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, the elevation and dignity of his nature; for how unfor-

A. D. 1770. tunate ſoever his external circumſtances, he diſcovers himſelf, by the plaineſt marks, to poſſeſs the ſeeds of all thoſe various attainments which diſtinguiſh the heroes and ſages of the moſt enlightened periods.

It is equally agreeable to the writer and reader to dwell on the brilliant and uſeful diſcoveries of Britiſh navigators in diſtant parts; and it is extremely mortifying to be obliged to return from this pleaſing theme, to record the unhappy meaſures of the Britiſh adminiſtration, which have involved the navy, the army, and the whole empire in circumſtances not leſs diſgraceful than calamitous and afflicting. It would not, however, be agreeable to the truth of hiſtory entirely to aſcribe the diſtreſſing ſcenes which followed, to the negligence and incapacity of miniſters. Notorious as theſe have appeared, the ſituation and behaviour of the nation at large, ſeemed to forebode ſome fatal calamity. Intoxicated with more than expected proſperity, the people, at the cloſe of the late war, were ſeized with an extravagant degree of giddy inſolence, which made them deſpiſe the reſt of mankind. In an overgrown and wealthy capital, where every capricious abſurdity is apt to be carried to the moſt vicious exceſs, the vulgar were taught to ſpurn at regularity, ſubordination and law. From reſentment, envy, and the worſt paſſions incident to the human frame, the meaneſt of mankind were capable of throwing the nation into confuſion; of heaping an oppreſſive weight of popular odium on the ſervants of the crown; and, however defective their dexterity, yet working with ſuch ſturdy engines as the ignorant prejudices of a licentious rabble, they were able to divide the one half of the iſland againſt the other. Our enemies ſaw with pleaſure the effect of their wretched cabals, which were not more deſpicable in themſelves than deſtructive in their conſequences: France and Spain learned with inexpreſſible joy the reſpectable employment of the Britiſh parliament in the never-ending debates concerning the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes; in which, in their opinion, the queſtion was, to decide whether an out-law, a bankrupt, and an impious blaſphemer, ſhould be appointed to defend the laws, the property and religion of England. They were charmed with the petitions and remonſtrances of the city of London; and were glad to find

find the Engliſh miniſters too much employed in an altercation with the magiſtrates of the metropolis, and in quieting the unhappy riots which clamorous incendiaries had excited among the people at home, to engage in vigorous meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing their authority in America. A. D. 1770.

The conduct of adminiſtration, with regard to this country, was beyond any thing that their moſt ſanguine wiſhes could have hoped. Contradictory inſtructions given to the governors; taxes impoſed and repealed again and again; aſſemblies called and diſſolved, and allowed to ſit again without diſavowing the meaſures which had occaſioned their former diſſolution; troops ſent, driven out, with many alternate propoſals of violence and ſubmiſſion; treaſons charged, adopted by parliament, not proved, nor attempted to be proved, neither detected nor puniſhed.—The adminiſtration of lord North, who, already chancellor of the exchequer, was in the beginning of 1770 appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, did not announce any alteration in the heſitating, ambiguous conduct which had been hitherto maintained. The firſt meaſure which he adopted relative to America was to bring in a bill for a repeal of part of an act paſſed in the ſeventh of his preſent majeſty, eſtabliſhing duties on paper, painters colours, glaſs, and tea. The duties on the other articles were aboliſhed, that on tea only was continued. The motives aſſigned for the bringing in this bill, were the dangerous combinations which theſe duties had given birth to beyond the Atlantic, and the diſſatisfaction which they had created at home, among the merchants trading to the colonies. It did not fail to be remarked on this occaſion, that while the miniſter condemned theſe duties in the groſs, and the law upon which they were founded as ſo abſurd and prepoſterous that it was aſtoniſhing how it could originate in a Britiſh houſe of commons, he yet, notwithſtanding this deciſive declaration, propoſed a repeal of but part of the law, and ſtill continued the duty on tea; leſt he ſhould be thought to give way to American ideas, and to take away the impoſitions, as having been contrary to the rights of the colonies. Another inconſiſtence, notleſs glaring, and of ſtill more importance, was the declaring the law of taxation, while no vigorous ſtep was taken to enforce it.

Great

A. D. 1770. Great Britain, diſturbed by factious riots at home, and threatened with a rebellion in America, was to be inſulted by the unprovoked hoſtility of foreign powers. Our unhappy inteſtine diviſions, which had gradually ſpread from the convulſions in the capital to the remoteſt parts of the empire, had ſo filled the hands and engaged the thoughts of government, that little attention either had or could for ſome time paſt have been given to our foreign intereſts. Thus convulſed at home, and in a ſtate of contention with our colonies, already productive of the moſt alarming appearances, it was not to be ſuppoſed, from the known ſyſtems of policy eſtabliſhed and practiſed among rival ſtates, that ſuch evident opportunities of advantage would be overlooked by the natural and ever watchful enemies of Great Britain. The ſtate of France, indeed, being nearly as unfortunate as our own, prevented that kingdom from expreſſing her ſecret animoſity. But the principles of the family compact actuated every member of the houſe of Bourbon; and a ſtroke was at this time aimed by Spain which affected the honour of the Britiſh flag, and tarniſhed the recent glory of the nation.

The firſt diſcovery, the ſituation and the importance of Falkland iſlands, have already been deſcribed. Gold and ſilver being almoſt the only objects which excited the attention of the firſt diſcoverers and conquerors of the new world, theſe iſlands producing nothing of this kind were neglected for almoſt two centuries. Experience, and the extenſion of commerce, have at length ſhewn the probability that the ſouthern parts of the new world afford other commodities, which may be turned to as great advantage by induſtrious nations as mines of gold and ſilver. In particular it is thought, that the greateſt and moſt advantageous fiſhery in the world might be eſtabliſhed there; and navigators ſay, that an hundred whales are to be met with in the high ſouthern latitudes, for one that is to be found on the coaſt of Greenland. Beſides this motive, which was alone ſufficient to excite the enterprize of a commercial nation, lord Anſon's voyage fully explained the advantages that would reſult to England in time of war, from having a friendly port and place of refreſhment conſiderably more to the ſouth, and much nearer Cape Horn than the Brazils. The jealous and diſagree-

able

able character of the American Portugueſe, which rendered it A. D.
deſirable to avoid all dependence on ſuch inſidious and contemp- 1770.
tible allies; the great length of the voyage, by which the vigour and health of the men, as well as water and other proviſions, were exhauſted before they arrived at the place of action; were the principal inducements mentioned by lord Anſon for carrying this meaſure into execution. He pointed out the place moſt proper for forming the eſtabliſhment, and, when at the head of the admiralty, made preparations for ſending frigates to make diſcoveries in thoſe ſeas, and particularly to examine the condition and circumſtances of the above-mentioned iſlands. But this project was not ſo cautiouſly conducted as to eſcape the vigilance of the court of Spain, who made ſuch repreſentations on this ſubject to the Britiſh miniſtry that the ſcheme was for the preſent laid aſide, and continued dormant till the concluſion of the laſt war, when it was again revived by the earl of Egmont, who then preſided in the admiralty. Accordingly commodore Byron was ſent out in the year 1764, the ſucceſs of whoſe expedition we have already related. About the ſame time Mr. Bougainville ſailed into thoſe ſeas to make diſcoveries for the crown of France, and touched at Falkland's Iſlands. But, in a requiſition of the court of Spain, the French eaſily ſold or ceded all right to any property in what is called the Magellanica regions; with which ſale or diſpoſition it appears that Great Britain was not acquainted, nor even with any ſettlements ever formed there by the French.

In the year 1769, there was an Engliſh frigate and a ſloop upon that ſtation; and captain Hunt of the Tamer frigate cruizing off Falkland's Iſlands fell in with a Spaniſh ſchooner belonging to Port Solidad taking a ſurvey of them. The Engliſh captain, according to the orders which he had received, defired the Spaniard to depart from that coaſt as belonging to his Britannic majeſty. The ſchooner departed, but returned in two days after, and brought on board an officer with letters and a preſent from Don Philip Ruez Puenta, the Spaniſh governor of Port Solidad. Theſe letters were couched in terms of apparent civility. Don Ruez affected to diſbelieve the report of the captain of the ſchooner, and attributed captain Hunt's being in thoſe ſeas to chance or ſtreſs

of

A. D. 1770. of weather. He offered him upon that preſumption every refreſhment, and all acts of kindneſs in his power; but if the improbable account which he had received ſhould happen to be true, he warned the Engliſh captain of his danger, reminded him of the violation of treaties, and the ſole dominion of the king of Spain in thoſe ſeas; and at the ſame time authorized the Spaniſh officer to order the Engliſh ſubjects immediately to depart.

Captain Hunt, in anſwer to the Spaniſh officer with whom the governor had deſired him to correſpond, aſſerted the ſole dominion of his Britannic majeſty, as well by right of diſcovery as ſettlement, and warned the Spaniards in his name, and by his orders, to depart the iſlands, and allowed them ſix months from the date of the letter to prepare for their departure. The Spaniſh officer made a formal proteſt, as well upon the grounds already mentioned as upon captain Hunt's refuſing to allow him to viſit the ſettlement, and his threatening to fire into the Spaniſh ſchooner upon her attempting to enter the harbour; he alſo proteſted againſt the captain's going to Solidad which he had propoſed in an amicable manner, and declared that it ſhould be conſidered as an inſult.

About two months after this tranſaction, two Spaniſh frigates of conſiderable force, with troops on board for the new ſettlement, arrived at Port Egmont, the principal place in Falkland's Iſlands, under pretence of wanting water. The commander in chief wrote a letter to captain Hunt, in which he expreſſed great aſtoniſhment at ſeeing an Engliſh flag flying, and a kind of ſettlement formed; charged him with a violation of the laſt peace, and proteſted againſt the meaſure in all its parts, at the ſame time declaring he would abſtain from any other manner of proceeding until he had acquainted his Catholic majeſty with this diſagreeable tranſaction. Captain Hunt, as before, founded his poſſeſſion on the claim of right, juſtified his conduct by the orders of his ſovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart totally from thoſe iſlands.

The Spaniſh frigates having continued eight days at Port Egmont, during which time they were ſupplied with water, and treated with great civility by our people, departed ſeemingly without

without any hoſtile intention. But captain Hunt, dreading the A. D.
conſequences which ſoon followed, thought proper to return as 1770.
ſoon as poſſible to England, to give an account of what had paſſed to the admiralty. He was ſucceeded at Port Egmont by the Favourite ſloop, captain Maltby, which, with the Swift, captain Farmer, each of 16 guns, formed the whole force upon that ſtation. Even this was unfortunately leſſened, the Swift being overſet in the Streights of Magellan where ſhe had gone to make diſcoveries. The people, except three, were happily ſaved, by the fortitude and conſtancy of a few of their number, who, in an open cutter, undertook a voyage of three weeks in the moſt boiſterous ſeas in the world. They arrived at Port Egmont, and brought the Favourite to the relief of their diſtreſſed companions.

It was not long after this dreadful danger and unexpected deliverance, when a Spaniſh frigate came into the ſame port, under pretence that ſhe had been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, and was diſtreſſed for water: but three days after, her conſorts, conſiſting of four other frigates, alſo arrived, and it ſoon appeared that they had been only 26 days at ſea, had parted from the firſt in a gale of wind, and, inſtead of being in their way to Port Solidad, were now arrived at their place of deſtination. Theſe five frigates carried 134 pieces of cannon, and had on board between 16 and 1700 men, including ſoldiers and marines; beſides which, they had brought with them a train of artillery, and other materials ſufficient to have inveſted a regular fortification.

A Spaniſh broad pendant was immediately hoiſted on the arrival of the four laſt frigates, and as no doubt of their intentions now remained, captain Farmer ordered moſt of the officers and men who had belonged to the Swift to come on ſhore to the defence of the ſettlement, while captain Maltby began to bring the Favourite nearer to the Cove. Upon the firſt motion of the Favourite, one of the Spaniſh frigates ſent an officer on board to acquaint the captain that if he weighed they would fire into his veſſel. He, however, got under ſail, regardleſs of this menace: the frigate fired two ſhot, which fell to leeward

A. D. 1770. of him; and three of the Spaniſh veſſels got under way, and worked to windward as he did.

The whole ſtrength of the Engliſh in the iſland conſiſted in a wooden block-houſe, which had not even a port-hole in it, and only four pieces of cannon, which were ſunk in the mud, to defend it. From the firſt appearance of the Spaniſh force, captain Farmer had been active in clearing the ſtores out of the block-houſe, and in endeavouring to make it as defenſible as its nature would permit. He raiſed the cannon, cleared the platform, and cut out port-holes. In the mean time letters were ſent from the Spaniſh commodore to both the captains ſeparately, requeſting them in the politeſt terms to conſider his great power, and their own defenceleſs ſituation; and that they would, by quitting the place, prevent his being under the diſagreeable neceſſity to proceed to hoſtilities. Theſe were followed by another the next day in which he offered, if they would quietly, and with good-will, abandon Port Egmont, he would peaceably put his troops on ſhore, and treat them with all the conſideration which the harmony ſubſiſting between the two powers required; that he would allow them to carry away all their property, and give them a receipt for any part of it they might chuſe to leave behind, in order that the matter might be amicably adjuſted between their reſpective courts. If, contrary to expectation, they ſhould endeavour to maintain the ſettlement, he would then proceed to the accompliſhment of his orders; and in that caſe threatened them with an attack by ſea and land, expatiating in a pompous ſtyle on the ſpirit and brilliancy which they would experience in his military and naval forces. He concluded by requiring a categorical anſwer in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter.

To this arbitrary ſummons the Britiſh officers replied, that words are not always deemed hoſtilities, and that it was impoſſible for them to believe he ſhould venture in a time of profound peace, and when by his own acknowledgment the moſt perfect harmony ſubſiſted between the two courts, to commit an act of the moſt fatal tendency. That the king of Great Britain was able to defend the honour of his flag, and to protect the ſecurity of his dominions in all parts of the world: and, had even a ſhorter

a ſhorter time than fifteen minutes been allowed them to deli- A. D.
berate, it could not alter their determined reſolution to defend 1770.
the charge intruſted to them to the utmoſt of their abilities.

Previous to the deſigned attack the Spaniſh commodore deſired that ſome of our officers might be ſent to view the number and condition of the troops and artillery which he intended to land, in order to perſuade the Engliſh captains of the inefficacy of their obſtinate reſiſtance to his commands. This was complied with; but without ſhaking the Britiſh reſolution. The Spaniſh frigates then warped in cloſe to the ſhore, and moored head and ſtern oppoſite to the block-houſe and battery. The ſame evening, the 9th of June, captain Maltby came on ſhore with fifty of the Favourite's men, who brought with them two ſix-pounders, ten ſwivels, and a quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition. The next morning a part of the Spaniſh troops and artillery landed, about half a mile to the northward of our people; and when they had advanced half way from the place of their landing, the reſt of the boats, with the remainder of the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spaniſh frigates, and rowed right in for the Cove, being covered by the fire of the frigates, whoſe ſhot went over the block-houſe.

The Engliſh fired ſome ſhot; but ſeeing the impoſſibility of defending the ſettlement, and the Spaniards having now broke through all the limits of peace and amity, ſo that their hoſtility could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers with great addreſs having brought the affair to that point which they deſired, determined with equal propriety to ſave the valuable lives of their people, who muſt have been unavoidably cut off in this unequal conteſt. Accordingly they hung out a flag of truce, and demanded articles of capitulation.

The ſubſtance of theſe articles, concluded between the Engliſh captains on one hand, and Don John Ignatio Madariaga, major-general of the royal navy of Spain, on the other, was, that the Britiſh ſubjects ſhould be allowed to depart in the Favourite, and to take with them ſuch of their ſtores as they thought proper; that an inventory ſhould be made of the remainder, which were to be depoſited in the hands of the governor of Solidad, who became anſwerable for them; that the

A. D. 1770. Engliſh flag ſhould continue flying on ſhore and on board the ſloop; but that they were to exerciſe no juriſdiction except over their own people; nor to appear under arms until the time of embarkation, to which they were to march out with drums beating and colours flying. There was a reſtriction with regard to the time of their departure, until the governor of Solidad, or his deputy, ſhould arrive to make the inventories, and to take charge of the ſtores. For the better ſecurity of this limitation a new and wanton inſult was offered to the Britiſh flag, the Favourite's rudder being forcibly taken away, and kept on ſhore during the time of their detention. The account of the violent tranſactions of the Spaniards at Falkland's Iſlands, previous to this open and unprovoked hoſtility, was brought to England by captain Hunt early in the month of June. The nation heard the news with indignation and reſentment; eſpecially as they had already much reaſon to complain of the ungenerous conduct of the Spaniards in detaining ſome thouſands of Engliſh priſoners, ſeized under pretence of carrying on an illicit trade by the Spaniſh guarda coſtas. The neceſſity of putting ourſelves in a reſpectable condition of defence was inſiſted on by the moſt popular members in both houſes. Their partizans clamoured againſt the tameneſs of adminiſtration, and maintained the neceſſity of an immediate declaration of war, in order to diſappoint the perfidious deſigns of our ancient and inveterate enemies.

The malignant nature of theſe deſigns, it was ſaid, appeared too evidently in a dreadful national calamity, which happened about this time, in the conflagration at Portſmouth. An event ſo prejudicial to our maritime ſtrength, attended with ſuch critical circumſtances, was conſidered as a part of a great and ſettled plan for the reduction of our power and opulence. The fire which happened about the ſame time in Peterſburgh, and which was alſo accompanied by ſome alarming particulars, did not leſſen the ſuſpicion on this occaſion; and the reward of a thouſand pounds offered by government, in the Gazette, for the diſcovery of thoſe who had occaſioned the fire in the dock-yard at Portſmouth, added a new cauſe of jealouſy and diſtruſt.

The

The loſs ſuſtained by the fire was ſuppoſed, according to the A.D.
firſt looſe calculations, to amount to half a million, but by later 1770.
and more accurate eſtimates, is made to be only 150,000l. which is comparatively nothing to the dreadful conſequences that muſt have enſued, without a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance. The quantity of ſtores conſumed was ſupplied with great expedition from the other docks; the public buildings and workhouſes were ſoon reſtored; and the loſs thus rendered of very little conſequence to our marine in general.

Notwithſtanding the alarm occaſioned by theſe tranſactions in the nation, the miniſtry made little preparation for war. Some ſhips indeed were put into commiſſion, and there was greater buſtle in the dock-yards than in the time of profound tranquillity. It was not, however, till the latter part of Auguſt, that houſes were opened at the ports for manning ſixteen ſail of the line, and preſs warrants were not iſſued till near a month after. Much about this time the Favourite returned with our people from Falkland's Iſlands; but notwithſtanding the melancholy ſtory which they told, to the diſgrace of the Engliſh name, ſuch was the licentiouſneſs and depravity of the times, that even the manning of the navy met with great difficulties. The legality of preſs warrants was publicly called in queſtion, and the opinions of counſel applied to on the ſubject. In the city of London, upon the election of alderman Croſby to the mayoralty, that magiſtrate totally refuſed to back the preſs warrants, and aſſerted, that the conſiderable bounty granted by the city was intended to prevent ſuch violences. Alderman Wilkes had before diſcharged an impreſſed man. Such tranſactions will tranſmit in proper colours to poſterity the names of thoſe patriotic magiſtrates, who did their utmoſt to impede the public ſervice, when the ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions and the dignity of the crown were at ſtake.

When the parliament was aſſembled the 13th of November, 1770, the ſpeech from the throne took notice that an immediate demand had been made from the court of Spain of ſuch ſatisfaction as there was a right to expect for the injury received; and at the ſame time declared, that the preparations for war ſhould not be diſcontinued, until full reparation ſhould be obtained,

A. D. 1770. obtained. The addreſſes of both houſes of parliament were ſpirited, and the ſtrongeſt and moſt unreſerved aſſurances were given, that every degree of requiſite ſupport ſhould be chearfully granted. At the ſame time that the bleſſings of peace were acknowledged, the fulleſt confidence was placed in his majeſty, that he would never be induced, by a miſtaken tenderneſs for the preſent eaſe of the people, to ſacrifice their more eſſential and more laſting intereſts. So early as the 29th of November 40,000 men were voted for the ſea ſervice; extenſive grants were afterwards paſſed for the ordinary and ſupport of the navy; the land forces for home ſervice were augmented from about 17,000 to above 23,000 effective men; a new battalion was added to the ordnance, and a ſmall addition made to the pay of the ſubaltern officers belonging to that corps.

As the ſeſſion advanced, the proſpect of peace ſeemed gradually to diminiſh. The negociation and the tranquil intentions of Spain, which had been alledged by the miniſtry in anſwer to the clamours for immediate war, were no longer heard of, and a ſtate of hoſtility with that country ſeemed to be conſidered as the probable iſſue of this affair. In fact, the negociation was for a conſiderable time interrupted, and only renewed through the mediation of France, and finally concluded at the earneſt deſire of that court, and the terror inſpired into the Spaniards by the vigour of the Britiſh preparations.

About a fortnight before the arrival of our people from Falkland's Iſlands a letter was received at the office of lord Weymouth, ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, from Mr. Harris our miniſter at Madrid, acquainting government, that a ſhip had arrived from Buenos Ayres, with an account of the intended expedition, its force, and the time fixed for its ſailing. At the ſame time prince Maſſerano, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, acquainted his lordſhip, that he had good reaſon to believe the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken it upon him to make uſe of force, in diſpoſſeſſing our people of Port Egmont; and that he was directed to make this communication to prevent the bad conſequences of its coming through other hands; at the ſame time expreſſing his wiſhes, that whatever the tranſactions at Port Egmont may have been, in conſequence of a

ſtep

ſtep taken by the governor, without any particular inſtruction from his Catholic majeſty, they might not be productive of meaſures dangerous to the good underſtanding between the two crowns. A. D. 1770.

Lord Weymouth replied, that if force had been uſed it was difficult to ſee how the fatal conſequences could be avoided; that the inſtructions given to the Britiſh officers at Falkland's Iſlands were of the moſt pacific nature; but that ſtill the circumſtance of Mr. Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, having acted without orders, left an opening for conciliation, provided the ambaſſador would diſavow the conduct of that gentleman. Prince Maſſerano, however, declared, that he had no inſtructions to that purpoſe, but deprecated all reſolutions and meaſures that might involve the two crowns in a war.

Upon a ſecond conference with the ambaſſador, lord Weymouth demanded, in his majeſty's name, as a ſpecific condition of preſerving the harmony between the courts, a diſavowal of the proceedings at Port Egmont, and that the affairs of that ſettlement ſhould be reſtored to the preciſe ſtate in which they were previous to theſe proceedings. He at the ſame time ſent inſtructions to Mr. Harris, to inform Mr. Grimaldi the Spaniſh miniſter of ſtate of what had paſſed here, and of the propoſed ſatisfaction, which alone could put it in his majeſty's power to ſuſpend his preparations for hoſtility. Mr. Grimaldi at firſt expreſſed himſelf in very vague terms. He had reaſon to foreſee that ſome diſagreeable event would happen in the ſouth ſeas, from the notorious diſapprobation of the court of Spain to any Britiſh eſtabliſhments in thoſe parts. He could not blame the conduct of Mr. Buccarelli, as it was founded upon the laws of America. At the ſame time he wiſhed to have prevented this conduct, and had actually, upon the firſt ſurmiſe of the deſign, diſpatched a veſſel from the Groyne, to hinder it from being put in execution; that the Spaniſh nation had ſo little to get and ſo much to loſe by a war, that nothing but the laſt extremity could reduce them to ſo violent a meaſure; and that the king his maſter wiſhed only to act conſiſtently with his own honour and the welfare of his people, and that ſo far as our demand was compatible with thoſe two points, there was no doubt of

its

A. D. its being agreed to. In a ſubſequent meeting he aſſured the Bri-
1770. tiſh envoy, that his Catholic majeſty was determined to do every thing in his power to terminate this affair in an amicable manner: that inſtructions for this purpoſe had been tranſmitted to prince Maſſerano at the court of London, differing from the requiſition of that court in terms only, and not eſſentially, ſo that he had no doubt the propoſals which they contained would readily be adopted.

Prince Maſſerano, accordingly, propoſed a convention to lord Weymouth, in which the king of Spain diſavowed any particular orders given to Mr. Buccarelli, at the ſame time that his majeſty allowed that governor had acted agreeably to his general inſtructions, and to the oath which his office obliged him to take. He further ſtipulated the reſtitution of Falkland's Iſlands without prejudice to his Catholic majeſty's right; and he expected that the king of Great Britain would diſavow captain Hunt's menace, which, he ſaid, gave immediate occaſion to the ſteps taken by Mr. Buccarelli. To this it was anſwered, that when his Britannic majeſty's moderation condeſcended to demand redreſs for the injury which his crown had received, he could not poſſibly accept as a convention that ſatisfaction to which he had ſo juſt a title without entering into any engagement in order to procure it. That the idea of his majeſty's becoming a contracting party upon this occaſion, is entirely foreign to the caſe, for having received an injury, and demanded the moſt moderate reparation of that injury his honour can permit him to accept, that reparation loſes its value if it is to be conditional, and to be obtained by any ſtipulation whatſoever on the part of his majeſty.

Upon this anſwer prince Maſſerano told lord Weymouth, that he had no power to proceed in this affair, except by convention, without farther inſtructions from Madrid. While the ambaſſador ſent for theſe, lord Weymouth diſpatched an expreſs to Mr. Harris, to lay before the Spaniſh miniſter the unexpected obſtacles that had ariſen in this affair, and to demand a direct anſwer to the object of his firſt requiſition. For ſeveral days, however, no anſwer was returned; but at length Mr. Grimaldi intimated, that the king his maſter had ſent inſtructions to prince

Maſſerano,

Maſſerano, by which he was empowered to treat again, and to grant every reaſonable ſatisfaction for the ſuppoſed inſult; that his Catholic majeſty was willing to come into any method regarding the manner of giving the ſatisfaction that ſhould appear the moſt eligible to the king of Great Britain, expecting, however, that, as he went ſuch a great length to ſave his honour, his own ſhould alſo be conſidered, ſo far as it did not interfere with the ſatisfaction that was to be offered. A. D. 1770.

Nothing could appear to be more ſatisfactory than theſe pretended inſtructions given to prince Maſſerano. Mr. Grimaldi's anſwer was given the 7th November, and was received in London the 19th; but it ſoon appeared that the conduct of prince Maſſerano did not at all accord with the pacific intentions and conciliatory ſentiments profeſſed at Madrid. The earl of Rochford, who ſucceeded lord Weymouth in office, wrote a letter to Mr. Harris, dated the 21ſt December, in which he informed him, that all negociations with the Spaniſh ambaſſador had for ſome time been at an end, the anſwer to the king's demand being totally inadmiſſible; and that, it being inconſiſtent with his majeſty's honour to make any farther propoſal to the court of Spain, he was deſired to withdraw from Madrid with all convenient ſpeed.

Thus was the negociation entirely broken off. How it came again to be renewed ſeems to have been better known in all the coffee-houſes of Europe than to the Engliſh ſecretaries of ſtate. No document relative to its renewal has ever been laid before parliament or the public, but it is reaſonable, from the duplicity and deſign diſcovered by Spain in the whole tranſaction, to look for the motives of conciliation in every other quarter, rather than in the pacific or friendly diſpoſitions of the court of Madrid.

The family compact, by which the different branches of the houſe of Bourbon engaged to employ their whole force in the mutual ſupport and aſſiſtance of each other, was propoſed, and carried into execution by the wiſdom and addreſs of the duke of Choiſeul. That able miniſter little imagined a compliance with the terms of this formidable union might become extremely inconvenient to France, for the intereſt of which it had principally

A. D. 1770. been formed. It did not occur to him, that the haughty ſpirit of Spain, exaſperated by the diſgraceful wounds received in the war with Great Britain, would prompt her to take the firſt opportunity of ſeeking revenge; while France, exhauſted in her reſources; without money or credit; convulſed by the moſt violent diſſenſions between the firſt orders of the ſtate, while the people were ripe for ſedition from the want of the firſt neceſſaries of life, might be in no condition to afford Spain that aſſiſtance which had been ſtipulated between them. The credit of the duke who had contrived the family compact, long conſidered as a maſterpiece of policy, but now found to be attended with conſequences in every view diſgraceful to France, began to decline: he was ſoon after removed from his employment, and obliged to retire. Other councils prevailed, more agreeable to the pacific diſpoſitions of an aged prince, who had nothing farther in view but to end his days in the boſom of eaſe and tranquillity.

The interval that paſſed between the breaking off of the negociation between Great Britain and Spain, with the tranſactions of which the public has never been informed by authority, was probably filled up by liſtening to the mediation of France, which diſarmed the ardent hoſtility of her ſouthern ally, and perſuaded her, much againſt her own inclination, to propoſe an accommodation, in form at leaſt, leſs offenſive to the dignity of Great Britain. It was not till the firſt day of the meeting of parliament, January 22d, 1771, after the Chriſtmas receſs, that, inſtead of a *convention*, a *declaration* was propoſed and ſigned by prince Maſſerano, and accepted by the earl of Rochford. By the former the ambaſſador, in name of his maſter, diſavows the violence uſed at Port Egmont, and ſtipulates that every thing ſhall be reſtored there preciſely to the ſame ſtate in which it was before the reduction; but at the ſame time declares, that this reſtoration is not in any wiſe to affect the queſtion of the prior right of ſovereignty of thoſe iſlands; and, by the acceptance, the performance of theſe ſtipulations is to be conſidered as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great Britain *. This tranſaction was immediately announced to both

1771.

* Appendix, N°. XIV.

houſes.

ouſes. While the friends of adminiſtration propoſed an addreſs A. D.
f thanks to his majeſty for having ſupported the honour of the 1771.
rown of Great Britain by a firm and unvaried adherence to his
aſt demand of ſatisfaction, and for not having too haſtily en-
aged the nation in the hazards and burdens of war, the gen-
lemen in oppoſition affirmed, that the whole tranſaction was
qually unſafe and diſgraceful; that inſtead of having provided
reparation for former hoſtilities, or a ſecurity againſt future,
contained in itſelf the genuine ſeeds of perpetual hoſtility and
ar: that it is as diſhonourable to the crown itſelf as to the
ation, and admitting the faſhionable language, that the dignity
f the former, and the reparation to it, are the only objects of
onſideration, it will be found as ſhamefully deficient in this
eſpect as in every other. Thus, by this infamous accommoda-
ion, the honour of the crown of England had not been put on
he ſame footing with that of inferior kingdoms. The French
ing, for a ſmall violation of territorial right in the purſuit of
n outlawed ſmuggler, had thought it neceſſary to ſend an am-
aſſador extraordinary to the king of Sardinia to apologize for
t in the moſt ſolemn and public manner. When the Engliſh
leet under admiral Boſcawen deſtroyed ſome French ſhips on
he coaſt of Portugal, Great Britain ſent an ambaſſador extra-
rdinary to the court of Liſbon, to make reparation in honour;
ut when the Spaniards inſult the Britiſh flag, and commit the
moſt outrageous acts of hoſtility on Britiſh ſubjects, they pro-
poſe a declaration, in which the right to employ the ſame vio-
ence again is maintained and defended: for, though the court
of Spain had diſavowed the act of hoſtility as proceeding from
particular inſtructions, ſhe continued to juſtify it under her ge-
neral inſtructions to her governors, under the oath by them ta-
ken, and under the eſtabliſhed laws of America; and that this
juſtification of an act of violence under general orders, eſta-
bliſhed laws and oaths of office, is far more dangerous and in-
jurious to this kingdom than the particular enterprize which has
been diſavowed, as it moſt evidently ſuppoſes, that the governors
of the Spaniſh American provinces are not only authorized, but
required, to raiſe forces by ſea and land, and to invade our
poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, in the midſt of profound peace. Ma-

A. D. 1770. been formed. It did not occur to him, that the haughty ſpirit of Spain, exaſperated by the diſgraceful wounds received in the war with Great Britain, would prompt her to take the firſt opportunity of ſeeking revenge; while France, exhauſted in her reſources; without money or credit; convulſed by the moſt violent diſſenſions between the firſt orders of the ſtate, while the people were ripe for ſedition from the want of the firſt neceſſaries of life, might be in no condition to afford Spain that aſſiſtance which had been ſtipulated between them. The credit of the duke who had contrived the family compact, long conſidered as a maſterpiece of policy, but now found to be attended with conſequences in every view diſgraceful to France, began to decline: he was ſoon after removed from his employment, and obliged to retire. Other councils prevailed, more agreeable to the pacific diſpoſitions of an aged prince, who had nothing farther in view but to end his days in the boſom of eaſe and tranquillity.

The interval that paſſed between the breaking off of the negociation between Great Britain and Spain, with the tranſactions of which the public has never been informed by authority, was probably filled up by liſtening to the mediation of France, which diſarmed the ardent hoſtility of her ſouthern ally, and perſuaded her, much againſt her own inclination, to propoſe an accommodation, in form at leaſt, leſs offenſive to the dignity of Great Britain. It was not till the firſt day of the meeting of parlia-
1771. ment, January 22d, 1771, after the Chriſtmas receſs, that, inſtead of a *convention*, a *declaration* was propoſed and ſigned by prince Maſſerano, and accepted by the earl of Rochford. By the former the ambaſſador, in name of his maſter, diſavows the violence uſed at Port Egmont, and ſtipulates that every thing ſhall be reſtored there preciſely to the ſame ſtate in which it was before the reduction; but at the ſame time declares, that this reſtoration is not in any wiſe to affect the queſtion of the prior right of ſovereignty of thoſe iſlands; and, by the acceptance, the performance of theſe ſtipulations is to be conſidered as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great Britain *. This tranſaction was immediately announced to both

* Appendix, N°. XIV.

houſes.

houſes. While the friends of adminiſtration propoſed an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for having ſupported the honour of the crown of Great Britain by a firm and unvaried adherence to his juſt demand of ſatisfaction, and for not having too haſtily engaged the nation in the hazards and burdens of war, the gentlemen in oppoſition affirmed, that the whole tranſaction was equally unſafe and diſgraceful; that inſtead of having provided a reparation for former hoſtilities, or a ſecurity againſt future, it contained in itſelf the genuine ſeeds of perpetual hoſtility and war: that it is as diſhonourable to the crown itſelf as to the nation, and admitting the faſhionable language, that the dignity of the former, and the reparation to it, are the only objects of conſideration, it will be found as ſhamefully deficient in this reſpect as in every other. Thus, by this infamous accommodation, the honour of the crown of England had not been put on the ſame footing with that of inferior kingdoms. The French king, for a ſmall violation of territorial right in the purſuit of an outlawed ſmuggler, had thought it neceſſary to ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary to the king of Sardinia to apologize for it in the moſt ſolemn and public manner. When the Engliſh fleet under admiral Boſcawen deſtroyed ſome French ſhips on the coaſt of Portugal, Great Britain ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Liſbon, to make reparation in honour; but when the Spaniards inſult the Britiſh flag, and commit the moſt outrageous acts of hoſtility on Britiſh ſubjects, they propoſe a declaration, in which the right to employ the ſame violence again is maintained and defended: for, though the court of Spain had diſavowed the act of hoſtility as proceeding from particular inſtructions, ſhe continued to juſtify it under her general inſtructions to her governors, under the oath by them taken, and under the eſtabliſhed laws of America; and that this juſtification of an act of violence under general orders, eſtabliſhed laws and oaths of office, is far more dangerous and injurious to this kingdom than the particular enterprize which has been diſavowed, as it moſt evidently ſuppoſes, that the governors of the Spaniſh American provinces are not only authorized, but required, to raiſe forces by ſea and land, and to invade our poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, in the midſt of profound peace. Ma-

A. D. 1771.

A. D. 1771. ny other objections of equal weight were urged againſt the acceptance of the Spaniſh declaration, in a ſtrong, animated, eloquent, and argumentative proteſt of the houſe of peers, which will remain to all poſterity to their immortal honour *.

The tame meaſures of government, however, were adopted by a great majority. During the receſs of parliament, September 16, 1771, Spain fulfilled her engagements contained in the declaration, by the reſtoration of Port Egmont, which was delivered up to captain Scott, who was ſent thither with a ſmall ſquadron for that purpoſe. Miniſtry ſeemed to think all was ſecured by an amicable termination of this diſpute; and parliament was not called till after the Chriſtmas holidays, 21ſt January, 1772. The late meeting of this aſſembly, which indicated that no urgent buſineſs required an early attendance, and the pacific declaration from the throne, were ſufficient to lull the nation into the moſt perfect ſecurity. What, therefore, muſt have been their ſurprize and indignation, when a motion was made ſo early as the 29th of January, that 25,000 ſeamen ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year. It was urged, in ſupport of this motion, that, the French having ſent a conſiderable fleet to the Eaſt Indies, we were obliged upon that account to augment our naval force there, as the propriety of our being always ſuperior to them in that part of the world was ſo evident as not to admit of an argument; that a larger ſquadron was now employed for the protection of Jamaica and our other Weſt India iſlands, than in former years of peace; as the importance of our valuable poſſeſſions in that quarter, the probability of the Spaniards making their firſt attempt upon them in caſe of a war, and the conſiderable fleet which they kept in thoſe ſeas, rendered an augmentation of our maritime ſtrength on that ſtation a matter of the moſt evident neceſſity: that the war between the Turks and Ruſſians made it alſo neceſſary to employ a greater number of ſhips for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and Archipelago than had been cuſtomary in times of general peace. Beſides theſe general reaſons for augmentation, much ſtreſs was laid upon the great reform with regard to the guard-ſhips, it being acknowledged, that for ſe-

1772.

* Appendix, N°. XV.

veral

veral years paſt theſe ſhips had been exceedingly neglected, and A. D.
conſidered merely as jobs; ſo that at the time of the late ex- 1772.
pected war there were neither ſhips nor men fit for ſervice: but that now things were ſo much altered for the better, that twenty of the beſt ſhips in the navy were kept upon that duty, and were in ſuch complete condition, and ſo nearly manned, that a ſlight preſs would at any time enable them in a very few days to put to ſea: That the reſt of the fleet was alſo in good condition, and in about a year we ſhould have near eighty ſhips of the line at home fit for ſervice, beſides thoſe that were upon foreign duty. Many pointed and ſevere ſarcaſms were levelled at the miniſtry for accompanying a ſpeech, which breathed nothing but effuſions of peace, with all the actual preparations for war. Some gentlemen in oppoſition declared for the motion, upon the avowed principle that the ſupplies demanded were not in any degree to be conſidered as a peace eſtabliſhment; while the greater part of theſe gentlemen arraigned the adding to the burdens of a nation already ſinking under the weight of an overgrown and monſtrous public debt. They obſerved that our peace eſtabliſhment was every year increaſing, and that arguments ſimilar to thoſe at preſent alledged could never be wanting to oppoſe any diminution of it: that already it was nearly double to what it had been at the acceſſion of George the Firſt; laſt year we had ſuſtained all the inconveniencies of a war without any of its advantages; and it ſeemed to be the intention of government to perſiſt for ever in the ſame ruinous meaſures. Theſe obſervations were at preſent regarded as the clamours of party; and the events which followed fully juſtified the neceſſity of keeping the navy on a reſpectable footing.

The progreſs of the Ruſſians in the Mediterranean rendered it neceſſary for both France and Spain to ſtand on their guard, and to watch the growing greatneſs of theſe new and formidable allies of Great Britain. But, in the beginning of the year 1773, there were more extraordinary preparations in the French 1773.
and Spaniſh ports than any apprehenſion of this kind could account for. Thoſe preparations were carried on with the utmoſt vigour and induſtry, not only in the ports of the Mediterranean, but in thoſe of the ocean, and afforded room for ſuſpecting

the

A. D. 1773. the moſt hoſtile intentions. Strong remonſtrances on this ſubject were made on the part of Great Britain at the courts of Paris and Madrid, accompanied with a declaration, that, if ſuch meaſures were continued, his Britannic majeſty would be under a neceſſity of ſending ſuch a fleet of obſervation into the Mediterranean, as ſhould effectually fruſtrate any attempts that might be made againſt the Ruſſians. In the mean time a powerful fleet was equipped, and ordered to rendezvous at Spithead, and thoſe warlike preparations were for ſome time continued on all ſides. The rapidity with which Great Britain aſſembled ſuch a naval force as was ſufficient to contend with that of all her enemies united, and the magnificence and military pomp with which her mighty preparations were diſplayed *, reſtrained the hoſtile diſpoſitions which had begun to prevail at Paris and Madrid, and prevented the proſecution of meaſures which muſt have involved all Europe in their conſequences. The vigorous exertions on this occaſion were like a flaſh of lightning, which for a moment brightened the gloom of night that ſat ſo thick and heavy on the Britiſh councils. But after this tranſient flaſh the darkneſs returned more intenſe and horrible than before.

The conduct of adminiſtration will be an enigma to poſterity. Poſſeſſed of a naval force that made the greateſt princes of Europe tremble, they have been ſo far from quieting the diſſenſions which prevailed in America, that they have totally alienated from Great Britain thoſe flouriſhing and wealthy provinces, and reduced their country to the utmoſt ſtate of deſpair. Two roads were open before them, either of which might have been followed, if not with equal glory, yet with an equally aſſured proſpect of ſucceſs. By diſregarding the clamours of an intereſted oppoſition, and making uſe of the power in their hands, they might, while all Europe were ſilent in our preſence, have inflicted whatever puniſhment became neceſſary to reduce the rebellious provinces to an humble ſenſe of their duty. But this method was ſo far from being adopted, that a firſt lord of the treaſury talked of compelling the Americans to

* See Appendix, N°. XVI.

ſubmit

ſubmit to taxes without bloodſhed; and a firſt lord of the admiralty, upon the appearance of meaſures which indicated vigour, voted a reduction of 4000 ſeamen; aſſuring the houſe, that the low eſtabliſhment propoſed would be fully ſufficient for conquering the Americans; of whoſe power and courage he ſpoke with the utmoſt contempt, affirming that they were not diſciplined nor capable of diſcipline, and that formed of ſuch materials, and ſo indiſpoſed to action, the numbers of which ſuch boaſts had been made, would only facilitate their defeat. A. D. 1773.

Another road, which might have been purſued with univerſal applauſe, would have been to abandon that odious meaſure of taxing a free people without their own conſent. Had that been done, the weight of oppoſition would have been removed at once, and the Americans, if they ſtill continued refractory, might have been compelled by force of arms to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the mother country, without one ſympathizing voice in Europe to condole with them for the rigours of a puniſhment which they had juſtly drawn on their own heads. But neither of theſe methods being adopted, the miniſtry heſitated between peace and war; and their tame, equivocal, temporiſing conduct brought the Americans to a maturity of reſiſtance and rebellion, the effects of which we ſhould now proceed to deſcribe and deplore, if, in deducing a chronological account of the naval tranſactions of Great Britain, there were not ſome intervening events, which deſerve to be particularly related.

Theſe are the diſcoveries which continued to be made by our navigators in the years 1773, 1774, and 1775. They were not, as of late years, confined intirely to the ſouthern ocean. While captain Cook was employed in exploring this part of the globe, the honourable Conſtantine Phipps, now lord Mulgrave, was ſent to examine how far navigation was practicable towards the north pole. This was done in conſequence of an application to lord Sandwich, firſt lord of the admiralty, from the Royal Society. His lordſhip laid the requeſt of the Society before the king, who ordered the Racehorſe, and Carcaſs, bombs, to be fitted out for the expedition. The command of the former was given to captain Phipps, and of the latter to captain Lutwidge. The idea of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by

the

A. D. 1773. the north pole, was ſuggeſted as early as the year 1527, by Robert Thorne, a merchant of Briſtol, who addreſſed a paper to Henry the Eighth on that ſubject; but Henry, as uſual, was involved in a multiplicity of affairs, which prevented him from giving any attention to this application. In the reign of Queen Eliſabeth Sir Hugh Willoughby made the attempt with three ſhips, *anno* 1553. He proceeded to the latitude of 75 degrees north, but being obliged to winter in Lapland, he and all his company periſhed miſerably. Three years afterwards captain Burroughs ſailed on the ſame deſign, and advanced to 78 degrees north. To him ſucceeded captains Jackman and Pell in 1580, in two ſhips; the latter of whom, with his ſhip, was loſt. The Dutch began to purſue the ſame diſcovery in 1595, and ſucceſſive voyages were made, which tended rather to prove the impracticability of ſailing to high northern latitudes, than the probability of finding the paſſage, which was the object of theſe daring enterprizes. In 1607 Henry Hudſon was equipped by a company of London merchants, to diſcover a paſſage by the north pole to Japan and China. He penetrated to 80 degrees 23 minutes north, and was then ſtopped by the ice. Two years after another ſhip was ſent out by the Ruſſia Company of merchants in London; the ſhip was commanded by Jonas Poole, who could not with his utmoſt endeavours advance farther than 79 degrees 5 minutes north. In the year 1614 another voyage was undertaken, in which Baffin and Fotherby were employed, but without ſucceſs; and next year Fotherby, in a pinnace of 20 tons, with ten men, was equally unſucceſsful. John Wood, with a frigate and a pink, ſailed in 1676, but returned without effecting any thing. Moſt of theſe voyages having been fitted out by private adventurers, for the double purpoſe of diſcovery and preſent advantage, it was natural to ſuppoſe that the attention of the navigators had been diverted from the more remote and leſs profitable object of the two, and that they had not proſecuted the chief purpoſe of diſcovery with all the care that could have been wiſhed. "But," ſays captain Phipps, "I am happy in an opportunity "of doing juſtice to the memory of theſe men, which, with- "out having traced their ſteps, and experienced their difficul- "ties, it would have been impoſſible to have done. They ap-

"pear

" pear to have encountered dangers, which at that period muſt A. D.
" have been particularly alarming from their novelty, with the 1773.
" greateſt fortitude and perſeverance, as well as to have ſhewn
" a degree of diligence and ſkill, not only in the ordinary and
" practical, but in the more ſcientific parts of their profeſſion,
" which might have done honour to modern ſeamen, with all
" their advantages of later improvements. This, when com-
" pared with the ſtate of navigation, even within theſe forty
" years, by the moſt eminent foreign authors, affords the moſt
" flattering and ſatisfactory proof of the very early exiſtence of
" that decided ſuperiority in naval affairs, which has carried the
" power of this country to the height it has now attained."

The captain ſailed in February 1773, and after paſſing the iſlands of Shetland, the firſt land he made was Spitzbergen, in latitude 77 degrees, 59 minutes, 11 ſeconds north, and longitude 9 degrees, 13 minutes eaſt. The coaſt appeared to be neither habitable nor acceſſible, but formed of high black rocks, without the leaſt marks of vegetation, moſtly bare and pointed, in ſome places covered with ſnow, and towering above the clouds. The vallies between the high cliffs were filled with ſnow or ice. " This proſpect," ſays captain Phipps, " would have
" ſuggeſted the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildneſs
" of the weather, the ſmooth water, bright ſun-ſhine, and con-
" ſtant day-light, given a chearfulneſs and a novelty to the
" whole of this ſtriking and romantic ſcene. The height of one
" mountain ſeen here was found to be 1503 yards. The har-
" bour of Smeerenberg, lying in latitude 79 degrees, 44 mi-
" nutes north, longitude 9 degrees, 50 minutes, 45 ſeconds eaſt,
" has good anchorage in fifteen fathoms. Cloſe to this harbour
" is an iſland, called Amſterdam Iſland, where the Dutch uſed
" formerly to boil their whale-blubber, and the remains of ſome
" conveniencies erected by them for that purpoſe are ſtill viſible.
" They attempted once to form an eſtabliſhment here, and left
" ſome people, who all periſhed in the winter. The Dutch
" ſhips ſtill reſort to this place for the latter ſeaſon of the whale-
" fiſhery. The moſt remarkable views which theſe dreary re-
" gions preſent, are what are called the ice-bergs. Theſe are
" large bodies of ice, filling the vallies between the high moun-

A. D. 1773. "tains. Their face towards the sea is nearly perpendicular, and "of a very lively green colour. One was about 300 feet high, "with a cascade of water issuing out of it. Large pieces fre- "quently break off from the ice-bergs, and fall with great noise "into the water."

Captain Phipps has been very accurate in describing the few animals which these inhospitable regions produce, and was at pains to examine the vegetable and mineral productions. He proceeded afterwards to Moffen Island in latitude 80 degrees north, longitude 12 degrees, 20 minutes east, which is of a round form, about two miles in diameter, with a lake in the middle, frozen with eternal ice. At the Seven Islands which lie in latitude 81 degrees, 21 minutes north, the two ships became suddenly fast in the ice on the 31st of July. These islands and north-east land, with the frozen sea formed almost a bason, having but about four points open for the ice to drift out in case of a change of wind. The passage by which the ships had come in to the westward became close, and a strong current set in to the east, by which they were carried still farther from their course. The labour of the whole ship's company to cut away the ice proved ineffectual; their utmost efforts for a whole day could not move the ships above 300 yards to the westward through the ice, whilst the current had at the same time driven them far to the north-east and eastward. Appearances remained thus threatening for four or five days, the safety of the crew seemed all that could possibly be effected. As it had been foreseen that one or both of the ships might be sacrificed in the prosecution of the voyage, the boats for each ship were calculated, in number and size, to be fit in any emergency to transport the whole crew. Driven to this state of danger and suspense, on the 6th of August the boats were hoisted out, and every possible method taken to render them secure and comfortable; but the next day the wind blew eastwardly, and the ships were moved about a mile to the westward. But still they run not so far west by a great way as when they were first beset with the ice; however, on the 9th of August, the current had visibly changed, and run to the westward, by which both the ships had been carried considerably in that direction. On the 10th a brisk wind

at

at north-north-eaſt accompliſhed their deliverance, and freed them from the dreadful proſpect of periſhing, as many former adventurers had done in thoſe polar regions. Having found it impracticable to penetrate any farther towards the north, they returned to the harbour of Smeerenberg; having, in the proſecution of this voyage, reached 81 degrees, 36 minutes north latitude, and between the latitudes of 79 degrees, 50 minutes, and 81 degrees, traverſed 17 degrees and a half of longitude, that is, from 2 degrees eaſt to 19 degrees, 30 minutes eaſt. A. D. 1773.

While lord Mulgrave was employed in aſcertaining the limits of navigation towards the north, captain Cook was indefatigable in examining the reſpective dominions of land and ocean in the ſouthern hemiſphere. Notwithſtanding the various voyages, in which this part of the globe had been traverſed in the many different directions, all tending to render the exiſtence of a ſouthern continent more improbable, the fact was not yet brought to a clear and demonſtrative evidence. To determine this point was the main object of the preſent voyage, on which captain Cook ſailed in the Reſolution, accompanied by captain Furneaux in the Adventure, the 2d of April, 1772. The ſhips in which they embarked were the moſt proper that could be contrived for ſuch a dangerous undertaking; captain Cook in the clear, ſimple, and manly narrative which he has publiſhed of his proceedings, having proved beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that north-country veſſels, or ſuch as are built for the coal trade, are the fitteſt for purſuing with ſucceſs the diſcovery of remote countries. To the nature of his ſhips, which were of this ſafe and commodious conſtruction, rather than to his own nautical ſkill and abilities, he modeſtly aſcribes the ſingular felicity of his voyage, which was far beyond the experience or hopes of former navigators.

Beſides the advantages ariſing from the form of the veſſels, and the ſkill of the commander, the proviſion of every ſort exceeded all that had been known on any former occaſion. Every circumſtance and ſituation that could be foreſeen or apprehended was provided for with unexampled liberality. A conſiderable ſum of money was allotted by parliament to encourage

A. D. 1773. two gentlemen, eminent in natural hiſtory, to ſacrifice their time, and encounter the toils and dangers of ſuch a voyage. With the ſame generous ſpirit for the improvement of knowledge, a landſcape-painter of merit, and two able aſtronomers, were alſo engaged. Nor was any attention omitted which could be deemed neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence, ſecurity, health, or comfort of all the voyagers.

Having ſailed with ſo many circumſtances in their favour, they reached the Cape of Good Hope without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, and departed from thence the 22d of November, 1772. They returned to the ſame place the 22d of March, 1775, having ſailed no leſs than 20,000 leagues in two years and four months; an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which, it is highly probable, never was traverſed by any other ſhip in an equal period of time. When we take into computation the voyage to and from the Cape to England, the whole time conſumed is above three years, during which they experienced every variety of climate from 52 degrees north latitude to 71 degrees ſouth, and were continually expoſed to all the hardſhips and fatigue inſeparable from a ſeafaring life; and yet what is moſt extraordinary, the numerous ſhip's company on board the Reſolution preſerved a more uninterrupted ſtate of good health, than perhaps they could have enjoyed on ſhore in the moſt temperate climate of the earth. In that long and various courſe, of 118 perſons only four were loſt; and of that four only one fell a victim to ſickneſs: a fact unparalleled in the hiſtory of navigation.

In the moſt healthy climates no bills of mortality have produced ſuch an inſtance amongſt an equal number of men during a like period. When, therefore, we conſider the numbers of brave ſeamen who periſhed by marine diſeaſes under Anſon and other navigators, the greateſt praiſe is due to captain Cook for his judicious management in preſerving the health of the men under his command. The chief preſervative againſt the ſcurvy, uſed by this judicious commander, was ſweet wort, which was given not only to thoſe who were afflicted with that diſtemper, but likewiſe to thoſe who were thought likely to take it. Portable

ſoup

ſoup and ſour krout were alſo uſed with ſucceſs in preſerving the health of the ſeamen. The ſhip's company were kept in conſtant exerciſe, and their cleanlineſs contributed not a little to their health. The ſhip was frequently purified by fires, a practice much recommended by captain Cook. Freſh water was alſo an object of particular attention. Not ſatisfied with having plenty of that neceſſary article, he would always have the pureſt, and therefore, whenever an opportunity offered, he emptied what he had taken in a few days before, and filled his caſks anew. As a teſtimony of regard for theſe important improvements for preſerving the health of ſeamen, the Royal Society was pleaſed to beſtow Sir Godfrey Copley's medal upon captain Cook. A. D. 1773.

The firſt cruize from the Cape of Good Hope, November 22d, 1772, was employed in aſcertaining the great queſtion concerning the *Terra Auſtralis incognita*. The two ſhips ſailed in company, and the 10th of December following, being in latitude 50 degrees, 40 minutes ſouth, ſaw the firſt ice. The maſs was about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit, flat at top, and its ſides roſe in a perpendicular direction, againſt which the ſea broke exceedingly high. From this time the icy mountains began to be very frequent, exhibiting a view as pleaſing to the eye as terrible to reflection; "for," ſays the captain, "were a "ſhip to get againſt the weather-ſide of one of theſe maſſes of "ice, when the ſea runs high, ſhe would be daſhed to pieces in "a moment." On the 14th, being in latitude 54 degrees, 50 minutes ſouth, 21 degrees, 34 minutes eaſt, they were ſtopped, in their route to the ſouthward, by an immenſe field of low ice, to which no end could be ſeen to the ſouth eaſt or weſt. In different parts were hills of ice, like thoſe that had been before found floating in the ſea; and the ſhip's company were often amuſed with the flattering proſpect of land, which turned out to be fog-banks. A boat was here hoiſted out to try the direction of the current, and Mr. Wales the aſtronomer, accompanied by Mr. Foſter the naturaliſt, took the opportunity of going in her to make experiments on the temperature of the ſea at different depths. A thick fog came on, which blackened into ſuch a degree of obſcurity, that they intirely loſt ſight of both the ſhips.

In

A. D. 1773. In a four-oared boat, in an immenſe ocean, far from any hoſpitable ſhore, ſurrounded with ice, and deſtitute of proviſions, their ſituation was as frightful as any that can well be imagined. In this dreadful ſuſpenſe, they determined to lie ſtill, hoping that, provided they preſerved their place, the ſloops would not abandon them. The moſt delightful muſic they ever heard was the jingling of the bell of the Adventure, which took them on board. The ſhips then changed their courſe to the eaſtward, where the large iſlands of ice were hourly ſeen in all directions; ſo that they became as familiar to thoſe on board as the clouds and the ſea. A ſtrong reflection of white on the ſkirts of the ſky was a certain indication of theſe iſlands; although the ice itſelf is not entirely white, but often tinged, eſpecially near the ſurface of the ſea, with a beautiful berylline blue. This colour ſometimes appeared 20 or 30 feet above the ſurface, and was moſt probably produced by ſome particles of ſea-water daſhed againſt the maſs in tempeſtuous weather. Different ſhades of white were frequently obſerved in the larger iſlands, lying above each other in ſtrata of a foot high, which confirms captain Cook's opinion concerning the formation and increaſe of theſe maſſes by heavy falls of ſnow at different intervals. The 26th the iſlands ſtill ſurrounded them, behind one of which, in the evening, the ſetting ſun tinged its edges with gold, and brought upon the whole maſs a beautiful ſuffuſion of purple. "Although," ſays captain Cook, "this was the middle of ſummer with us, I "much queſtion if the day was colder in any part of England. "The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer conſtantly kept "below the freezing point. The ſhooting at penguins afford-"ed great ſport but little profit, the birds diving ſo frequently "in the water, and continuing ſo long under it, that the fow-"lers were generally obliged to give over the purſuit. Their "thick gloſſy plumage turned off the ſmall ſhot, and it was "neceſſary to attack them with ball."

Having hitherto met with no land, captain Cook determined, January 2d, 1773, to go in ſearch of Cape Circumciſion, which is laid down by Bouvet in 58 degrees, 53 minutes ſouth, 10 degrees 6 minutes eaſt; but as he ſaw no appearance of it in that ſituation, although the weather was very clear, he ſuppoſed it

to

to have been nothing but fields and mountains of ice. January 9th, three boats were hoiſted out, and in a few hours took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good freſh water. The ſalt which adhered to the ice was ſo trifling as not to be taſted, and intirely drained off by lying a ſhort time on the deck. Cranzt ſome years ago advanced in his hiſtory of Greenland, that thoſe great maſſes of ice in the northern ſeas diſſolved into freſh water, from which he inferred, that they owed their origin to the vaſt rivers of thoſe hyperborean regions; but it was reſerved to captain Cook to eſtabliſh the doctrine, that the freezing of ſea-water into ice, not only deprives it of all its ſalt particles, but that it will thaw into ſoft, potable, and moſt wholeſome water. He has alſo proved by experience that the bad qualities which for ſo many ages have been attributed to melted ſnow and ice-water are deſtitute of all foundation. This happy diſcovery of deriving the greateſt advantage from the ice mountains, which ſeem to threaten our navigators with nothing leſs than deſtruction, enabled them to perſevere in their voyage for a length of time that would have been otherwiſe impoſſible, and contributed to that unparalleled degree of health, which they ſo fortunately enjoyed. A. D. 1773.

January 17th, they croſſed the Antarctic circle in longitude 39 degrees, 35 minutes eaſt, which had till then remained impenetrable to all former navigators. The ice-iſlands became more and more numerous; and in longitude 67 degrees, 15 minutes ſouth, an immenſe field of congelation extended to the ſouthward as far as the eye could reach, which obliged captain Cook to put about, and ſtand north-eaſt by north. Here were ſeen many whales playing about the ice, and various flocks of brown and white pintadoes, which were named Antarctic peterels, becauſe they ſeemed to be natives of that region. January 31ſt, two iſlands of ice were ſeen in latitude 50 degrees, 50 minutes ſouth, one of which appeared to be falling to pieces by the crackling noiſe it made; and this was the laſt ice ſeen, until they returned again to the ſouthward. In the neighbourhood of this latitude they fell in with the iſlands diſcovered by Meſſrs. Thirguelen, St. Allouard and Marion, French navigators, all of which were iſlands of inconſiderable extent, high, rocky, deſtitute of trees, and

A. D. 1773. and almoſt intirely barren. It was ſuppoſed that the French had diſcovered the north cape of a great ſouthern continent; but though that land was not found by captain Cook, his long navigation proves, that their diſcovery, if not an ice field, could only be a ſmall iſland.

The Reſolution loſt ſight of the Adventure the 8th of February, and the two ſloops continued ſeparate for the reſt of the cruize, but afterwards met in Queen Charlotte's ſound in New Zealand. They proceeded together to Otaheite, and other iſlands within the tropics, and again ſeparated near to Cook's ſtreights, and never more joined during the voyage. Captain Furneaux returned a ſecond time to the place of rendezvous at Queen Charlotte's ſound, but his conſort having left that place a conſiderable time before his arrival, he, after refreſhing his crew, ſet ſail for England, which he reached in July 1774.

The Reſolution continuing her voyage, in 58 degrees ſouth, captain Cook obſerved for the firſt time, on February 17th, the Aurora Auſtralis, a phænomenon which had never before been taken notice of by any navigator in the ſouthern hemiſphere. It conſiſted of long columns of a clear white light, ſhooting up from the horizon to the eaſtward, almoſt to the zenith, and ſpreading gradually over the whole ſouthern part of the ſky. Theſe columns differed from the ſouthern lights in being always of a whitiſh colour. The ſky was generally clear when they appeared and the air ſharp and cold, the thermometer ſtanding at the freezing point. In March 26th, captain Cook made the coaſt of New Zealand, and anchored in Duſky bay, after having been one hundred and ſeventeen days at ſea, without having once ſeen any land, in which time they had ſailed three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty leagues.

The captain continued during the following months, which are the winter ſeaſon in that climate, to viſit his old friends at Otaheite, the Society and Friendly Iſlands; and after examining a ſpace of more than 40 degrees of longitude between the tropics, he returned to Queen Charlotte's ſound. There he changed the fair-weather rigging of his ſhip for ſuch as might reſiſt the ſtorms and rigours of the high ſouthern latitudes, and

ſet

ſet ſail the 27th November to explore the unknown parts of the Pacific Ocean. On December 6th he reached the 51ſt degree, 32 minutes ſouth latitude, and the 180th degree eaſt longitude, conſequently the point of the antipodes of London. December 15th, in 66 degrees ſouth, and 159 degrees weſt, the farther courſe to the ſouthward was interrupted by the ice-iſlands, among which they were almoſt embayed, which obliged them to tack to the north, and ſoon after they got clear of all the ice, but not without receiving ſeveral knocks from the larger pieces, which would have deſtroyed any veſſel leſs carefully prepared to reſiſt thoſe repeated ſhocks. They croſſed the Antarctic circle a ſecond time on December the 20th, in the longitude of 147 degrees, 46 minutes weſt. The next morning they ſaw innumerable ice-iſlands, high and rugged, their tops formed into various peaks, which diſtinguiſhed them from thoſe hitherto obſerved, which were commonly flat at the top. Many of thoſe now ſeen were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or ſides, aſtoniſhing to behold. Moſt of their winged companions had now left them, except the grey albatroſſes, and inſtead of the other birds, they were viſited by a few Antarctic peterels, two of which were ſhot. From the appearance of the former, captain Cook ſays, "we may with "reaſon conjecture that there is land to the ſouth." December the 22d, they had penetrated to 67 degrees, 31 minutes ſouth, being the higheſt latitude they had yet reached. The longitude was 142 degrees, 54 minutes weſt. They celebrated Chriſtmas day the 25th with great feſtivity, the ſailors feaſting on a double portion of pudding, and regaling themſelves with the brandy which they had ſaved from their allowance ſeveral months before, being ſolicitous to get very drunk. The ſight of an immenſe number of ice-iſlands, among which the ſhip drifted at the mercy of the current, every moment in danger of being daſhed in pieces, could not deter them from indulging in their favourite amuſement; as long as they had brandy left, they would perſiſt to keep Chriſtmas, though the elements had conſpired together for their deſtruction. A. D. 1773.

A. D. 1774. January 3d, 1774, being in latitude 56 degrees ſouth, and longitude 140 degrees 31 minutes weſt, the wind obliged them to ſteer more to the north-eaſt than they would have choſen, by which they left unexamined a ſpace of 40 degrees of longitude, and 20 degrees of latitude; which, however, was afterwards explored on the return of the Reſolution next year, and likewiſe by captain Furneaux in the Adventure much about this time. The wind increaſed ſo much on January the 15th, that it was very doubtful whether our navigators would return to give an account of their voyage. At nine at night a huge mountainous wave ſtruck the ſhip on the beam and filled the deck with a deluge of water, which poured into the cabin, extinguiſhed the lights, and left the gentlemen there in doubt whether they were not entirely overwhelmed, and ſinking into the abyſs. They paſſed for a third time the Antarctic circle on January 26th, in longitude 109 degrees weſt, when they found the mildeſt ſun-ſhine that had been experienced in the frigid zone. This led them to entertain hopes of penetrating as far towards the ſouth pole as other navigators had done towards the north; but the next day they diſcovered a ſolid ice field before them of immenſe extent, bearing from eaſt to weſt. A bed of fragments floated all round this field, which ſeemed to be raiſed ſeveral feet high above the level of the water. Whilſt in this ſituation, they obſerved the ſouthern part of the horizon illuminated by the rays of light reflected from the ice to an amazing height. Ninety-ſeven ice-iſlands were counted within the field, beſide theſe on the outſide; many of them were large, and looked like a ridge of mountains, riſing one above another till they were loſt in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immenſe field was compoſed of looſe or broken ice cloſe packed together; ſo that it was not poſſible for any thing to enter it. Captain Cook, however, is of opinion, that there muſt be land to the ſouth behind this ice; but adds, "It can afford no better retreat for birds, or any "other animals, than the ice itſelf, with which it muſt be en-"tirely covered. I who was ambitious not only of going far-"ther than any body had gone before, but as far as it was "poſſible for man to go, was not ſorry at meeting with this in-"terruption; as it in ſome meaſure relieved us, and ſhortened

"the

« the dangers and hardſhips inſeparable from the navigation A. D.
« of the ſouthern polar regions. Since then we could not 1774.
« proceed farther to the ſouth, no other reaſon need be aſſigned
« for my tacking and ſtanding back to the north, being at this
« time in the latitude of 71 degrees, 10 minutes ſouth, and
« longitude 106 degrees, 54 minutes weſt."

Captain Cook then went in ſearch of the land, ſaid to have been diſcovered by Juan Fernandez about a century ago, in latitude 38 degrees, and laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in 90 degrees weſt, but no ſuch land was found in this ſituation: if there is any land in the neighbourhood, it can be nothing but a ſmall iſland The captain then proceeded to the Marqueſas iſlands diſcovered by Mendana in 1595, and viſited a ſecond time during this voyage the queen of tropical iſlands, Otaheite; where, having refreſhed, he ſailed for the new Hebrides, which though diſcovered as early as 1606 by that great navigator Quiros, had never been ſufficiently explored. Captain Cook, beſides aſcertaining the extent and ſituation of the iſlands of this Archipelago, which had been barely ſeen by others, added the knowledge of ſeveral before unknown, which intitled him to give the whole the appellation which they now bear. They are ſituated in the direction of north-north weſt and ſouth-ſouth eaſt, between the latitudes of 14 degrees, 29 minutes, and 20 degrees, 4 minutes ſouth, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees, 41 minutes, and 170 degrees, 21 minutes eaſt, extending 125 leagues. Of all theſe iſlands Tierra del Eſpiritu Santo is the moſt weſterly and the largeſt, being twenty-two leagues in length, and twelve in breadth. The lands, eſpecially on the weſt ſide, are exceedingly high and mountainous, generally covered with wood, and the vallies uncommonly luxuriant, watered by ſtreams and chequered with plantations. On the weſt ſide is a large and ſafe bay, the two points which form its entrance lying at the diſtance of ten leagues from each other. The inhabitants are of a ſtout make, dark colour, with woolly hair; though almoſt naked, their perſons are adorned with ſhells and feathers; round their middle they wear a narrow belt, from which is hung a matted belt which covers them behind and before as low as the knees. They had no other arms but ſpears with two or three

A. D. 1774. prongs, which ſeemed rather intended for attacking fiſh than men. The ſecond day after the ſhip arrived on their coaſt they were with much difficulty prevailed on to approach near enough to receive ſome preſents, of which nails were accepted with the greateſt pleaſure. They faſtened a branch of the pepper plant to the rope by which the nails were let down, which was the only return they made for the generoſity of the ſtrangers. Their language bears ſome reſemblance to that of the Friendly Iſlands.

Mallicollo is the moſt conſiderable iſland next to Eſpiritu Santo, being 18 leagues in length, and 8 at its greateſt breadth. It is not only fertile, but appears to have been very anciently inhabited, as the natives called it by nearly the ſame name which Quiros had received 160 years ago. The people here are deſcribed as the moſt ugly and ill-proportioned that can well be imagined, and differing in almoſt every reſpect from the other iſlanders in the South Sea. They are of a dark colour, and diminutive ſize, long heads, monkey faces, their hair black and curly, but not ſo ſoft or woolly as that of a negro. The men go quite naked; and what increaſes their natural deformity is a rope as thick as a man's finger tied round the belly, cutting a deep notch acroſs the body, which ſeems divided into two parts by this tight and unnatural ligature. Moſt other nations invent ſome kind of covering from motives of ſhame, but here a roll of cloth, continually faſtened to the belt, rather diſplays than conceals, and is the oppoſite of modeſty. They are armed with ſpears, bows and arrows; but are of a more pacific diſpoſition than moſt other ſavages, having ventured to the ſhip without much invitation, and received with much complacence the preſents offered them, for which they made a ſuitable return. When they returned on ſhore the ſound of ſinging and beating their drums was heard all night. Mr. Foſter ſuppoſes there may be 50,000 inhabitants on this extenſive iſland, which contains more than 60 ſquare miles, covered for the moſt part with a continued foreſt, of which a few inſulated ſpots only are cleared, which are loſt in the extenſive wild like ſmall iſlands in the Pacific Ocean.

Very

Very few women were ſeen, but thoſe few were no leſs ugly than the men; of a ſmall ſtature, their heads, faces, and ſhoulders painted red. Their food conſiſts principally of vegetables, which they cultivate with much care; hogs and fowls abound, and by means of their canoes they draw a conſiderable ſupply of fiſh from the ocean. When the Reſolution was about to depart, captain Cook ſays, "the natives came off in canoes, "making exchanges with ſtill greater confidence than before, "and giving ſuch extraordinary proofs of their honeſty, as ſur- "priſed us. As the ſhip at firſt had freſh way through the "water, ſeveral of the canoes dropped aſtern after they had "received goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs "in return; inſtead of taking advantage of this, as our friends "at the Society Iſlands would have done, they uſed their utmoſt "efforts to get up with us, and deliver what they had already "been paid for; one man in particular followed us a conſider- "able time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the "thing was forgotten; as ſoon as he came along-ſide he held "up the article, which ſeveral on board were ready to buy, "but he refuſed to part with it till he ſaw the perſon to whom "he had before ſold it; this perſon not knowing the man again, "offered him ſomething in return, which he conſtantly refuſed, "and ſhowing him what had been given before, at length "made him ſenſible of the nice point of honour by which he "was actuated." Beſides excelling all their neighbours in probity, they appeared the moſt intelligent of any nation that had been ſeen in the South Sea. They readily underſtood the meaning conveyed by ſigns and geſtures, and in a few minutes taught the gentlemen of the ſhip ſeveral words in their language, which is wholly diſtinct from that general tongue of which ſo many dialects are ſpoken at the Society Iſlands, the Marqueſas, Friendly Iſles, Eaſter Iſland and New Zealand. They were not only aſſiduous in teaching, but had great curioſity to learn the language of the ſtrangers, which they pronounced with ſuch accuracy, and retained with ſuch force of recollection, as led their inſtructors to admire their extenſive faculties and quick apprehenſion; ſo that what they wanted in perſon or beauty A. D. 1774.

was

A. D. 1774. was amply compenſated to them in acuteneſs of underſtanding, and probity of heart.

Captain Cook continued ſixteen days at another iſland called Tanna, diſtinguiſhed by a furious volcano, which was ſeen burning at a great diſtance at ſea. The ſoil of this iſland is compoſed of decayed vegetables intermixed with the aſhes of the volcano, and the country is in general ſo covered with trees, ſhrubs, and plants, as to choak up the bread-fruit and cocoa nuts. The natives are not numerous, but ſtronger and better proportioned than the Mallicolleſe. Not one ſingle corpulent man was ſeen here; all are active and full of ſpirit. Their features are large, the noſe broad, but the eyes full and generally agreeable. They ſeem to excel in the uſe of arms, yet they are not fond of labour; they never would put a hand to aſſiſt in any work the ſhip's company was carrying on, which the Indians of other iſlands uſed to delight in: here they throw all the laborious drudgery on the women, many of whom were ſeen carrying a child on their backs, and a bundle under their arm, and a fellow ſtrutting before them with only a club or a ſpear. The plantations conſiſt of yams, bunanas, eddoes and ſugar canes, all which being very low, permit the eye to take in a great extent of country. There are plenty of hogs, but very few domeſtic fowls. Rats of the ſame ſpecies common in the other iſlands were ſeen running about in great numbers. They particularly frequent the fields of ſugar canes, where they make deſtructive depredations.

Captain Cook continued ſurveying theſe iſlands during the month of Auguſt, 1774; from which he ſet ſail the 1ſt September, and having ſtood to ſouth-weſt all night, next day no more land was to be ſeen. On the 4th of September, being in the latitude of 19 degrees 14 minutes ſouth, and the longitude of 165 degrees eaſt, land was diſcovered bearing ſouth-ſouth-weſt, for which he continued to ſteer till five in the evening. The ſhip had hardly got to an anchor on the 5th before it was ſurrounded by a great number of canoes, carrying the natives, moſt of whom were unarmed. They were prevailed on to receive ſome preſents, lowered down to them by a rope, in return for which they tied two fiſh that ſtunk intolerably. Theſe

mutual

mutual exchanges brought on a degree of confidence; ſeveral A. D.
came on board, and ſtayed dinner, but could not be perſuaded 1774.
to eat any thing but yams. They were curious in examining every part of the ſhip, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They were fond of ſpike nails, and pieces of coloured cloth, eſpecially red. After dinner the captain went on ſhore with two armed boats, carrying with him one of the natives, who had conceived an attachment for him. They landed on a ſandy beach before a vaſt number of people, who had aſſembled merely from curioſity. The captain made preſents to all thoſe his friend pointed out, who were either old men, or ſuch as ſeemed to be perſons of ſome note: he offered to make preſents to ſome women who ſtood behind the crowd, but his friend reſtrained him from this act of complaiſance. A chief, named Teabooma, then made a ſpeech conſiſting of ſhort ſentences, to each of which two or three old men anſwered by nodding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, ſignificant of approbation. The ſpeech was made on account of the ſtrangers, to whom it ſeemed to be very favourable. The captain having then inquired by ſigns for freſh water, ſome pointed to the eaſt, and others to the weſt. His friend undertook to conduct him to it in the boats; and having rowed about two miles up the coaſt to the eaſt, where the ſhore was moſtly covered with mangrove trees, they entered by a narrow creek, which led to a little ſtraggling village, near which was abundance of freſh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of ſugar cane, plantains, yams, and other roots, and watered by little rills, artfully conducted from the main ſtream which flowed from the hills. Here were ſome cocoa-nut trees, which did not ſeem burdened with fruit: the crowing of cocks was heard, but none of them were ſeen. In proceeding up the creek, Mr. Foſter ſhot a duck, which was the firſt uſe theſe people ſaw of fire-arms. The captain's friend was at much pains to explain to his countrymen how it had been killed. "The day being far ſpent," ſays the captain, "and "the tide not permitting us to ſtay longer in the creek, we took "leave of the people, and got on board a little after ſun-ſet. "From this little excurſion I found we were to expect nothing

"from

A. D. 1774. "from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed. For it was easy to see they had little more than "good nature to bestow. In this they exceeded all the nations "we had yet met; and although it did not satisfy the demands "of nature, it at once pleased, and left our minds at ease."

The captain continued the greatest part of the month in examining this island, to which he gave the name of New Caledonia. It is the largest of all the tropical islands in those parts, and, excepting New Holland and New Zealand, is the largest that has been discovered in the south Pacific Ocean. It extends from 19 degrees, 37 minutes, to 22 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude, and from 163 degrees, 37 minutes, to 167 degrees, 14 minutes east longitude; being twelve degrees distant from New Holland; and the country bearing a strong resemblance to those parts of New South Wales that lie under the same parallel of latitude. The whole coast seems to be surrounded by reefs and shoals which render the access to it very dangerous; but at the same time guard the coasts against the violence of the wind and sea, cause them to abound with fish, and secure an easy and safe navigation for canoes. These Indians are stout, tall, and in general well proportioned; their beards and hair black and strongly frizzled, so as to be almost woolly in some individuals. They are remarkably courteous and friendly; but their appearance is very indecent, every Caledonian being, like the natives of Tanna and Mallicollo, an ambulant statue of the Roman garden-god. Yet there was not a single instance of the women permitting any improper familiarities. They sometimes indeed mixed in the crowd, and amused themselves with encouraging the proposals of the seamen, beckoning them to come along the bushes; but as soon as the sailors followed, they gave them the slip, running away with great agility, and laughing very heartily at their ridiculous disappointment.

Their houses or huts are circular as a bee-hive, and full as close and warm. The entrance is by a square hole, big enough to admit a man bent double; the side-walls four feet and a half high, the roof more lofty, peaked at the top, and supporting a post of wood ornamented with carving or shells. They commonly erect several huts in the neighbourhood of each other, under

under a cluſter of thick fig-trees, whoſe foliage is impervious to the rays of the ſun. The ſhip did not continue long enough on this coaſt for the captain to acquire any certain knowledge concerning the language, government, and religion of the natives. They are governed by chiefs, like the inhabitants of the New Hebrides, and pay a great degree of deference to old age. No circumſtance was obſerved in their behaviour which denoted the ſmalleſt ſuperſtition of any kind. A. D. 1774.

After leaving New Caledonia, the Reſolution, ſteering ſouthward, fell in with an uninhabited iſland the 10th October, 1774, which the captain named Norfolk Iſle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It lies in latitude 29 degrees 2 minutes ſouth, longitude 168 degrees 16 minutes eaſt. It is about three miles long, very ſteep, covered with cypreſs trees, abounding in a red porous lava, which indicates that this iſland had been a volcano. The productions of New Zealand are here combined with thoſe of the New Hebrides and Caledonia, for the cypreſs of the one, as well as the cabbage palm of the other, flouriſh in great perfection; the former yielding timber for the carpenter, and the latter affording a moſt palatable and wholeſome refreſhment. The fiſh caught here, together with the birds and vegetables, enabled the ſhip's company to fare ſumptuouſly every day during their ſtay. Here is likewiſe the valuable flax plant of New Zealand; all which circumſtances, if the iſland were a little larger, would render it an unexceptionable place for an European ſettlement.

The greateſt defect of Norfolk iſland, as well as of all thoſe lately viſited, is the ſcarcity of animal food, with which, however, they might eaſily be ſtored in great abundance. But this circumſtance obliged the captain to ſail again for New Zealand, where he came to an anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound the 19th October, 1774. Here he continued till the 10th of November, when, having already ſatisfied himſelf of the non-exiſtence of an undiſcovered continent in the Pacific Ocean, he proceeded to examine the Magellanic regions, and by exploring the unknown parts of the Atlantic and Indian oceans, to complete the ſurvey of the ſouthern hemiſphere. The firſt object of this cruize was to diſcover an extenſive coaſt laid down by Mr. Dalrymple,

A. D. 1774. between 40 and 53 degrees weſt longitude, and in the latitude of 54 and 58 degrees ſouth, in which he places the bay of St. Sebaſtian. But no ſuch coaſt was to be found; and as captain Furneaux in the Adventure paſſed acroſs that part where the eaſtern and weſtern ſhores are laid down, it appears that no ſuch land exiſts in the ſituation aſſigned to it in the Engliſh or French charts. On January 14th, 1775, land was diſcovered in latitude 53 degrees 56 minutes ſouth, longitude 39 degrees 24 minutes weſt; the mountains appeared of an immenſe height, covered with ſnow and ice to the water's edge. Towards the ſouth ſeveral low lands were ſeen, which appeared to have ſome verdure upon them, and were therefore called the Green Iſlands. This land, which was at firſt ſuppoſed to be part of a great continent, was found at length to be an iſland of 70 leagues in circuit, between the latitudes of 53 degrees 57 minutes and 54 degrees 57 minutes ſouth, and the longitudes of 38 degrees 13 minutes and 35 degrees 34 minutes weſt. It is not eaſy to conceive any thing more diſmal than the face of nature in this iſland. Though it was in the midſt of the ſummer of that climate, the iſland ſeemed in a manner walled round with ice, and muſt have been nearly inacceſſible in any other ſeaſon. Captain Cook landed in a bay on the northern ſide, which he called Poſſeſſion Bay, becauſe here he took poſſeſſion for his majeſty of this dreary manſion of ſterility under the name of Southern Georgia. The head of the bay, as well as two places on each ſide, were terminated by perpendicular cliffs of great height, ſuch as are found in the harbour of Spitzbergen in the northern hemiſphere. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to ſea; and a great fall happened while the ſhip was in the bay, which made a noiſe like cannon. The other parts of the country were not leſs ſavage and horrible. The wild rocks raiſed their lofty ſummits till they were loſt in the clouds, and the vallies lay involved in ſnow, affording no trees nor ſhrubs, nor the leaſt ſigns of vegetation. Captain Cook examined alſo the ſouthern parts of this iſland, which afforded nothing but a ſtrong-bladed graſs growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant of the moſſy kind ſpringing from the rocks. Seals, ſea-lions, and penguins were the only appearances of animated nature in this

this land of deſolation, which the captain left on the 26th of January, intending to ſteer eaſt-ſouth-eaſt until he arrived in 60 degrees latitude, beyond which he meant not to proceed, unleſs he diſcovered certain ſigns of falling in with land. In the proſecution of this deſign he met with nothing but thick fogs and continual iſlands of ice, the unintermitting aſpect of which at length tired even this perſevering adventurer. Many on board were at this time afflicted with ſevere rheumatic pains and colds, and ſome were ſuddenly taken with fainting fits, ſince their unwholeſome, juiceleſs food could not ſupply the waſte of animal ſpirits. When the hope of reaching a milder climate diffuſed a general ſatisfaction another frozen country roſe to their view the 31ſt January. Captain Cook gave the name of Sandwich Land to this diſcovery, which may poſſibly be the northern point of a continent; for he is of opinion, that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the ſource of moſt of the ice that is ſpread over this vaſt ſouthern ocean. He likewiſe thinks that it extends fartheſt to the north, oppoſite the ſouthern Atlantic and Indian oceans, becauſe ice was always found more to the north in thoſe ſeas than in the ſouthern Pacific, which he imagines would not happen unleſs there was land of conſiderable extent to the ſouth. But the danger of exploring theſe unknown regions of winter is ſo great that he concludes, ſeemingly on good grounds, that no man will ever venture farther than he has done. The moſt ſouthern extremity that was ſeen lies in latitude 59 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, longitude 27 degrees 30 minutes weſt. To this he gave the name of Southern Thule, beyond which nothing, perhaps, will ever be diſcovered. It is impoſſible to conceive any proſpect more inexpreſſibly horrid than the appearance of this country; a country doomed by nature never to feel the genial warmth of the ſun's rays, and where all life and vegetation are for ever ſhut up in eternal froſt. This forbidden coaſt admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a harbour being blocked up with ice. Captain Cook having thus fully accompliſhed the deſign of his voyage, proceeded northward, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as above mentioned. A. D. 1774.

A. D. 1774. between 40 and 53 degrees weſt longitude, and in the latitude of 54 and 58 degrees ſouth, in which he places the bay of St. Sebaſtian. But no ſuch coaſt was to be found; and as captain Furneaux in the Adventure paſſed acroſs that part where the eaſtern and weſtern ſhores are laid down, it appears that no ſuch land exiſts in the ſituation aſſigned to it in the Engliſh or French charts. On January 14th, 1775, land was diſcovered in latitude 53 degrees 56 minutes ſouth, longitude 39 degrees 24 minutes weſt; the mountains appeared of an immenſe height, covered with ſnow and ice to the water's edge. Towards the ſouth ſeveral low lands were ſeen, which appeared to have ſome verdure upon them, and were therefore called the Green Iſlands. This land, which was at firſt ſuppoſed to be part of a great continent, was found at length to be an iſland of 70 leagues in circuit, between the latitudes of 53 degrees 57 minutes and 54 degrees 57 minutes ſouth, and the longitudes of 38 degrees 13 minutes and 35 degrees 34 minutes weſt. It is not eaſy to conceive any thing more diſmal than the face of nature in this iſland. Though it was in the midſt of the ſummer of that climate, the iſland ſeemed in a manner walled round with ice, and muſt have been nearly inacceſſible in any other ſeaſon. Captain Cook landed in a bay on the northern ſide, which he called Poſſeſſion Bay, becauſe here he took poſſeſſion for his majeſty of this dreary manſion of ſterility under the name of Southern Georgia. The head of the bay, as well as two places on each ſide, were terminated by perpendicular cliffs of great height, ſuch as are found in the harbour of Spitzbergen in the northern hemiſphere. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to ſea; and a great fall happened while the ſhip was in the bay, which made a noiſe like cannon. The other parts of the country were not leſs ſavage and horrible. The wild rocks raiſed their lofty ſummits till they were loſt in the clouds, and the vallies lay involved in ſnow, affording no trees nor ſhrubs, nor the leaſt ſigns of vegetation. Captain Cook examined alſo the ſouthern parts of this iſland, which afforded nothing but a ſtrong-bladed graſs growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant of the moſſy kind ſpringing from the rocks. Seals, ſea-lions, and penguins were the only appearances of animated nature in this

this land of deſolation, which the captain left on the 26th of January, intending to ſteer eaſt-ſouth-eaſt until he arrived in 60 degrees latitude, beyond which he meant not to proceed, unleſs he diſcovered certain ſigns of falling in with land. In the proſecution of this deſign he met with nothing but thick fogs and continual iſlands of ice, the unintermitting aſpect of which at length tired even this perſevering adventurer. Many on board were at this time afflicted with ſevere rheumatic pains and colds, and ſome were ſuddenly taken with fainting fits, ſince their unwholeſome, juiceleſs food could not ſupply the waſte of animal ſpirits. When the hope of reaching a milder climate diffuſed a general ſatisfaction another frozen country roſe to their view the 31ſt January. Captain Cook gave the name of Sandwich Land to this diſcovery, which may poſſibly be the northern point of a continent; for he is of opinion, that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the ſource of moſt of the ice that is ſpread over this vaſt ſouthern ocean. He likewiſe thinks that it extends fartheſt to the north, oppoſite the ſouthern Atlantic and Indian oceans, becauſe ice was always found more to the north in thoſe ſeas than in the ſouthern Pacific, which he imagines would not happen unleſs there was land of conſiderable extent to the ſouth. But the danger of exploring theſe unknown regions of winter is ſo great that he concludes, ſeemingly on good grounds, that no man will ever venture farther than he has done. The moſt ſouthern extremity that was ſeen lies in latitude 59 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, longitude 27 degrees 30 minutes weſt. To this he gave the name of Southern Thule, beyond which nothing, perhaps, will ever be diſcovered. It is impoſſible to conceive any proſpect more inexpreſſibly horrid than the appearance of this country; a country doomed by nature never to feel the genial warmth of the ſun's rays, and where all life and vegetation are for ever ſhut up in eternal froſt. This forbidden coaſt admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a harbour being blocked up with ice. Captain Cook having thus fully accompliſhed the deſign of his voyage, proceeded northward, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as above mentioned. A. D. 1774.

A. D. 1774. Before we conclude the hiſtory of this voyage, it muſt not be omitted that captain Cook, when he returned to Otaheite, April 1774, had an opportunity of examining with more accuracy than had been hitherto done, the naval force of this iſland. Having gone by appointment to the diſtrict called Opparee, to pay a viſit to Otoo the king, he obſerved a number of large canoes in motion; all of which, to the number of three hundred and thirty, drew up in regular order, completely manned and equipped. The veſſels were decorated with flags and ſtreamers, ſo that the whole made a more ſplendid appearance than could have been expected in thoſe ſeas. Their inſtruments of war were clubs, ſpears, and ſtones; the canoes were ranged cloſe along-ſide of each other with their heads aſhore, and the ſtem to the ſea; the admiral's veſſel being nearly in the centre. Beſides the veſſels of war, there were an hundred and ſeventy ſail of ſmaller double canoes, all with a little houſe upon them, and rigged with maſt and ſail, which the war canoes had not. The former muſt have been intended for tranſports and victuallers, for in the war canoes there was no ſort of proviſions whatever. In all the three hundred and thirty veſſels the captain gueſſed there might be ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty men, a number which, he ſays, appears incredible, eſpecially as he was told the whole belonged to two diſtricts, the iſland being divided into more than forty. In this computation, however, he allowed but forty men, troops and rowers, to each of the larger canoes, and eight to each of the ſmaller; an eſtimate which all his officers agreed rather to fall ſhort of, than to exceed the truth. The fleet was going out to attack the inhabitants of Eimeo, who had ventured to provoke the Otaheiteans to a naval engagement. The captain was obliged to depart before he ſaw the concluſion of this affair; but the marine ſtrength which he witneſſed led him to important reflections concerning the populouſneſs of Otaheite. "It had been obſerved," he ſays, "that the number of war canoes belonging to the diſtricts of "Attahourou and Ahopata was an hundred and ſixty; to Tet-"taha forty, and to Matavai ten; and that this diſtrict did "not equip one fourth part of that number. If we ſuppoſe "every diſtrict in the iſland, of which there are forty-three, to

"raiſe

" raiſe and equip the ſame number of war canoes as Tettaha, we A. D.
" ſhall find, by this eſtimate, that the whole iſland can raiſe and 1774.
" equip 1720 war canoes, and 68,000 able ſeamen; allowing
" forty men to each canoe. And, as theſe cannot amount to
" above one third part of the number of both ſexes, children
" included, the whole iſland cannot contain leſs than 204,000
" inhabitants; a number which at firſt ſight exceeded my be-
" lief. But, when I came to reflect on the vaſt ſwarms which
" appeared wherever we came, I was convinced that this eſtimate
" was not much, if at all, too great. There cannot be a greater
" proof of the richneſs and fertility of Otaheite, (not forty
" leagues in circuit), than its ſupporting ſuch a number of in-
" habitants." We now return from deſcribing the diſcoveries of this enterprizing and judicious commander, to relate the ſequel of our domeſtic misfortunes.

It has been already obſerved, that although the miniſtry had given way to the refractory ſpirit of the colonies in many other inſtances, yet the odious and ill-judged tax on tea imported into America was ſtill ſupported by the force of an act of parliament. This regulation, which had been much objected to at home, was univerſally obnoxious on the other ſide of the Atlantic. The Americans foreſaw, that if the tea was once landed, and in the hands of conſignees appointed by the Eaſt India Company, which had lately fallen under the direction of government, it would be impoſſible to prevent its ſale and conſumption: and they therefore conſidered the duty on this commodity as a meaſure calculated to deceive them into a general compliance with the revenue laws, and thereby to open a door to unlimited taxation. Beſides, all the dealers both legal and clandeſtine, who, as tea is an article of ſuch general conſumption in America, were extremely powerful, ſaw their trade at once taken out of their hands. Views of private intereſt thus conſpiring with motives of public zeal, the ſpirit of oppoſition univerſally diffuſed itſelf throughout the colonies, who determined to prevent the landing of the tea by every means in their power.

Meanwhile the tea ſhips had ſailed from England, October, 1773, with the following deſtinations: For Boſton, New York, and Philadelphia, three ſhips, each loaded with 600 cheſts of tea;

A. D. 1774. tea; for Charleſtown and Rhode-Iſland, two ſhips, loaded with 200 cheſts each; the whole amounting to 2200 cheſts. As the time of this arrival approached, the people aſſembled in different places in great bodies in order to concert meaſures for preventing this dangerous importation. The conſignees appointed for vending the tea by the Eaſt India Company, were compelled, in moſt places, at the riſk of their lives and properties, to relinquiſh their employments. Committees were appointed by the people to propoſe teſts, and to puniſh thoſe who refuſed ſubſcribing whatever was propoſed, as enemies to their country. In the tumultuary aſſemblies held on theſe occaſions innumerable reſolutions were paſſed derogatory to the legiſlative power of Great Britain. Inflammatory hand-bills and other ſeditious papers were publiſhed at New York, Charleſtown, and Philadelphia; but Boſton, which had ſo long taken the lead in rebellion, was the ſcene of the firſt outrage. The ſhips laden with tea having arrived in that port, were boarded (18th December, 1773) by a number of armed men, under the diſguiſe of Mohawk Indians, who in a few hours diſcharged the valuable cargoes into the ſea. Charleſtown in South Carolina followed this pernicious example. At New York alone the tea was landed under the cannon of a man of war.

When the American diſpatches arrived, March 7, 1774, and brought advice of the outrages committed againſt the tea-ſhips at Boſton, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes, in which they are informed, that in conſequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent proceedings at the town and port of Boſton, with a view of obſtructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately ſubverſive of its conſtitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament; that they may enable his majeſty to take ſuch meaſures as may be moſt likely to put an immediate ſtop to thoſe diſorders, and conſider what farther regulations may be neceſſary for ſecuring the execution of the laws, and the juſt dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The miniſter who delivered this meſſage allowed, that the deſtruction of the tea at Boſton might have been prevented by calling in the aſſiſtance of the

the naval force which lay in the harbour; but as the leading A. D.
men in that city had always made great complaints of the inter- 1774.
poſition of the army and navy, and charged all diſturbances of every ſort to their account, this aſſiſtance had with great prudence been declined; the Boſtonians were left to the free exerciſe of their own judgment, and the reſult had given the lie to all their former profeſſions.

The meſſage and declaration ſeemed to be at variance with each other. In the former his majeſty deſires the parliament to impower him to ſtop the courſe of diſorders, which the miniſter allows might have been prevented by the exertion of that force with which he was already intruſted. But it ſeems that government had not as yet been ſufficiently perſuaded of the evil intentions of the inhabitants of Boſton, and wiſhed to give them a farther opportunity of diſplaying the moſt extenſive depravity of their political characters. This being now evident to every unprejudiced mind, the miniſter opened his plan for the reſtoration of peace, order, juſtice, and commerce in the Maſſachuſet's Bay. He ſtated that the oppoſition to the authority of parliament had always originated in that colony, which had been inſtigated to a rebellious conduct by the irregular and ſeditious proceedings of the town of Boſton. That therefore, for the purpoſe of a thorough reformation, it became neceſſary to begin with that town, which by a late unparalleled outrage had led the way to the deſtruction of commerce in all parts of America. That, had ſuch an inſult been offered to Britiſh property in a foreign port, the nation would have been intitled to demand ſatisfaction. He propoſed, therefore, that the town of Boſton ſhould be obliged to pay for the tea which had been deſtroyed, and to give ſecurity in future that trade may be ſafely carried on, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid. For this purpoſe, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary to take away from Boſton the privilege of a port until his majeſty ſhould be ſatisfied in theſe particulars. Upon theſe arguments leave was given to bring in a bill (March 14th) "for the immediate removal of the officers "concerned in collecting the cuſtoms from the town of Boſton "in the province of the Maſſachuſet's Bay in North America, "and to diſcontinue the landing and diſcharging, lading and

"ſhipping

A.D. 1774. "ſhipping of goods, wares, and merchandiſe at the ſaid town "of Boſton, or within the harbour thereof." This bill paſſed in the houſe of commons the 25th of March; and, after being carried up to the lords, received the royal aſſent the 31ſt of March.

This law forms the æra at which has been dated the deciſive reſolution of parliament to proceed to extremities with the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay. Beſides the ſhips of war already in America, the Preſton, admiral Graves, with the Royal Oak, Worceſter, and Egmont, were ordered to repair with all convenient ſpeed to Boſton. But at the ſame time that theſe reſolutions were taken, general Gage was appointed governor of the obnoxious colony, a gentleman who had long reſided there, and was well acquainted with the inhabitants, with whom he had formed the moſt intimate connections. This to many afforded a proof that the miniſtry had fallen back into their former irreſolution; and the Boſtonians threatened on the one hand with an act which deprived them of their ordinary means of ſubſiſtence, and ſoothed on the other by the appointment of a governor moſt agreeable to their wiſhes, maintained their wonted ſpirit, and continued to defy the equivocal, temporizing timidity of the mother country. They ventured to hold a town-meeting, at which they reſolved to invite the other colonies to ſtop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and the Weſt Indies, until the Boſton port bill ſhould be repealed. They artfully connected the ſafety of the liberties of North America with the puniſhment of one rebellious city, and, expatiating on the injuſtice and cruelty of the odious bill, appealed from it to God and the world. The governor arrived the middle of May, and was received at Boſton with the uſual honours. He laid nothing before the provincial aſſembly but what the ordinary buſineſs required; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem on the firſt of June, in purſuance of the late act of parliament.

Meanwhile the Boſton port bill, as well as the reſolutions taken at the town-meeting, were diſpatched to every part of the continent. Theſe, like the Fury's torch, ſet the countries every where in a flame through which they paſſed. At New York the populace

populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper, A. D.
which they cried about the ſtreets under the title of a barbarous, 1774.
cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. The houſe of burgeſſes in Virginia appointed the firſt of June, the day on which the Boſton bill was to have effect, to be ſet apart for faſting, prayer, and humiliation; an example which was followed by almoſt every province of North America. Even the inhabitants of Salem who derived evident advantage from the degradation of a neighbouring town, declared that they muſt be dead to every idea of juſtice, and loſt to all the feelings of humanity, if they could indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe their fortunes on the ruins of their ſuffering neighbours.

Thus the Boſton port bill, unaſſiſted by theſe active exertions of the military or naval power of Great Britain which might have rendered it an object of terror, raiſed a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cauſe. They all agreed in determining not to ſubmit to the payment of any internal taxes that were not impoſed by their own aſſemblies, and to ſuſpend all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and thoſe in Maſſachuſet's Bay in particular, were fully redreſſed. Nor were they leſs unanimous in entering into a general agreement, which was formed at Boſton under the name of a ſolemn league and covenant for mutually ſupporting each other, and maintaining what they deemed the rights of freemen, inviolate. They ſoon after appointed deputies from each province to attend a General Congreſs, which ſhould contain the united voice and wiſdom of America, and which they agreed ſhould be held at Philadelphia the 5th of September, 1774. Among the firſt acts of this aſſembly was a declaration in which they acknowledge their dependence, but inſiſt on their privileges. They chearfully conſent to the operation of ſuch acts of the Britiſh legiſlature as are confined to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country: but they inſiſt, that the foundation of the Engliſh conſtitution and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council, and as the colonies are not, and from

A. D. various cauſes cannot be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament,
1774. they are intitled to a free and excluſive legiſlation in their ſeveral provincial aſſemblies, in all caſes of taxation and internal policy. They recommend to the ſeveral provinces the continuance of the meaſures which they had already adopted, for eſtabliſhing a powerful national militia, and for raiſing money to pay thoſe brave troops who would at every hazard defend the privileges of America.

The General Congreſs gave a conſiſtence to the deſigns of twelve colonies differing in religion, manners and forms of government, and infected with all the local prejudices and averſions incident to neighbouring ſtates. The ſtrength which all derived from this formidable union might have been ſufficient to alarm Great Britain; but the miniſtry, inſtead of fleets and armies, continued ſtill to fight the Americans with acts of parliament. For this purpoſe the firſt lord of the treaſury moved,
1775. 10th February, 1775, for leave to bring in a bill to reſtore the trade and commerce of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay and New Hampſhire, as well as of the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland; and to prohibit theſe provinces from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places therein mentioned. Upon the third reading of this bill a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, ſhould be included in the ſame reſtrictions with the New England provinces. This amendment, however, was over-ruled; although it could hardly be denied that theſe provinces had rendered themſelves equally culpable with thoſe of New England. Nearly about the ſame time, parliament voted an augmentation of 4383 ſoldiers, and 2000 ſeamen; and it was intended that the troops at Boſton ſhould amount to full ten thouſand, a number deemed more than ſufficient for quelling the preſent diſturbance. While the nation ſeemed in general heartily to concur in thoſe vigorous meaſures, they were not a little aſtoniſhed at the famous conciliatory motion made by lord North, containing the following reſolution: "That when the governor, council "and aſſembly of any colony ſhould be willing to contribute "their proportion to the common defence, and for the ſupport

"of

" of the civil government, ſuch proportion to be raiſed under A. D.
" the authority of the aſſembly of that province, it will be pro- 1775.
" per to forbear impoſing or levying any tax, duty or aſſeſſment
" from the ſaid province, excepting only ſuch duties as it may
" be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce."
This propoſition was conſidered by many of thoſe who ſupport-
ed the general meaſures of government, as a dereliction of thoſe
rights which they had hitherto contended to be eſſential to the
Britiſh legiſlature; while the oppoſition aſſerted, that it would
be received with the ſame indignation by the Americans, as
every other meaſure intended to diſunite their intereſts.

This law which occaſioned great diſcontents in England, met
not with the ſmalleſt regard in America. While the parlia-
ment were employed in enacting it, the ill humour that pre-
vailed among the troops and inhabitants at Boſton, broke out
into action. It is ſtill undecided which party commenced ho-
ſtilities; but the ſkirmiſhes at Lexington and Concord, proved
the bravery of the Provincials far ſuperior to the ideas general-
ly entertained of it. The blood ſhed on theſe occaſions excited
the greateſt indignation in the other colonies, and they prepar-
ed for war with as much eagerneſs and diſpatch, as if an enemy
had already appeared in their own territories. In ſome places
the magazines were ſeized, in others the treaſury, and without
waiting for any account or advice, a ſtop was almoſt every
where put at the ſame time to the exportation of proviſions
The governor and forces at Boſton, as well as the inhabitants,
continued cloſely blocked up by land; while they were exclud-
ed from all ſupplies of freſh proviſions, which the neighbouring
countries could have afforded them by ſea. As the military
ſtores began to be exhauſted without the poſſibility of receiving
any ſpeedy ſupply, the governor thought proper to enter into a
capitulation with the Boſtonians, by which, upon condition of
delivering up their arms, they were allowed to depart with all
their other effects. Though all the poor and helpleſs were ſent
out, and many others obtained paſſports both then, and at
different times afterwards, yet the greater part of the inhabi-
tants were upon different grounds obliged to remain in the city,
which breach of faith, as the Americans termed it on the part

A. D. 1775. of general Gage, is described with great indignation in all their subsequent publications.

The Continental Congress, met at Philadelphia May 10th, 1775, and adopted such measures as confirmed the people in their warlike resolutions. They provided for the array and support of an army, named generals, established a paper currency, for the realizing the value of which the "Twelve United Colonies" became securities; soon after Georgia acceded to the Congress, from which time they were distinguished by the name of the "Thirteen United Colonies." It was said, that in the whole extent of North America, from Nova Scotia to Florida, near 200,000 men were training to arms under the auspices of the Congress. This assembly took measures not only for defending themselves, but for distressing their enemies. They strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provision; and to render this order effectual, stopt all exportation to those colonies and islands which still retained their obedience. This prohibition occasioned no small distress to the people at Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch, that, to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station, to carry out cargoes of provisions from Ireland.

In the mean time, several private persons, belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachuset's, and New York, without any public command, or participation that has hitherto been discovered, undertook an expedition of the utmost importance, and which threatened to deprive Great Britain of every single possession which she held in North America. This was the surprize of Ticonderago, Crown-Point and other fortresses, situated upon the lakes, and commanding the passes between the ancient English colonies and Canada. These adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, seized Ticonderago and Crown-Point, in which they found above 200 pieces of cannon, besides mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of various stores; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderago for the equipping of others.

Although the troops at Boston were greatly reinforced by the arrival of the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, a considerable

considerable body of marines, and several regiments from Ire- A. D.
land, they continued patiently to submit to all the inconvenien- 1775.
cies of a blockade; nor did they receive any considerable assistance from the great number of ships of war which almost surrounded the peninsula. The Congress published a resolution, June 8th, importing the compact between the crown and the people of Massachuset's Bay, to be dissolved. This was followed by a proclamation of general Gage, (June 12th), by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and punishment denounced against those who obstinately persisted in disobedience. They were to be treated as rebels and traitors; and as the regular course of justice was stopped, martial law was to take place until the rules of civil equity were restored to their due efficacy.

The Provincials considering this proclamation as an immediate prelude to hostility, determined to be before hand with their enemies. Having made the necessary preparations for seizing the port of Charlestown, they sent a number of men with the greatest privacy in the night, to throw up works upon Bunker's Hill. This was effected with such extraordinary order and silence, and such incredible dispatch, that none of the ships of war which covered the shore, heard the noise of the workmen, who by the morning had made a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof. The sight of these works was the first thing that alarmed the Lively man of war, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a sight, which seemed little less than a prodigy. A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from this time carried on against the works, from the ship, and floating batteries, as well as from the top of Cop's Hill in Boston. About noon, general Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. These troops, consisting of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper train of artillery, were landed and drawn up

without

A. D. 1775. without oppoſition, under the fire of the ſhips of war. The two generals found the enemy ſo numerous, and in ſuch a poſture of defence, that they thought it neceſſary to ſend back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by two companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the firſt battalion of marines, amounting in the whole to ſomething more than 2000 men.

The attack began by a moſt ſevere fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced ſlowly towards the enemy, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the Provincials into confuſion. Theſe, however, ſuſtained the aſſault with a firmneſs that would have done honour to regular troops, and detached a body of men to Charleſtown which covered their right flank. General Pigot, who commanded the right wing was thus obliged to engage at the ſame time with the lines and with thoſe in the houſes. During this conflict, Charleſtown was ſet on fire; whether by the troops, or by carcaſſes thrown from the ſhips, is uncertain, but that large and beautiful town, which, being the firſt ſettlement in the colony, was conſidered as the mother of Boſton, was in one day burnt to the ground. The Provincials did not return a ſhot until the king's forces had approached almoſt to the works, where a moſt dreadful fire took place, by which above a thouſand of our braveſt men and officers fell. In this action, one of the hotteſt ever known, (conſidering the number engaged), our troops were thrown into ſome diſorder; but in this critical moment general Clinton, who arrived from Boſton during the engagement, rallied them by a happy manœuvre, and brought them inſtantaneouſly to the charge. They attacked the works with fixed bayonets and irreſiſtible bravery, and carried them in every quarter. The Provincials fought deſperately, but being, as they affirm, deſtitute of bayonets, and their powder expended, they were obliged to retreat over Charleſtown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glaſgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The king's troops took five pieces of cannon, but no priſoners except 30, who were ſo ſeverely wounded that they could not eſcape.

The

The poſſeſſion of part of the peninſula of Charleſtown, and of Bunker's Hill, which was immediately fortified, enlarged the quarters of the troops, who had been much incommoded by the ſtreightneſs in which they were confined in Boſton; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Beſides, the Provincials loſt no time in throwing up works upon another hill oppoſite to Bunker's, on the ſide of Charleſtown neck which was ſtill in their poſſeſſion. The troops were thus as cloſely inveſted in this peninſula as they had been in Boſton. Their ſituation was irkſome and degrading, being ſurrounded and inſulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to deſpiſe, and cut off from all thoſe refreſhments of which they ſtood in the greateſt need. A. D. 1775.

The reſentment occaſioned by their ſufferings probably engaged them to continue a great cannonade upon the works of the Provincials, which could have little other effect than to inure them to that ſort of ſervice in which they were employed. A regiment of light cavalry which arrived from Ireland, increaſed the wants of the garriſon, without being of the ſmalleſt uſe, as the cavalry were never able to ſet foot without the fortifications. The hay which grew upon the iſlands in the bay, as well as the ſheep and cattle which they contained, became an object of great attention to the king's troops; but the Provincials having prepared a number of whaling boats, and being maſters of the ſhore and inlets of the bay, were, notwithſtanding the number of the ſhips of war and armed veſſels, too ſucceſsful in burning, deſtroying, and carrying away thoſe eſſential articles of ſupply. Theſe enterprizes brought on ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and the enemy grew at length ſo daring that they burnt the light-houſe ſituated on an iſland at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and ſome carpenters being afterwards ſent, under the protection of a ſmall party of marines, to erect a temporary light-houſe, they killed or carried off the whole detachment. From this time a ſort of predatory war commenced between the king's ſhips and the inhabitants on different parts of the coaſt. The former, being refuſed the ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries which they wanted for themſelves

A. D. 1775. themſelves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in theſe attempts were frequently oppoſed, and ſometimes repulſed with loſs by the country people. The ſeizing of ſhips, in conformity to the new laws for reſtraining the commerce of the New England provinces, was alſo a continual ſource of animoſity and violence, the proprietors hazarding all dangers in defending or recovering their veſſels. Theſe conteſts drew the vengeance of the men of war upon ſeveral of the ſmall towns upon the ſea-coaſts, ſome of which underwent a ſevere chaſtiſement.

The parliament, which met in October, 1775, ſeemed more firmly determined than on any former occaſion, to purſue what were called vigorous meaſures by the majority, and which the oppoſition diſtinguiſhed by the epithets of cruel, bloody, and unjuſt. The American petitions addreſſed to the crown were rejected with contempt or indignation; and it was determined to carry on the war with a ſpirit that ſhould aſtoniſh all Europe, and to employ ſuch fleets and armies in the enſuing year as had never before entered the new world. A motion was made from the admiralty, in the committee of ſupply, that 28,000 ſeamen, including 6665 marines, ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the year 1776. This was accompanied with a general outline of the ſervices to which the navy ſhould be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North American ſtation ſhould amount to 78 ſail. This would, doubtleſs, employ the greateſt part of the ſeamen propoſed; and happily the affairs of Europe did not require any conſiderable exertion of our naval ſtrength. The profeſſions of the neighbouring courts were pacific and friendly; and what was of more weight than profeſſions, their preparations were nowiſe alarming. At any rate our guardſhips were ſo numerous and ſo well appointed, that they might on the ſhorteſt notice be rendered ſuperior to any force that our rivals could aſſemble. The motion for the augmentation was paſſed; though not without ſevere animadverſion from the moſt diſtinguiſhed of our naval commanders, who arraigned in the plaineſt terms the preſent government and conduct of our naval affairs, and inſiſted that the eſtabliſhment now propoſed, though too great

great for peace, was by no means adequate to the demands of a war. A. D. 1775.

On the day following, (8th November), the miniſter of the war department, having laid the eſtimates for the land ſervice before the committee of ſupply, ſhewed that our whole military force would amount to 55,000 men, of which upwards of 25,000 would be employed in America. On this occaſion alſo many gentlemen affirmed, that the propoſed force was totally unequal to the purpoſe of conquering America by force of arms, the meaſure upon which the miniſtry ſeemed now abſolutely determined. This was ſupported by the opinion of a great general officer who had been long in adminiſtration; the other military gentlemen were called upon to declare their diſſent if they thought otherwiſe, but they all continued ſilent.

A few days afterwards, the firſt lord of the treaſury brought in the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourſe with the Thirteen United Colonies. All property of Americans, whether of ſhips or goods, on the high ſeas or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majeſty's ſhips of war; and ſeveral clauſes were inſerted in the bill to facilitate and leſſen the expence of the condemning of prizes, and the recovery of prize-money. But, in order to ſoften theſe harſh meaſures, the bill enabled the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who, beſides the power of granting pardons to individuals, were authoriſed to inquire into general grievances, and empowered to determine whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that ſtate of obedience which intitled them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which caſe the reſtrictions of the preſent bill were to ceaſe in their favour.

After all the boaſted preparations for hoſtility, the ſeeming contradiction in this bill was thought by many to ſupport the conſiſtent character of adminiſtration. It was ſtill the ſame alternative of war and peace; peace offered by Great Britain who had received the injury, and not by her enemies, on whom ſhe pretended to be ready to wreak the whole weight of her vengeance. This mixed ſyſtem of war and conciliation was repreſented as highly improper at the preſent juncture. The meaſure

A.D. 1775. adopted, whether of peace or war, ſhould be clear, ſimple and decided, not involved in doubt, perplexity and darkneſs. If war is reſolved, and it is determined to compel America to ſubmiſſion, let the means of coercion be ſuch as will, to a moral certainty, inſure ſucceſs. Our fleets and armies muſt command terms, which will in vain be ſolicited by our commiſſioners.

While theſe preparations and debates occupied the Britiſh ſenate, the deſigns of the Americans gradually became more daring. Their ſucceſsful expedition to the lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderago and Crown Point, had opened the gates of Canada; and the Congreſs came to the bold reſolution of ſending a force to invade and conquer that loyal colony. The generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, a body of New-England men, amounting in the whole to three thouſand, were appointed to this ſervice. A number of batteaux, or flat-boats, were built at Ticonderago and Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada. Having proceeded to the iſle Aux Noix, they propoſed to attack the fort St. John's, in which they were retarded by a want of ammunition ſufficient for carrying on the ſiege. Their commander Montgomery, who was well qualified for any military ſervice, turned his thoughts to the reduction of the little Fort Chamblée, which lies farther up the country, and was in a very defenſible condition. Here he found conſiderable ſtores, and 120 barrels of powder, which enabled him to puſh with vigour the ſiege of St. John's. General Carleton, the governor of the province, then at Montreal, was equally indefatigable in his endeavours to raiſe a force ſufficient for its relief. With the utmoſt difficulty he had got together about a thouſand men, compoſed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars and ſome Engliſh officers and volunteers. With theſe he intended a junction with colonel M'Lean, who had raiſed a regiment under the name of Royal Highland Emigrants, conſiſting of the native mountaineers of Scotland, who had lately arrived in America, and who, in conſequence of the troubles, had not obtained ſettlements. But the deſigns of general Carleton were defeated by

by a party of Provincials, who encountered him at Longueil, and eaſily repulſed the Canadians. Another party puſhed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians, by whom he was attended, hearing of the general's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was compelled, at the head of his few Scots emigrants, to take refuge in Quebec. Meanwhile Montgomery obtained poſſeſſion of St. John's, 3d November, 1775, where he found a conſiderable quantity of artillery, and many uſeful ſtores; the garriſon, commanded by major Preſton, ſurrendered priſoners of war, and were ſent up the lakes to thoſe interior parts of the colonies, which were beſt adapted to provide for their reception and ſecurity. A. D. 1775.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that neceſſity immediately erected batteries near the junction of the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to prevent the eſcape of the armed veſſels, which general Carleton had at Montreal, to the defence of Quebec. Montgomery meanwhile laid ſiege to Montreal, of which he got poſſeſſion the 13th November; and Carleton's armament being purſued, attacked and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials, he himſelf narrowly eſcaped in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, and after many dangers arrived at Quebec. His naval force, conſiſting of eleven armed veſſels, fell into the hands of the Provincials.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a ſtate of great weakneſs, as well as internal diſcontent and diſorder. Beſides this, colonel Arnold appeared unexpectedly with a body of New-Englanders at Point Levi, oppoſite to the town. The river fortunately ſeparated them from the place, otherwiſe it ſeems probable that they might have become maſters of it in the firſt ſurprize and confuſion. Several days elapſed before they effected a paſſage in boats furniſhed them by the Canadians, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Engliſh frigates in the river. The inhabitants of Quebec, however, had by this time leiſure to unite for defending their city. When Montgomery, therefore, who with the utmoſt expedition had puſhed forward to join Arnold, attempted on the 31ſt of December to carry the place by eſcalade, he met with the moſt vigorous and unexpected re-

A. D. 1775. sistance. He himself was slain, Arnold wounded, and a considerable body of the Provincials taken prisoners of war. The remainder did not again venture on any similar attack, but were satisfied with converting the siege into a blockade, and found means effectually to prevent any supplies of provisions or necessaries from being carried into Quebec.

While the Provincials obtained these important advantages in Canada, the Virginians obliged their governor, lord Dunmore, to provide for his safety by embarking on board the Fowey man of war. All connection between Great Britain and that colony was dissolved July 18th. The governor in vain emancipated the slaves, a measure which he had so often threatened, that its execution was rendered ineffectual. He determined, however, to do every thing in his power to regain possession of some part of the country which he had governed. Being joined by such persons as were obnoxious on account of their loyalty, and supported by the frigates on the station, he endeavoured to establish such a marine force as might enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the most valuable parts of Virginia accessible by water, to be always at hand, and to profit by every favourable occasion that offered. But his spirited endeavours to redeem the colony were attended only with disappointment; and his armament, too feeble for any essential service, was distinguished barely by acts of depredation. The unfortunate town of Norfolk, having refused to supply his majesty's ships with provisions, was attacked by a violent cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, three sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship the Dunmore; and the first of January was signalized with burning it to the ground. In South Carolina lord William Campbell, the governor, after less vigorous exertions, was obliged to retire from Charlestown, on board a ship of war in the river; and governor Martin of North Carolina saved himself by the same expedient. The fleet of England served as a peaceable asylum to the expelled magistrates of revolting provinces, while its army was ingloriously cooped up in Quebec and Boston.

The Provincials were not less active in the cabinet than in the field. November 13, 1775, the inhabitants of Massachuset's Bay

Bay publiſhed letters of marque and repriſal, and eſtabliſhed A. D.
courts of admiralty for trying and condemning Britiſh ſhips. 1775.
The General Congreſs, (December the 6th), having previouſly agreed on articles of confederation and perpetual union, anſwered with much acrimony the royal proclamation of Auguſt 23d for ſuppreſſing rebellion and ſedition, and declared, that whatever puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon any perſons in the power of their enemies, for defending the cauſe of America, the ſame ſhould be retaliated on the Britiſh ſubjects who fell into their hands.

In this ſtate of obſtinacy or firmneſs on the ſide of the Americans, the diſtreſſed army at Boſton looked with impatience towards theſe kingdoms for the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The delays and misfortunes which the tranſports experienced in their voyage, and the ſight of many veſſels laden with the neceſſaries and comforts of life taken in the harbour, heightened the mortification and ſufferings of thoſe brave troops, who were kept, by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the ſtrength of the enemy, in a total inaction during the whole winter. The American cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better than whale-boats, grew daily more numerous and ſucceſsful againſt the victuallers and ſtore-ſhips; and, among a multitude of other prizes, took an ordnance-ſhip from Woolwich, containing a large mortar upon a new conſtruction, ſeveral pieces of fine braſs cannon, a great number of ſmall arms, with abundance of ammunition and all manner of tools, utenſils, and machines neceſſary for camps and ſieges. This important prize, which gave a new colour to the military operations of the Provincials, was taken by a ſmall privateer, which excited juſt indignation againſt the management of our naval affairs, for hazarding a cargo of ſuch value in a defenceleſs veſſel.

When news of the prohibiting act reached the Congreſs, they ſent orders to general Waſhington to bring affairs at Boſton to as ſpeedy a deciſion as poſſible, in order to diſengage his army, and to give them an opportunity to oppoſe the new dangers with which they were threatened. Waſhington, therefore, opened a new battery, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the night of the

2d

A. D. 1776. 2d of March, from whence a ſevere cannonade and bombardment was carried on againſt the town. This attack was continued till the 5th, when the army, to their incredible ſurprize, beheld ſome conſiderable works upon the heights of Dorcheſter-point, from which a 24 pound and a bomb battery were ſoon after opened. The ſituation of the king's troops was now extremely critical, it being neceſſary either to abandon the town which began to blaze on every ſide, or to diſlodge the enemy and deſtroy the new works. The latter, however, general Howe, who had ſucceeded general Gage in the command, judged to be impracticable, ſo that nothing remained but to abandon Boſton, and to convey the troops, artillery, and ſtores on board the ſhips. The embarkation rather reſembled the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp; 1500 of the inhabitants, whoſe attachment to the royal cauſe had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, encumbered the tranſports with their families and effects. This inconvenience, joined to ſcarcity of proviſions and ill ſucceſs, bred much diſcontent. The troops conſidered themſelves as abandoned, having received no advices from England ſince the preceding October. Mutual jealouſies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, part of this uneaſineſs which itſelf felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully ſo at this tempeſtuous equinoctial ſeaſon, and the multitude of ſhips, which amounted to 150 ſail, increaſed the difficulty and apprehenſion. At the ſame time the king's forces were under the neceſſity of leaving a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ſtores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boſton Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unſerviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented them from having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the inhabitants of Boſton; who, the 17th of March, received general Waſhington's army with drums beating, colours flying, and all the ſplendour of military triumph.

It was above a week after this time before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but this delay was amply compenſated by the voyage to Halifax, which

which was ſhorter and more ſucceſsful than could have been ex- A. D.
pected. Several ſhips of war were left behind to protect the 1776.
veſſels which ſhould arrive from England; but the great extent of the bay with its numerous iſlands and creeks allowed ſuch advantages to the provincial armed boats and privateers, that they took a great many of thoſe veſſels, which were ſtill in ignorance that the town had changed maſters.

On the ſide of Canada, general Carleton conducted his operations with more ſucceſs. All the attempts of the Provincials to take Quebec by ſtorm were rendered abortive; nor did they ſucceed better in endeavouring by fire-ſhips and otherways to burn the veſſels in the harbour. Such was the conſtancy and vigilance of governor Carleton, brigadier M'Lean, and the activity of the garriſon, that the Americans intended to raiſe the ſiege, which was prevented from being carried ſucceſsfully into execution by the ſpirit and vigour of the officers and crews of the Iſis man of war and two frigates, which were the firſt that had ſailed from England with ſuccours, and which having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the paſſage was deemed practicable. The unexpected appearance of the ſhips threw the beſiegers into the utmoſt conſternation, and the command which they obtained of the river cut off all communication between the different detachments of the enemy. General Carleton loſt no time in ſeizing the advantages which the preſent ſituation afforded. May 6th, he marched out at the head of the garriſon, and attacked the rebel camp which he found in the utmoſt confuſion. Upon the appearance of our troops they fled on all ſides, abandoning their artillery, military ſtores, and all their implements for carrying on the ſiege. During this tranſaction our ſmaller ſhips of war proceeded up the river with great expedition, and took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the enemy, as well as the Gaſpee ſloop of war, which had a few months before, unfortunately fallen into their hands.

The ſucceſs at Quebec tended greatly to facilitate the reconqueſt of Canada, and the invaſion of the back part of the colonies by the way of the lakes, which was the firſt of the three principal objects propoſed in the conduct of the Britiſh forces in the enſuing campaign. The ſecond was the making a ſtrong

impreſſion

A. D. 1776. impreſſion on the ſouthern colonies, which it was hoped would at leaſt have been attended with the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition againſt the city and province of New York.

It had for ſome time been the fate of the fleets, tranſports, and victuallers which ſailed from England to meet with ſuch difficulties, delays, and ſo many untoward circumſtances, as in a great degree fruſtrated the end of their deſtination. Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron which ſailed from Portſmouth at the cloſe of the year, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various cauſes till the end of the month. There they found general Clinton, who had already been at New York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had ſeen lord Dunmore, and, finding that no ſervice could be effected at either place with his ſmall force, came thither to wait for them. After this junction, the fleet and army were both ſufficiently powerful to attempt ſome enterprize of importance*. Charleſtown in South Carolina was the place deſtined for their attack. The fleet anchored off the bar the beginning of June; but the paſſing this obſtacle was a matter of no ſmall difficulty, eſpecially to the two large ſhips, which notwithſtanding the taking out of their guns, and the uſing every other means to lighten them as much as poſſible, both ſtruck the ground. When this difficulty was overcome, our fleet attacked a fort lately erected upon the ſouth-weſt point of Sullivan's iſland, and commanding the paſſage to Charleſtown. The troops commanded by general Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and brigadier-general Vaughan, were landed on Long-Iſland which lies to the eaſtward of Sullivan's. The Carolinians had poſted ſome forces with artillery at the north-eaſtern extremity of the latter, at the diſtance of two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the paſſage of the royal army over the breach. General Lee was

encamped

* Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron conſiſted of the

Briſtol,	50	guns,	Sir Pet. Parker;
Experiment,	50	—	captain Scott;
Solebay,	28	—	—— Symonds;
Actæon,	28	—	—— Atkins;
Active,	28	—	—— Williams;
Syren,	28	guns,	capt. Furneaux;
Sphinx,	20	—	—— Hunt;
Friendſhip,	12	—	—— Hope;

Ranger Sloop;
Thunder bomb;
St. Lawrence ſchooner.

encamped with a large body of troops on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the iſland, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats, and could by that means at any time march the whole, or any part of his force, to ſupport the poſt oppoſed to our paſſage from Long Iſland. This iſland is a naked burning ſand, where the troops ſuffered much from their expoſure to the intenſe heat of the ſun; and both fleet and army were much diſtreſſed through the badneſs of the water, and the defect or unwholeſomeneſs of the proviſions. A. D. 1776.

Theſe inconveniencies rendered diſpatch of the utmoſt importance; but it was not till the 28th of June that, every thing being ſettled between the commanders by ſea and land, the Thunder bomb took her ſtation, covered by an armed ſhip, and began the attack by throwing ſhells at the fort. The Briſtol, Solebay, Experiment, and Active, ſoon after brought up, and began a moſt furious and inceſſant cannonade. The Sphinx, Syren, and Actæon, were ordered to the weſtward, between the end of the iſland and Charleſtown, partly with a view to enfilade the works of the fort, and, if poſſible, to cut off all communication between the iſland and the continent, and partly to interrupt all attempts by means of fire-ſhips, or otherwiſe, to prevent the grand attack. But this deſign was rendered unſucceſsful by the ſtrange unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the ſhoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all ſtuck faſt; and though two of them were ſpeedily diſengaged, it was then too late to execute the intended ſervice. The Actæon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and ſtores from falling into the hands of the enemy. Amidſt the dreadful roar of artillery and continued thunder from the ſhips, the garriſon of the fort ſtuck with the greateſt firmneſs and conſtancy to their guns, fired deliberately and ſlowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ſhips ſuffered accordingly; and never did our marine, in an engagement of the ſame nature with any foreign enemy, experience ſo rude an encounter. The ſprings of the Briſtol's cable being cut by the ſhot, ſhe lay for ſome time ſo much expoſed to the enemy's fire, that ſhe was

A. D. 1776. moſt dreadfully raked. The brave captain Morris, after receiving ſuch a number of wounds as would have ſufficiently juſtified a gallant man in retiring from his ſtation, ſtill diſdained, with a noble intrepidity, to quit his ſtation, until his arm being ſhot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a poſſibility of recovery. It is ſaid that the quarter-deck of the Briſtol was at one time cleared of every perſon but the commodore, who ſtood alone, a ſpectacle of daring intrepid firmneſs, which has never been exceeded, ſeldom equalled. The others on that deck were either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dreſſed. The fortifications being extremely ſtrong, and their lowneſs preſerving them from the weight of our ſhot, the fire from the ſhips produced not all the effect which was hoped or expected. The fort, indeed, ſeemed for a ſhort time to be ſilenced, but this proceeded only from a want of powder, which was ſoon ſupplied from the continent. The land forces all this while continued inactive; and night at length put an end to the attack of the fleet. Sir Peter Parker finding all hope of ſucceſs at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly ſpent, called off his ſhattered veſſels, after an engagement of above ten hours. The Briſtol had 111, and the Experiment 79 men killed and wounded; and both ſhips had received ſo much damage that the Provincials conceived ſtrong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not leſs diligent in the performance of their duty, being leſs pointed at than the great ſhips, did not ſuffer a proportionable loſs.

During theſe tranſactions the General Congreſs took an opportunity of preparing the people for the declaration of independency, by a circular manifeſto to the ſeveral colonies, ſtating the cauſes which rendered it expedient to put an end to all authority under the crown, and to take the powers of government into their own hand. The cauſes aſſigned were, the contempt of their petitions for redreſs of grievances, the prohibitory bill by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown, and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries for their deſtruction. The colonies of Maryland and Pennſylvania at firſt teſtified a diſinclination to the eſtabliſhment of a new government. Their deputies, however,

ever, were at length inſtructed to coincide in this meaſure, and A. D.
on the 4th of July, 1776, the Thirteen United Provinces de- 1776.
clared themſelves free and independent ſtates, abjuring all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and all political connection with their mother country. A few weeks after this declaration, lord viſcount Howe arrived at Halifax, at the head of a powerful ſquadron, and ſuch a number of land forces as had never before appeared in the new world. Beſides the national troops there were 13,000 Heſſians and Waldeckers, commanded by able officers of their own country. The whole, compoſed of the new reinforcements and the troops formerly in America, amounted to an army of 35,000 men; which was ſuperior in number, diſcipline, and proviſions of every kind, to any force the Americans could bring into the field. General Howe had left Halifax a fortnight before his brother's arrival; the latter being impatient of remaining in a place where nothing eſſential to the ſervice could be performed, and where proviſions began to grow ſcarce, had embarked his troops on board the fleet commanded by admiral Shuldam, and ſailed to Sandy Hook, the firſt land that is met with in approaching New York from the ſea. On his paſſage he was met by ſix tranſports with Highland troops on board, who had been ſeparated from ſeveral of their companions in the voyage. It appeared ſoon after, that moſt of the miſſing ſhips, with above 450 ſoldiers and ſeveral officers, had been taken by the American cruizers. The general found every part of the iſland of New York ſtrongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by a conſiderable army. The extent of Long Iſland did not admit of its being ſo ſtrongly fortified or ſo well guarded; it was, however, in a powerful ſtate of defence, having an encampment of conſiderable force on the end of the iſland near New York, and ſeveral works thrown up on the moſt acceſſible parts of the coaſt, as well as at the ſtrongeſt internal paſſes. Staten Iſland, which was of leſs value and importance, was leſs powerfully defended; and on this the general landed without oppoſition. Here he was met by governor Tryon, who, like the other gentlemen inveſted with chief authority in North America, had been obliged to

A.D. 1776. eſcape on ſhip-board. Some hundreds of well-affected inhabitants from the neighbouring parts alſo joined the royal ſtandard.

Lord Howe did not arrive at Staten Iſland till the 14th of July; when he ſent to the continent a circular letter ſetting forth the powers with which he and his brother were inveſted by the late act of parliament for granting general or particular pardons to all thoſe who, in the tumult and diſaſter of the times, might have deviated from their juſt allegiance, and who were willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour. Theſe letters were treated with as little reſpect as every other propoſition of a ſimilar kind, the Americans contemning the idea of granting pardons to thoſe who were not ſenſible of any guilt. Meanwhile the Britiſh armament was joined by the fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, as well as by ſome regiments from Florida and the Weſt Indies. The greateſt part of the forces being now united, an attack againſt Long Iſland was determined, as being more eaſy of execution than againſt the iſland of New York, and as the former abounded more with thoſe ſupplies which ſo great a body of men as were now aſſembled by ſea and land demanded.

The neceſſary meaſures being taken by the fleet for covering the deſcent, the army was landed without oppoſition on the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland. Soon after this was effected, general Clinton, in the night of the 26th of Auguſt, at the head of the van of the army conſiſting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horſe, reſerve under lord Cornwallis, with fourteen field pieces, advanced towards the enemy's encampment, and ſeized an important paſs which they had left unguarded. The way being thus happily open, the whole army paſſed the hills without noiſe or impediment, and deſcended by the town of Bedford into the level country. The engagement was begun early in the morning, while the ſhips made ſeveral motions on the left, and attacked a battery at Red Hook, which diſtracted the attention of the enemy, and called off their attention from their right and rear where the main attack was intended. Nothing could exceed the ſpirit and alacrity ſhewn by all the different corps of which the Britiſh army was compoſed. They made the enemy retreat on every ſide, purſued them with great

ſlaughter,

slaughter, and such was the ambition between the British and foreign troops, that it was with difficulty general Howe could restrain their impetuosity in breaking through the American lines, and cutting to pieces or taking prisoners all those who had escaped the danger of the battle and the pursuit. The victors encamped in the front of the enemy's work on the evening after the engagement, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at 600 yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left. A. D. 1776.

During the battle general Washington had passed over from New York, and saw with great mortification the unhappy fate of his bravest troops. The remainder were as much inferior in number and discipline to the British army, as their inconsiderable batteries were unequal to the assault of the royal artillery. No hopes of safety remained but in a retreat, which might well have appeared impracticable in the face of such a commanding force by land, and a fleet at sea which only waited a favourable wind to enter the East River, which would effectually cut off all communication between the islands. This arduous task, however, was undertaken and carried into execution by the singular ability of general Washington. In the night of the 29th, the Provincial troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, stores, and artillery conveyed to the water side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New York. This was conducted with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprised in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear guard in the boats and out of danger. By this successful manœuvre, general Washington not only saved the troops on Long Island from captivity, but fortified the courage and strength of his army at New York, and enabled the Americans to continue the war with unabating ardour. Yet this measure he could not have effected, had the English general allowed his troops to force the enemy's lines, had the ships of war been stationed in the East River, or had the vigilance of the British soldiers watched and intercepted the movements of the Provincials.

After

A. D. 1776. After the ſucceſs attending the ſuperior bravery of the Engliſh in the engagement, and that attending the ſuperior wiſdom of Waſhington in the retreat, the commiſſioners renewed their propoſals of conciliation, which were ſtill as fruitleſs as before. Laying aſide, therefore, their pacific character, they again had recourſe to their military. The Britiſh troops were impatient to meet the enemy, who had eſcaped ſo unexpectedly from their hands. A river only divided them, along the banks of which they erected batteries, while a fleet of 300 ſail, including tranſports, hovered round the iſland of New York, and threatened deſtruction on every ſide. The ſmall iſlands between the oppoſite ſhores were perpetual objects of conteſt, until by dint of a well-ſerved artillery, and the aid of the ſhips, thoſe were ſecured which were moſt neceſſary to their future operations. At length, every thing being prepared for a deſcent, the men of war made ſeveral movements up the North river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter of the iſland. Other parts ſeemed equally threatened, and increaſed the uncertainty of the real object of the attack. While the rebels were in this ſtate of perplexity, the firſt diviſion of the army, under the command of general Clinton, embarked at the head of Newtoun Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Iſland, and where they were entirely out of view of the enemy. Being covered by five ſhips of war upon their entrance into Eaſt River, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, where, being leſs expected than in ſome other places, the preparation for defence was not ſo conſiderable. The works, however, were not weak, nor deſtitute of troops, but the fire from the ſhips was ſo inceſſant and well directed that they were ſoon abandoned, and the army landed without farther oppoſition. The enemy immediately quitted the city of New York, and retired towards the north, where their principal ſtrength lay, particularly at King's Bridge, by which their communication with the continent of New York was kept open. General Howe thought the works here too ſtrong to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and therefore determined either to bring the rebels to an engagement on equal terms, or to incloſe them in their fortreſſes. While he made what appeared to be the proper diſpoſitions for this purpoſe,

pose, with a fleet and army sufficient to cover and surround the whole island, general Washington, by a most judicious manœuvre, formed his troops into a line of small detached encampments, which occupied every high and strong ground on the land opposite to King's Bridge. He left a garrison to defend the lines there, and Fort Washington; which, after a vigorous resistance, fell into the hands of the British forces. But general Howe could not bring Washington to an engagement, who availed himself of his skill and address while he fled before a superior force, retreating from one post to another, but always occupying more advantageous ground than his pursuers. A. D. 1776.

The British commander thus disappointed in his design of making any vigorous impression on the main body of the enemy, detached, on the 18th of November, lord Cornwallis to take Fort Lee, and to advance farther into the Jerseys. The garrison of 2000 men abandoned the place the night before his lordship's arrival, leaving their artillery, stores, tents, and every thing else behind. Our troops afterwards over-ran the greater part of the two Jerseys, the enemy flying every where before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunswick to the Delaware. In the beginning of December general Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war commanded by Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attack upon Rhode Island, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. The general took possession of the island without the loss of a man; while the naval commander blocked up the principal marine force of the enemy, commanded by Hopkins, the admiral of the Congress, who then lay in the harbour of Providence.

On the side of Canada we left general Carleton driving the rebels towards the Lakes Champlain and St. George, of which they had formerly obtained possession, as well as of the important fortress of Ticonderago. If the British troops could recover these, and advance as far as Albany, before the severity of the winter set in, they might pour destruction into the heart of the middle or northern colonies, as general Washington could not attempt to hold any post in New York or the Jerseys against such a superior force as already opposed him in front, and general

A. D. 1776. neral Carleton's army at his back. Notwithſtanding the moſt unremitting induſtry in preparing this northern expedition, it was not until the month of October, that the Engliſh fleet was in a condition to ſeek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The ſhip Inflexible, which may be conſidered as admiral, had been reconſtructed at St. John's, from which ſhe ſailed in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One ſchooner mounted 14, and another 12 ſix pounders. A flat-bottomed radeau carried 6 twelve pounders, beſides howitzers; and a gondola 7 nine pounders. Twenty ſmaller veſſels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried braſs field-pieces from nine to twenty-four pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Several long-boats were furniſhed in the ſame manner, and an equal number of long-boats acted as tenders. All theſe appertained to war; and there were beſides an immenſe number of tranſports and victuallers deſtined for the ſervice and conveyance of the army. The armament was conducted by captain Pringle, and navigated by above 700 prime ſeamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the tranſports, who after having rivalled thoſe belonging to the ſhips of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The fleet of the enemy was not of equal force, and amounted to only fifteen veſſels of different kinds, conſiſting of two ſchooners, one ſloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal ſchooner mounted 12 ſix and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to ſupport upon a new element the glory which he had acquired by his atchievements as a general.

The Britiſh armament proceeding up the lake the 11th of October, 1776, diſcovered the enemy drawn up with great judgment, in order to defend the paſſage between the iſland of Valicour and the weſtern main. A warm action enſued, and was vigorouſly ſupported on both ſides for ſeveral hours. The wind being unfavourable, the ſhip Inflexible and ſome other veſſels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, ſo that the weight of the action fell on the ſchooner Carleton and the gun-boats. As the whole could not be engaged, captain Pringle, with the approbation of the general, withdrew his advanced veſſels

veſſels at the approach of night, and brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, as near as poſſible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat. A. D. 1776.

Arnold being now ſenſible of his inferiority, took the opportunity which the darkneſs of the night afforded to ſet ſail, unperceived, hoping to obtain ſhelter and protection at Crown Point. Fortune ſeemed at firſt favourable to his purpoſe, for he had entirely loſt ſight of the enemy before next morning. The chace, however, being continued both on that and the ſucceeding day, the wind, and other circumſtances peculiar to the navigation of the lake, which had been at firſt advantageous to the Americans, became at length otherwiſe, ſo that on the 13th at noon they were overtaken, and brought to action a few leagues ſhort of Crown Point. The engagement laſted two hours, during which thoſe veſſels of the enemy that were moſt a-head puſhed on with the greateſt ſpeed, and, paſſing Crown Point, eſcaped to Ticonderago; while two gallies, and five gondolas, which remained with Arnold, made a deſperate reſiſtance. But their obſtinate valour was at length obliged to yield to the ſuperiority of force, ſkill, and weight of metal by which it was aſſailed. The Waſhington galley with Waterburg, a brigadier-general and the ſecond in command, aboard, ſtruck, and was taken. But Arnold determined that his people ſhould not become priſoners, nor his veſſel a prey to the Engliſh. With equal reſolution and dexterity he run the Congreſs galley, in which himſelf was, with the five gondolas, on ſhore, in ſuch a manner as to land his men ſafely and blow up the veſſels, in ſpite of every effort that was uſed to prevent both. Not ſatisfied with this ſubſtantial advantage, which in his ſituation was more than could have been expected from an experienced commander, he inflexibly perſiſted in maintaining a dangerous point of honour, by keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till ſhe was in flames, leſt the Engliſh ſhould have boarded and ſtruck it; an attention which greatly raiſed his reputation in America.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly deſtroyed, a galley and three ſmall veſſels being all that eſcaped to Ticonderago. The Provincials, upon the rout of

A. D. 1776. their fleet, ſet fire to the houſes at Crown Point, and retired to their main body. Carleton took poſſeſſion of the ruins, and being joined by his whole army, puſhed on towards the enemy. But the poſt of Ticonderago was too ſtrongly fortified to be taken without great loſs of blood; and the benefit ariſing from ſucceſs, could not be conſiderable, as the ſeaſon was too far advanced to think of croſſing Lake George, and of expoſing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhoſpitable wilds to the ſouthward. General Carleton, therefore, reimbarked the army without making any attack upon this place, and returning to Canada, cantoned his troops there for the winter.

The Americans ſeem to have been guilty of an unpardonable blunder in not maintaining a more powerful ſquadron on the lakes, which laid open the heart of their country. But beſides the want of timber, artillery, and other materials neceſſary for ſuch an equipment, the carpenters, and all others concerned in the buſineſs of ſhipping, were fully engaged in the ſea-ports in the conſtruction and fitting out of privateers. To this the force of the rebels was principally bent; and the intereſt of individuals which was more immediately concerned in the ſucceſs of particular cruizers, than in ſupporting the marine ſtrength of the nation, gave redoubled vigour to all the operations of the former.

The Weſt Indies, which in the want of food, and of ſtaves, the article next in neceſſity to food, experienced the firſt melancholy effects of the American war, alſo ſuffered the moſt from the Provincial privateers. The fleet which ſailed from Jamaica in Auguſt, 1776, being ſcattered by bad weather, fell a prey to the activity of their cruizers, who had ſeized the proper ſtation for intercepting their paſſage. Nor was the trade from the other iſlands more fortunate. So that though the Americans did not begin their depredations till late in the year, the Britiſh loſs in captures, excluſive of tranſports and government ſtore-ſhips, was eſtimated conſiderably higher than a million ſterling. Some blame was thrown on the convoy, and much indignation felt that the ſuperintendence of our naval affairs, on which the glory and ſecurity of the nation depend, ſhould be intruſted to hands unworthy to hold it. Such a ſacred depoſit required, it was thought, not only pure but ſteady hands; the duties of the im-

portant

portant office to which it belongs, calling for unremitting vigi- A. D.
lance and activity, and being totally incompatible with a life of 1776.
licentious and degrading pleaſure. Religious men were not ſurprized, that under ſuch an inauſpicious influence the dignity of the nation ſhould ſuffer a total eclipſe, while the American cruizers ſwarmed in the European ſeas, and repleniſhed the ports of France and Spain with prizes taken from the Engliſh. Theſe prizes were ſold in Europe without any colour of diſguiſe, at the ſame time that French ſhips in the Weſt Indies took American commiſſions, and carried on with impunity a ſucceſsful war on Britiſh trade and navigation.

Meanwhile the time of the meeting of parliament approached, when it was expected that the line of conduct neceſſary for a total conqueſt, or happy conciliation with the colonies, would be clearly pointed out and explained. The great armaments which were continually increaſing in the French and Spaniſh ports, and many other ſuſpicious appearances during the receſs, rendered it neceſſary to put into commiſſion ſixteen additional ſhips of the line, and to increaſe the bounty to ſeamen for entering the ſervice to five pounds *per* man. The expences of the navy for the year 1777, including the ordinary at 400,005 l. and the building and repairing of ſhips, which was voted at 465,500l. amounted to no leſs than 3,205,505l. excluſive of 4000l. which was afterwards voted to Greenwich Hoſpital. The ſupplies for the land-ſervice fell little ſhort of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the preceding year, which exceeded 1,200,000l. were not yet provided for. In whatever manner adminiſtration might employ the force by ſea and land, the nation had provided for the ſupport of both, with ſuch liberal magnificence as equalled the ſupplies during the laſt war, when the fleets and armies of Britain oppoſed and defeated the united efforts of the greateſt powers in Europe. Soon after the 1777.
Chriſtmas receſs a bill was paſſed, enabling the admiralty to grant letters of marque and repriſal to the owners or captains of private merchant ſhips, to take and make prize of all veſſels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen United Colonies. All the powers of the kingdom

A. D. 1777. were thus called forth, affording, as it would ſeem, a force infinitely more than ſufficient, had it been properly directed, to cruſh this aſpiring rebellion.

But unfortunately the ſtar of America ſtill maintained the aſcendant. The Britiſh troops whom we left in apparent ſecurity in their cantonments were aſſailed on all ſides, in the middle of winter, by general Waſhington, who remedied the deficiency of his force by the manner of applying it, and by attacking unexpectedly and ſeparately thoſe bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. By ſome well-concerted and ſpirited actions this American Fabius, after a retreat which would have done honour to the judgment of the moſt circumſpect of all the Romans, not only ſaved Philadelphia and delivered Pennſylvania from danger, but recovered the greateſt part of the Jerſeys, and obliged an army greatly ſuperior in number as well as in diſcipline to act upon the defenſive, and for ſeveral months to remain within very narrow and inconvenient limits.

The Britiſh nation, how much ſoever they were afflicted with thoſe misfortunes, ſtill expected that notwithſtanding this war of poſts, ſurprizes, and detachments, which had been ſucceſsfully carried on by the Americans during the winter, the regular forces would prevail in the end. They waited, therefore, with much impatience for the approach of ſpring, when the mighty armaments which they had raiſed with ſo high expectation of victory, might be brought into action. When the time at length arrived, with equal aſtoniſhment and indignation, they learned that from ſome improvidence or inattention, unaccounted for at home, the army was reſtrained from taking the field for want of tents and field equipage. The months of March and April, therefore, inſtead of being employed in ſuch deciſive enterprizes as might terminate the war, were confined to ſome ſubordinate expeditions in which the naval ſuperiority of Britain was crowned with ſucceſs. The Provincials had erected mills and eſtabliſhed magazines in a rough and mountainous tract called the Manour of Courtland, to which a place called Peek's Kill, lying fifty miles up Hudſon's river from New York, ſerved as a kind of port. Courtland Manour was too ſtrong to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs; but Peek's Kill lay within the reach of the navy. On the 23d of March,

March, colonel Bird was ſent with 300 men under the conduct of a frigate and other armed veſſels, up the North River to deſtroy the works of the enemy at this place. Upon the approach of the Britiſh armament, the Americans thinking themſelves unequal to the defence of the port, and being convinced that there was not time to remove any thing but their perſons and arms, ſet fire to the barracks and principal ſtore-houſes, and then retired to a ſtrong paſs about two miles diſtance, commanding the entrance into the mountains, and covering a road which led to ſome of the mills and other depoſits. The Britiſh troops landed and compleated the conflagration, which had already gone too far to allow any thing to be ſaved. All the magazines were thus deſtroyed, and the troops, having performed this ſervice, returned after taking ſeveral ſmall craft laden with proviſions. Another expedition of a ſimilar kind was undertaken againſt the town of Danbury on the borders of Connecticut, and attended with equal ſucceſs. A. D. 1777.

Theſe petty advantages were nothing, compared to the infinite benefit which the Americans derived from the delay of the Britiſh army in taking the field. The Provincials were greatly augmented by reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerſeys. Thoſe who ſhuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in ſummer; and the certainty of a future winter had no greater effect than diſtant evils uſually have. When general Howe paſſed over from New York to the Jerſeys the middle of June, he found Waſhington's army, which ſix weeks before had been nothing to his own in point of force, greatly increaſed, and ſtationed in ſuch advantageous and inacceſſible poſts as defied every aſſault. All his attempts to bring Waſhington to an engagement, or to make him quit his defenſive plan of conducting the war, proved abortive; and it appeared the height of temerity to attempt advancing to the Delaware, through ſo ſtrong a country entirely hoſtile, and with ſuch an enemy in his rear. Nothing remained, therefore, for general Howe but to avail himſelf of the immenſe naval force which co-operated with the army, and which in a country like America, interſected by great navigable rivers, gave him an opportunity of tranſporting his forces to the moſt vulnerable parts of the rebellious provinces. The Americans had no force to reſiſt the navigation, and it was impoſſible for them to

know

A. D. 1777. know where the ſtorm would fall, or to make proviſion againſt it. General Howe accordingly paſſed over with the army to Staten Iſland, from which it was intended that the embarkation ſhould take place.

For the ſucceſs of this grand expedition nothing was more requiſite than diſpatch; yet, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance afforded by the crews of 300 veſſels, it was not till the 23d of July that the fleet and army were ready to depart from Sandy Hook. The force embarked conſiſted of thirty-ſix Britiſh and Heſſian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horſe. Seventeen battalions with a regiment of light horſe, and the remainder of the New York corps were left for the protection of that and the neighbouring iſlands; and Rhode Iſland was occupied by ſeven battalions.

Philadelphia, the original ſeat of the General Congreſs, but from which that body had retired to Baltimore, was the object of theſe mighty preparations. The weather being unfavourable, it coſt the fleet a week to gain the Capes of the Delaware. The information which the commanders received there of the meaſures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, engaged them to alter their deſign of proceeding by that way, and to undertake the paſſage by Cheſapeak Bay to Maryland, the ſouthern boundary of which is at no great diſtance from Philadelphia. The middle of Auguſt was paſſed before they entered this bay, after which, with a favourable wind, they gained the river Elk near its extremity through a moſt intricate and dangerous navigation. Having proceeded up this river as far as it was poſſible for large veſſels, the army were relieved from their tireſome confinement on board the tranſports, which was rendered doubly diſagreeable by the heat of the ſeaſon, and landed without oppoſition at Elk Ferry on the 25th of Auguſt. Whilſt one part of the army advanced to the head of the Elk, the other continued at the landing-place to protect and forward the artillery, ſtores, and neceſſary proviſions.

Meanwhile general Waſhington returned with his army from the Jerſeys to the defence of Philadelphia. Their force, including the militia, amounted to 13,000 men, which was ſtill conſiderably

conſiderably inferior in number to the royal army. General Howe, after publiſhing ſuch proclamations as he thought neceſſary for quieting the minds of the inhabitants, and inducing them to return to the protection of the crown, began on the 3d of September to purſue his courſe to Philadelphia. Waſhington loſt no opportunity of haraſſing him in his march, by every poſſible means which did not involve the neceſſity of riſking a general engagement. But ſeveral conſiderable actions took place between the troops both before and after general Howe had entered Philadelphia, of which the army became poſſeſſed the 26th of September. In theſe actions victory always inclined to the ſide of the king's troops, who ſhewed as much ardour in the attack as Waſhington diſcovered wiſdom in the retreat, and in avoiding a general engagement. The Provincials had great diſadvantage in the uſe of the bayonet, with which inſtrument they were ill provided, and which they knew little how to manage. And when this circumſtance is conſidered, it will not appear ſurpriſing that the diſproportion between their number of ſlain and that of the king's troops ſhould in every action have been conſiderable. A. D. 1777.

When the Britiſh troops had taken poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, their firſt employment was to erect batteries which might command the river, and protect the city from any inſult by water. This was ſo neceſſary a meaſure, that the very day of the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfiniſhed batteries, and being ſeconded by another frigate, with ſome ſmaller veſſels, commenced a heavy cannonade, which laſted for ſeveral hours. Upon the falling of the tide, however, the Delaware grounded, and was taken; and the batteries newly erected were played with ſuch effect againſt the other veſſels, that they were fortunate to be able to retire.

Meanwhile lord Howe being apprized of the determined progreſs of the army to Philadelphia, took the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures to convey the fleet and tranſports round to the Delaware, in order to ſupply the army with the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions, as well as to concur in the active operations of the campaign. After a dangerous and intricate voyage, the

A. D. 1777. the fleet arrived in the weſtern or Pennſylvania ſhore, where they drew up and anchored. The paſſage to Philadelphia, however, was ſtill impracticable, for the Americans had conſtructed great and numerous works with wonderful labour and induſtry to interrupt the navigation of the river. The principal of theſe were the ſtrong batteries on a low and marſhy iſland, or rather an accumulation of mud and ſand at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill; a conſiderable fort or redoubt at a place called Red Bank on the oppoſite ſhore of New Jerſey; and in the deep navigable channel between theſe forts there had been ſunk ſeveral ranges of frames or machines, which from reſemblance of conſtruction were called chevaux de frize. Theſe were compoſed of tranſverſe beams, firmly united, and of ſuch weight and ſtrength as rendered it equally difficult to penetrate or remove them. About three miles lower down the river they had ſunk other machines of a ſimilar form, and erected new batteries on ſhore on the Jerſey ſide to co-operate in the defence. Both were farther ſupported by ſeveral gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed veſſels and ſmall craft of various kinds, and ſome fire-ſhips.

The firſt thing requiſite for opening the channel, was to get the command of the ſhore. Accordingly, upon the repreſentation of captain Hammond of the Roebuck, which, with ſome other ſhips of war, had arrived in the Delaware before lord Howe, the general detached two regiments to diſlodge the enemy from Billingsfort, the principal place of ſtrength on the Jerſey ſhore. This ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed; and captain Hammond, after a vigorous conteſt with the marine force of the enemy, was able with much labour to weigh up as much of the chevaux de frize as opened a narrow and difficult paſſage through this lower barrier.

It was not attempted to remove the upper barrier, which was much the ſtronger, until the arrival of lord Howe, who concerted meaſures for this purpoſe with the general. The latter ordered batteries to be erected on the Pennſylvania ſhore, to aſſiſt in diſlodging the enemy from Mud Iſland. He alſo detached, (22d October), a ſtrong body of Heſſians to attack the redoubt

redoubt at Red Bank; while lord Howe ordered the men of A. D.
war and frigates to approach Mud Iſland, which was the main 1777.
object of the aſſault. The operations by land and ſea were equally unſucceſsful. The Heſſians were repulſed with great ſlaughter by the garriſon at Red Bank, as well as by the floating batteries of the enemy. The ſhips could not bring their fire to bear with any conſiderable effect upon the iſland. The extraordinary obſtructions with which the Americans had interrupted the free courſe of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought ſome alteration on its known and natural channel. By this means the Auguſta man of war of 64 guns, and Merlin ſloop were grounded ſo faſt at ſome diſtance from the chevaux de frize, that there was no poſſibility of getting them off. In this ſituation, though the ſkill of the officers, ſeconded by the activity of the crews, prevented the effect of four fire-ſhips ſent to deſtroy the Auguſta, ſhe unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which obliged the others to retire at a diſtance from the expected exploſion. The Merlin alſo was deſtroyed, but few lives were loſt.

Theſe untoward events did not prevent a ſecond trial on the 15th November to perform the neceſſary work of opening the communication of the river. While the enemy left nothing undone to ſtrengthen their defences, the Britiſh fleet were inceſſantly employed in conveying heavy artillery and ſtores up the river to a ſmall moraſſy iſland, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the American works on Mud Iſland. At length every thing being prepared for an aſſault, the Iſis and Somerſet men of war paſſed up the eaſt channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; ſeveral frigates drew up againſt a newly erected fort near Manto Creek; and two armed veſſels, mounted with 24 pounders, made their way through a narrow channel on the weſtern ſide, in order to enfilade the principal works. The fire from the ſhips was terrible, and returned during the whole day with equal vivacity. Towards the evening the fire of the fort began to abate, and at length was totally ſilenced. The enemy perceiving that meaſures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, ſet fire to every thing that could be deſtroyed, and eſcaped under fa-

A. D 1777. vour of the night. The forts on the main land did not afterwards make much reſiſtance, and, as well as that on the iſland, afforded a conſiderable quantity of artillery and military ſtores to the victors.

The American ſhipping having now loſt all protection on either ſide of the river, ſeveral of their gallies, and other armed veſſels, took the advantage of a favourable night to paſs the batteries of Philadelphia, and fly to places of ſecurity farther up the river. This was no ſooner diſcovered than the Delaware frigate, now lying at Philadelphia, was manned and ſent in purſuit of them; and other meaſures were taken which rendered their eſcape impoſſible. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and ſet fire to their veſſels, which were all conſumed to the number of ſeventeen, including the two floating batteries and fire-ſhips: with all theſe advantages, the advanced ſeaſon of the year and other impediments rendered the clearing of the river in any conſiderable degree impracticable; ſo that the making ſuch a channel as afforded a paſſage for tranſports and veſſels of eaſy burden, with proviſions and neceſſaries for the army, was all that could be effected by the fleet; while the whole ſucceſs of the army amounted only to their ſecuring good winter quarters at Philadelphia.

If the conſequences of victory were little calculated to remove the uneaſineſs which began to be felt in England, as to the nature and reſult of the American war, the effects of defeat in the army of the north, intended to co-operate with the grand expedition, occaſioned the moſt gloomy apprehenſions. It had been reſolved in the cabinet, where all the future operations of the campaign had been ſettled with a painful and minute accuracy, that while general Howe made a ſevere impreſſion on the heart of America, the extremities ſhould alſo feel the cruel effects of hoſtility. General Carleton, who had ſucceeded ſo well in this attempt in the former campaign, and to whoſe unremitting activity, directed by experienced wiſdom, the nation are indebted for the preſervation of Canada, was ſuperſeded in the command, which was beſtowed by government on general Burgoyne. With an army of above ſeven thouſand regular troops, provided in a manner the moſt complete, and furniſhed with

with the fineſt train of artillery ever ſeen in the new world, A. D.
that general proceeded to Canada, when being joined by the 1777.
provincial militia of the country, he took meaſures according to his inſtructions for being reinforced by a powerful band of ſavages. About the middle of June, he met the Indians in Congreſs on the banks of Lake Champlain, where he ſaid every thing that appeared moſt effectual for raiſing the valour, and bridling the ferocity of our new allies. Soon after he publiſhed a manifeſto to the inhabitants of the northern provinces, ſetting forth the magnitude of his preparations, and denouncing againſt the rebellious all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in the moſt terrific forms. Encouragement and employment were aſſured to thoſe, who, with a diſpoſition and ability ſuited to the purpoſe, ſhould chearfully aſſiſt in redeeming their country from ſlavery, and in re-eſtabliſhing legal government. Protection and ſecurity, clogged with conditions, reſtricted by our circumſtances, and rather obſcurely and imperfectly expreſſed, were held out to the peaceable and induſtrious, who continued in their habitations.

After theſe previous ſteps, which the general judged neceſſary, it was intended, that the army in concert with the naval force on the lakes, ſhould proceed to the ſiege of Ticonderago, and after ſecuring that important fortreſs, advance ſouthward on the frontiers of the provinces, where they would at length join the force conducted by Sir Henry Clinton, and commodore Hotham, which, advancing northward from New York, deſtroyed the works, towns and country of the enemy on both ſides of the river. At firſt every thing ſucceeded with general Burgoyne that could gratify the moſt ſanguine hopes of thoſe who employed him. Ticonderago was taken, the remainder of the rebel ſquadron on Lake George was purſued and defeated, and the enemy every where fled before the victorious troops, whom they had neither ſtrength nor ſpirit to withſtand. The firſt impreſſions of deſpair produced on the minds of the rebels had time to wear off by the delays of the march, in a country ſo impracticable, that in ſome places it was hardly poſſible to advance a mile in a day. The New England governments, the moſt immediately threatened, had time to re-

A. D. 1777. collect themſelves, and to take every meaſure that ſeemed moſt neceſſary for their defence. Arnold, who alternately acted the part of a general and commodore, with equal ſkill and bravery, was ſent to reinforce the declining courage of the American troops, and carried with him a conſiderable train of artillery. The terror excited by the ſavages, who were guilty of various enormities too ſhocking to be deſcribed, produced at length an effect directly contrary to what had been expected. The inhabitants of the open and frontier country were obliged to take up arms to defend themſelves againſt this barbarous race; and when the regular army of the Provincials ſeemed to be nearly waſted, a new one and more formidable was poured forth from the woods, mountains and marſhes, which in this part are thickly ſown with plantations and villages. General Gates, an officer of tried ardour, and of a regular military education, took the command of this force, in which he co-operated with Arnold with the moſt ſingular unanimity. The conſequence is well known, and will be long remembered. Burgoyne had gone too far to retreat to Canada, nor could he proceed to Albany, without forcing his way through the rebel army. After a number of ſkirmiſhes, marches, and two bloody engagements, he entered into the convention of Saratoga the 17th October, by which the Britiſh troops laid down their arms, and engaged never to aſſiſt more in attempting to ſubdue America.

During the operation of the cauſes which led to this humiliating tranſaction, Sir Henry Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River with uncommon ſucceſs. Having embarked 3000 men for that expedition, accompanied by a ſuitable naval force, conſiſting of frigates, armed gallies, and ſmaller veſſels, he attacked the Forts of Montgomery and Clinton. Several neceſſary motions being made to maſk the real deſign, the troops were landed in two ſeparate diviſions, at ſuch a diſtance as occaſioned a conſiderable and difficult march through the mountains, which was conducted ſo ſkilfully, that they arrived at the forts, and began their reſpective attacks at the ſame moment of time. The ſurpriſe and terror of the garriſon was increaſed by the appearance of the ſhips of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallies, which approached ſo cloſe as to

ſtrike the walls with their oars. Both forts were carried by A. D.
ſtorm, and the ſlaughter of the enemy, occaſioned by the obſti- 1777.
nacy of their reſiſtance, was very conſiderable. Thoſe who eſcaped ſet fire to two fire frigates and ſeveral other veſſels, which, with their artillery and ſtores, were conſumed or ſunk. Another fort, called Conſtitution, was, in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined naval and land forces, ſet on fire and abandoned. The artillery taken in all the three amounted to 67 pieces of different ſizes. A few days afterwards Continental Village, containing barracks for 1500 men, and conſiderable ſtores, was deſtroyed. A large boom or chain, the expence of which was eſtimated at L. 70,000, and which was conſidered as an extraordinary proof of American induſtry and ſkill, was ſunk or carried away: and the whole loſs was the greateſt which the enemy had hitherto ſuſtained. The navy continued to purſue the advantage. Sir James Wallace, with a flying ſquadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan, with a conſiderable detachment of troops, made various excurſions up the river, carrying terror and deſtruction wherever they went. At the very time that general Burgoyne was negociating conditions for his ruined army, the thriving town of Eſopus, at no very great diſtance, was reduced to aſhes, and not a houſe left ſtanding. The troops and veſſels, did not retire to New York until they had diſmantled the forts, and left the river totally defenceleſs. Thus it muſt be confeſſed that, amidſt all our misfortunes, the navy carried on every operation in which they were concerned with their wonted ſpirit and ſucceſs.

When news of the various events which had marked and chequered this important year of the American war were brought to England, the nation were agitated by a tumult of paſſions which it is not eaſy to deſcribe or analyſe. The boaſted preparations which were to bring America to our feet, and which ſeemed capable, inſtead of ſubduing the rebels by open force, to look them into unconditional ſubmiſſion, produced none of the great effects which had been ſo firmly expected. The armament conducted by the Howes, had not been able to gain any deciſive advantage over the force of the Provincials; the northern army, whether through the incapacity of the miniſter,

A. D. 1777. niſter, or the raſhneſs of the general, had been delivered up or rather abandoned a miſerable prey into the hands of our enemies. Great part of the ſhipping of the Americans had, indeed, been deſtroyed; ſome of their towns were in our poſſeſſion; their country had felt the calamities of war; their works of defence, raiſed with great art and induſtry, had been weakened or demoliſhed; but the ſpirit of the people was ſtill unſubdued, and their unremitting activity in a cauſe which they adored, animated by the firſt gleams of ſucceſs, would naturally prompt them to more vigorous and daring efforts than they had yet exerted.

Notwithſtanding theſe fatal appearances, the Engliſh miniſtry were ſo entwined in the American war, that it was impoſſible for them conveniently to be diſengaged from it: their meaſures, it ſeemed, could only be juſtified by ſucceſs, which, had it depended on the liberality of the ſupplies, muſt doubtleſs have been obtained. On the 27th of November, 1777, 60,000 ſeamen, with 11,000 marines, were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The maintaining of thoſe, with the building and repairing of ſhips, the ordinary of the navy and half-pay, and the diſcharge of a million of debt, made the whole expence of the fleet for the year 1778, amount to above five millions ſterling. Yet this immenſe ſum exceeded only by about half a million the expence of the land forces; for beſides the national troops, we had taken into pay about 25,000 Heſſians, Hanoverians, Brunſwickers, and other Germans: and many corporations, as well as individuals, ſubſcribed largely for raiſing new regiments to reinforce the ſtanding military ſtrength of the country. This meaſure which, in any other war, would have been univerſally approved as a mark of the higheſt public ſpirit, was loudly condemned by oppoſition, as furniſhing troops to the king without conſent of parliament; and the effect produced on the public by the factious clamours againſt the new levies, clearly ſhowed the prevailing indifference, or rather diſinclination to the continuance of a war, in which we had hitherto met with little elſe but diſappointments and diſgrace.

Meanwhile the news of the defeat and ſurrender of general Burgoyne's army were received in France the beginning of December,

cember, and began totally to change the views and behaviour of A. D.
that court with regard to the Americans. The agents whom 1777.
the Congreſs kept at Paris had hitherto been coolly received by the French miniſtry, though idolized by the levity or intereſtedneſs of the nation; but upon ſo favourable a turn in the affairs of their conſtituents, they renewed with more ſucceſs their propoſals for negociating a treaty, while the French king received the compliments of his nobility on the misfortune of the Britiſh troops, with as much complacence as if his own had obtained a ſignal victory. In conſequence of theſe circumſtances, ſo advantageous to the credit of the Americans, Monſieur Girard, royal ſyndic of Straſbourg, and ſecretary of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's council of ſtate, waited on the American agents by order of his Majeſty the 16th of December, and acquainted them, that, after long and full conſideration of their affairs and propoſitions in council, his majeſty was determined to acknowledge the independence of the Americans, and to make a treaty with them of amity and commerce. That in this treaty no advantage ſhould be taken of their preſent ſituation to obtain terms which otherwiſe could not be convenient for them to agree to, his majeſty deſiring that the treaty once made ſhould be durable, which could not be expected unleſs each nation found its intereſt in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it. It was therefore his intention to enter into ſuch an agreement with them as they could not but approve, had their ſtate been long eſtabliſhed, and attained the fulneſs of ſtrength and power. That his majeſty was determined not only to acknowledge, but ſupport their independence, even at the riſk of a war; and notwithſtanding the expence and danger attending this meaſure, he expected no compenſation on that account, as he pretended not to act wholly for their ſakes, ſince, beſides his real good-will to them and their cauſe, it was manifeſtly the intereſt of France that the power of England ſhould be diminiſhed, by ſeparating America from it for ever. The only condition which he required, therefore, on the part of the Americans was, "That in no peace to be made with England "they ſhould give up their independence, and return to the "obedience of that government." Upon this foundation the

treaty

A. D. 1778. treaty was drawn up and ſigned, and ſoon after diſpatched to receive the ratification of Congreſs.

It appears not from any thing laid before the public, that the Britiſh miniſtry were officially informed of this important tranſaction. Above two months afterwards the firſt lord of the treaſury, and the miniſter for the ſouthern department, declared they knew nothing for certain concerning any treaty between France and America. If this was really the caſe, the ambaſſador at Paris ſcarcely deſerved thoſe honourable and lucrative marks of royal approbation, which have been ſince ſo liberally beſtowed on him; but if the fact is otherwiſe, and if we may give entire credit to the defence of that nobleman when called to account in the houſe of peers, it will be difficult to ſave the honour of miniſters, whoſe character and veracity is of leſs importance to the public, than the humiliating and diſgraceful condition in which this once great and reſpectable nation muſt appear in the eyes of Europe. In former times we ſhould, inſtead of diſſembling the treaty, have demanded a full communication of all its contents; but, to uſe the words of an ingenious author, "when people are dejected by frequent loſſes, torn by inteſtine "factions, or any other way internally diſtreſſed, their delibe- "rations are confuſed, their reſolutions ſlow, and an apparent "languor is viſible, when they attempt to carry their reſolu- "tions into execution."

However this queſtion may be decided between the miniſtry at home, and their ambaſſador at Paris, (for the tameneſs of the public has not yet brought this affair to a full explanation), it was generally believed that adminiſtration knew of the propoſed treaty between France and America, and that the plan of conciliation propoſed by lord North the 17th of February, was intended to counterwork the negociations of our rivals. The propoſition of his lordſhip was for two acts of parliament: the firſt, a bill for enabling his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat, conſent, and agree on the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies. The ſecond, a bill declaring the intention of parliament concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes on the provinces of North America. Both bills were paſſed; and, notwithſtanding the nice diſtinctions

which

which are made in his lordſhip's ſpeech, it appeared to common A. D.
underſtandings that we gave up, by the latter bill, not only the 1778.
power of taxing America, but all that national pre-eminence and ſupremacy which had been ſo pompouſly deſcribed. We thus renounced the original ground of the quarrel, and more than America ever deſired us to renounce; but ſince the declaration of independency, and the concluſion of the treaty with France, it was little to be doubted that our preſent conceſſions would be attended with no better ſucceſs than our former pretenſions. In fact, the moderation of government, the unſeaſonableneſs of which prevented its having any effect on the reſolutions of the rebels, ſerved only to damp the ſpirits of thoſe who had entered moſt heartily into all the meaſures of government and coercion; and had not France, by throwing aſide the veil through which our miniſters were ſtill fond to view her, rouzed the indignation and reſentment of the Britiſh nation, the military ardour which had been ſo happily excited would have begun to ſubſide, and the people would have again fallen back into a lethargic langour and inactivity. But, on the 13th of March, the marquis of Noailles, ambaſſador from France, delivered the following declaration, by order of his court, to lord viſcount Weymouth: "That the United States of America, who are in full poſſeſſion of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having propoſed to the king to conſolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be eſtabliſhed between the nations, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence. His majeſty being determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his ſubjects, thinks it neceſſary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality. In making this communication, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty obſerves, that the Britiſh miniſtry will find new proofs

A. D. 1778. of his conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace, and he therefore hopes they will take effectual meaſures to prevent the commerce between France and America from being interrupted, and to cauſe all the uſages received between commercial nations to be in this reſpect obſerved. In this juſt confidence he thinks it ſuperfluous to acquaint them, that he has taken eventual meaſures, in concert with the United States of America, to maintain the dignity of his flag, and effectually to protect the lawful commerce of his ſubjects." This declaration was immediately laid before the houſe of lords, with a meſſage from the king, ſetting forth the perfidy of France, and contraſting it with his own ſteady adherence to the faith of treaties. The meſſage was anſwered by both lords and commons in a high ſtrain of indignation and reſentment againſt the reſtleſs ambition of the French court. The Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris was recalled, and the marquis of Noailles left London. The immediate conſequences of theſe ſteps were an embargo laid on the ſhipping in the French and Engliſh ports; the warmeſt impreſs almoſt ever known; and the embodying and calling forth the militia to the number of thirty thouſand men.

A war with France can never be unpopular in this country; and by bringing matters to ſuch a point that the French appeared evidently to be the aggreſſors, and wantonly to provoke the hoſtility of Great Britain, the miniſtry, had this been their own work, would have poſſeſſed the merit of uſing the ſureſt means of rouzing the latent reſentment and inherent antipathy of the Engliſh againſt their natural enemies. The great body of the people talked of nothing but violation of treaties, treachery, war and vengeance. The new levies were carried on with redoubled vigour, eſpecially in Scotland. A majority of both houſes re-echoed the ſentiments and language of the vulgar. A few only ventured to think that France had done nothing inconſiſtent with the univerſal practice of nations, and muſt have been deaf to every call of intereſt, if ſhe had not availed herſelf of the misfortunes or miſconduct of Great Britain to aggrandize her own power. Upon the ſame principle that Queen Elizabeth aſſiſted with her troops and treaſure the United States of the Netherlands to throw off the yoke of a monarch then

formidable

formidable to all Europe, the French could not fail, in a more enlightened age, greedily to ſeize the occaſion of ſupporting the independence of Britiſh America. If ever the French gave us fair play, it was ſurely on the preſent occaſion; they allowed us to negociate and to fight; to heſitate between war and peace; and to throw away many precious years in armed truce and pacific hoſtility; and it aſtoniſhed all Europe, not that they interpoſed at length, but that they did not interpoſe ſooner. Beſides, as they had long aſſiſted the Americans in an underhand manner, the open avowal of this aſſiſtance was the greateſt advantage that, in our preſent circumſtances, we could poſſibly obtain. It revived the decaying ardour of the nation, united every well-wiſher to his country in a common cauſe, and called forth the moſt vigorous efforts, both public and private, that the hopes of plunder, intereſt, reſentment, and a ſenſe of national honour could inſpire. A. D. 1778.

The effects of this ſpirit in augmenting our armaments by ſea and land were ſoon viſible. If we may credit the words of thoſe who preſided over the navy, in a ſhort time we had, beſides a vaſt number of armed veſſels and privateers, 228 ſhips of the line, frigates and ſloops in commiſſion *. Of theſe, 50 ſhips of the line were employed for the protection of Great Britain; the whole number of veſſels on the coaſt of America amounted (it was ſaid by men in office) to 130; admiral Barrington was ſtationed at the Leeward Iſlands; Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica; the men of war appointed to attend the Senegal fleet, were ordered to remain on that coaſt for the protection of trade; and admiral

* LIST of the SHIPS in commiſſion.

1 ſhip of	110 guns,	6 frigates of	44 guns,
10 — of	90 —	3 — of	36 —
2 — of	80 —	28 — of	32 —
32 — of	74 —	25 — of	28 —
1 — of	70 —	26 — of	20 or 24 —
22 — of	64 —		
4 — of	60 —	88 frigates — 55 ſloops.	
13 — of	50 —		
		85 ſhips of the line;	
85 ſhips of the line.		88 frigates;	
		55 ſloops;	
		228 total.	

A. D. 1778. Duff's ſquadron in the Mediterranean was reinforced with ſeveral capital ſhips. Nor were the French ſlow in their preparations. They had aſſembled a powerful ſquadron at Breſt, and another at Toulon; and their troops crowded the ſea-ports, and covered the northern parts of the kingdom *.

While theſe preparations were going forward in Europe, nothing deciſive had happened in America. The king's army had remained quiet in their winter quarters tolerably well ſupplied with proviſions; and general Waſhington's troops continued hutted at Valley Forge, where it is ſaid they ſuffered intolerable hardſhips. The greater part of the fleet remained at Rhode Iſland, from which detachments were ſent to cruize before the principal ſea-ports of the continent, where, as well as in the Weſt Indies, they were ſucceſsful in making a great number of captures. As the ſpring approached, and the navigation of the Delaware became practicable, general Howe ſent various detachments to range the country round Philadelphia, in order to open the communication for bringing in proviſions, and to collect forage for the army. All theſe expeditions were ſucceſsful; and on the 7th May major Maitland was detached with the ſecond battalion of light infantry in flat-boats, protected by three gallies and other armed veſſels commanded by captain Henry of the navy, to deſtroy the American ſhips lying in the river between Philadelphia and Trenton; which was effected with great ſucceſs †. On the 25th of the ſame month was carried on a ſimilar expedition from Rhode Iſland under the command of lieutenant-colonel Campbell and captain Clayton of the navy. They deſtroyed 125 boats, collected by the rebels in Hickamanet river, together with a galley under repair, deſtined for an invaſion of that iſland. Another detachment from the men of war deſtroyed the rebel veſſels in Warren Creek; and a third burnt the ſaw-mills on a creek near Taunton river, employed in pre-

* N°. XVII. Appendix. Liſt of French fleets.

† Liſt of American ſhips burnt on the 8th and 9th of May.
2 frigates, one for 32, the other for 28 guns;
9 large ſhips;
3 privateer ſloops for 16 guns each;
3 ditto for 10 guns each;
23 brigs, with a number of ſloops and ſchooners.

paring

paring materials to build boats and other ſuitable craft for the purpoſe of the before-mentioned invaſion. A. D. 1778.

Theſe operations of the *petite guerre* cloſed the military career of general Sir William Howe, who reſigned the command to Sir Henry Clinton, and returned to England. The firſt operation of the new commander was to evacuate Philadelphia, purſuant to the inſtructions which he had received from the miniſter. This meaſure, though attended with great danger on account of the neighbourhood of Waſhington's army of 20,000 men, and though accompanied with a certain degree of diſgrace neceſſarily attached to the abandoning of a town, the poſſeſſion of which had been acquired at ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure, was yet deemed neceſſary to enable his majeſty's forces to reſiſt the united efforts of the Americans and their new and powerful allies. On the 18th of June the army began their march, and proceeded to Glouceſter Point, and from thence croſſed the Delaware in ſafety through the excellent diſpoſition made by the admiral to ſecure their paſſage. They continued their march towards New York till the 28th, without any interruption from the enemy, excepting what was occaſioned by their having deſtroyed every bridge on the road. Then the rebels began to approach nearer the royal army, not in order to riſk a general engagement, but to haraſs their march, and if poſſible to ſeize their baggage, which, as the country admitted of but one route, conſiſted of a train extending near twelve miles. The judicious diſpoſitions made by general Clinton, and the bravery of his troops, compelled the aſſailants to retire on every ſide. The army marched without farther oppoſition to Naveſink, where they waited two days, in hopes that general Waſhington might be induced to take poſt near Middletown, where he might have been attacked to advantage. But as he ſtill declined affording an opportunity of coming to a general action, preparations were made for paſſing to Sandy-Hook Iſland by a bridge of flat boats, which by the extraordinary efforts of the navy was ſoon completed, and over which the whole army paſſed in about two hours time on the 5th of July, the horſes and cattle having been previouſly tranſported. They were afterwards carried up to New York; while the fleet, the proceedings of which

had

A. D. 1778. had been regulated by the motions of the army, anchored off Staten Iſland. This ſtation was leſs diſadvantageous than that of the Delaware, in caſe the French fleet at Toulon ſhould eſcape to America. This unfortunately had happened; M. D'Eſtaing having ſailed from Toulon the 13th of April with twelve ſhips of the line beſides frigates and ſtore-ſhips. The fact was known to the miniſtry the 27th of the ſame month; but no effectual meaſure had been taken in conſequence of it. It was ſeveral days even before a council was called to take this important matter into conſideration. The ſucceeding month was ſpent in naval reviews, and in parliamentary debates, in the courſe of which the miniſters acknowledged that it was judged improper to detach any part of our fleet, until the internal ſafety of Great Britain was ſufficiently provided for. Meanwhile D'Eſtaing's ſquadron rode miſtreſs of the ſea, and purſuing their courſe to America, arrived on the coaſt of Virginia the 5th of July. On the 8th they anchored at the entrance of the Delaware, and on the 11th arrived on the northern ſhore of New Jerſey.

Lord Howe made no delay in taking the neceſſary meaſures to oppoſe their attempts, until the expected reinforcement under the command of admiral Byron ſhould arrive from England. But nothing could be more blameable than the late departure, or more unfortunate than the tedious voyage of that admiral. He ſailed the 5th of June, and worked out of the channel againſt a freſh wind at ſouth-weſt. Nothing very material happened till the 3d of July, when the ſquadron was ſeparated in 49 degrees 4 minutes north latitude, and 26 degrees 48 minutes weſt longitude from the Lizard, in a moſt violent gale at north, accompanied with heavy rains. At eight o'clock next evening the ſtorm abated, and of a ſquadron of 14 veſſels ſhewed only the Princeſs Royal, Invincible, Culloden, and Guadaloupe. On the 6th the Culloden was ordered to look out to the north-eaſt quarter, and the Guadaloupe to the ſouth-weſt. The Guadaloupe joined again the next afternoon, and kept company till the 21ſt, when ſhe and the Invincible ſeparated in a thick fog on the banks of Newfoundland. On the 5th of Auguſt the admiral fell in with the Culloden, after being ſeparated a month, but

but ſhe parted company again in the night of the 11th. The A. D. Princeſs Royal being thus left by herſelf, the admiral continued 1778. his beſt endeavours to get to Sandy Hook, but the prevailing wind being from the ſouth-weſt to weſt, he made very ſlow progreſs. On the 18th of Auguſt the crew of the Princeſs Royal perceived 12 ſail of ſhips at anchor to leeward, diſtant about eight miles. Theſe were ſoon diſcovered to be part of D'Eſtaing's ſquadron, and as the admiral could neither get into the road of Sandy Hook nor of New York, without paſſing through the midſt of the enemy, he bore away for Halifax, where he arrived the 26th of Auguſt, and found the Culloden, which had reached that port before him. The reſt of the ſquadron afterwards dropped in gradually there, or into the harbour of New York, their crews very ſickly, and their furniture much impaired.

Meanwhile D'Eſtaing's ſquadron had, on the afternoon of the 12th of July, come to anchor off Shrewſbury Inlet, about four miles from Sandy Hook. They conſiſted of 12 ſail of two decked ſhips, and three frigates. One of the large ſhips had 90 guns, one 80, ſix were of 74, three of 64, one of 50; the leaſt of the frigates mounted 36 guns; and their complement in men was above 11,000. To oppoſe this formidable ſquadron lord Howe had only ſix ſail of 64 gun ſhips, three of 50, two of 40 *, with ſome frigates and ſloops, for the moſt part poorly manned. In this great diſparity of force the ſpirit of Britiſh ſeamen blazed forth with more than its uſual luſtre. A thouſand volunteers from the tranſports preſented themſelves to man the fleet. Such was their ardour, that many who had been detained as neceſſary for the watch in their reſpective ſhips,

* Liſt of lord Howe's fleet.

Eagle	of 64 guns,	Vice-admiral Howe, captains Duncan and Curtis;	
Trident,	64	——	Commodore Elliot, captain Molloy;
Nonſuch,	64	——	Captain Griffiths;
St. Albans,	64	——	Fitzherbert;
Somerſet,	64	——	Ourry;
Ardent,	64	——	Keppel;
Experiment,	50	——	Sir James Wallace;
Iſis,	50	——	Raynor;
Preſton,	50	——	Commodore Hotham;
Phœnix,	40	——	Captain Parker;
Roebuck,	40	——	Hammond.

were

A. D. 1778. were found concealed in the boats which carried their more fortunate companions on board the ſeveral men of war. The army were equally forward and impatient to ſignalize their zeal in a line of ſervice, which, independent of the ſpirit that animated them, would have been extremely diſagreeable to men unaccuſtomed to a ſea life. Though ſcarcely recruited from the fatigues of a long, toilſome, and dangerous march, they were eager to caſt lots to decide which ſhould be appointed to embark as marines. The maſters and mates of the merchantmen ſhewed equal alacrity; ſeveral taking their ſtations at the guns with the common ſailors, others putting to ſea in their ſmall ſwift ſailing ſhallops, to alarm ſuch ſhips as might be bound for the port, and to look out for the long expected arrival of Byron's reinforcement. One, of the name of Duncan, with a ſpirit of diſintereſted patriotiſm, that would have done honour to the firſt names of Greece or Rome in the moſt brilliant period of thoſe celebrated republics, wrote for leave to convert his veſſel, the whole hopes of his fortune, into a fire-ſhip, to be conducted by himſelf; rejecting all idea of any other recompence than the honour of ſacrificing his life, ſervices and expectations, to an ardent love of his country.

Lord Howe, encouraged by the noble enthuſiaſm of every one who bore the name of Britain, and which could never have been executed under a commander who was not univerſally beloved and reſpected, loſt not a moment in forming the diſpoſition of his fleet, with determined purpoſe to reſiſt the moſt vigorous exertions of the enemy. While the French admiral was employed in ſounding the bar, his lordſhip placed his ſhips in the ſtrongeſt ſituation the channel within the Hook would admit. He ſounded its ſeveral depths in perſon; he aſcertained the different ſetting of the currents; communicated his diſcoveries to the officers of the moſt experience, and after hearing their ſeveral opinions, formed ſuch plans of arrangement as ſeemed beſt adapted to counteract the enemy's deſigns. He lengthened his line which was already formed of the Iſis, Eagle, Somerſet, Trident, Nonſuch and Ardent, by adding the Leviathan ſtore-ſhip, manned by volunteers for the occaſion, and ſupplied with cannon from the train. One battery of two howitzers, and another of three eighteen pounders, were erect-

ed

ed on the point, round which the enemy muſt have paſſed, to enter the channel. A.D. 1778.

During theſe vigorous preparations the admiral had the daily mortification to ſee ſeveral of the Engliſh traders fall into the hands of the French. The Stanly armed brig, with five prizes, unfortunately anchored in the middle of their fleet, the darkneſs of the night concealing their enſigns, and was boarded before ſhe diſcovered her miſtake. If ſome traders and advice-boats had not eſcaped over the flats, the Hope, with a convoy from Halifax, would likewiſe have been taken, and added to the general loſs and indignation.

The French ſquadron had maintained a conſtant intercourſe with the ſhore by means of boats and ſmall veſſels; which was obſerved to ceaſe on the 21ſt of July. On the day following they appeared under way. The wind was favourable for croſſing the bar, the ſpring tides were at the higheſt, and every circumſtance concurred for attacking the Britiſh fleet to the greateſt advantage. The admiral, therefore, had reaſon to expect one of the hotteſt actions ever fought between the two nations. Had the Engliſh men of war been defeated, the tranſports and victuallers muſt have been an eaſy acquiſition; and the army, of courſe, compelled to ſurrender on any terms the enemy might impoſe. But D'Eſtaing ſeems not to have poſſeſſed ſufficient courage to contend for ſo great a ſtake; and at three o'clock in the afternoon he bore off to the ſouthward, to the great mortification of our gallant ſeamen, who, confident of victory, only longed for a battle.

Inſtructions were immediately diſpatched to the advice-boats ſtationed without on the flats, to follow and obſerve the motions of the French fleet. It was generally ſuppoſed that the enemy's deſign was to force the port of New York, and that their bearing to the ſouthward was owing to the circumſtances of the weather. But advice was received, that they were ſeen on the morning of the 23d, in the latitude of the Delaware. Soon after this intelligence, the Engliſh fleet received an unexpected acceſſion of force by the arrival of the Renown from the Weſt Indies; and ſo extremely inferior were they in every reſpect to the enemy, that the addition of a ſingle fifty gun ſhip was a

A. D. 1778. matter of general exultation. Such was the mortifying debility of the Britiſh fleet, while the firſt lord of the admiralty triumphed in parliament in the ſuperiority of lord Howe's ſquadron over that of M. D'Eſtaing.

The Diſpatch arrived from Halifax the 26th of July, which brought no intelligence of Byron, but informed the admiral, that the Raiſonable and Centurion were both on their way to New York. Theſe, as well as the Cornwall, formed a moſt ſeaſonable reinforcement.

It was now known for certain, that the French fleet had ſailed for Rhode Iſland. On the 29th they had been ſeen off Newport harbour; the ſame day two of their frigates had entered the Seconnet paſſage; next morning two line-of-battle ſhips had run up the Naraganſet paſſage; and the remainder of the ſquadron were at anchor without Brenton's Lodge, about five miles from the town. In this divided ſtate of the enemy, lord Howe, notwithſtanding the great inferiority of his force even after the reinforcement, determined to ſave the Britiſh garriſon at Rhode Iſland. Two additional fire-ſhips were conſtructed by his orders, and all his ſquadron was ready for ſea by the firſt of Auguſt. The weather prevented, however, his arrival at Rhode Iſland till the evening of the 9th. By this time D'Eſtaing had entered the harbour under an eaſy ſail, cannonading the town and batteries as he paſſed. His ſituation, therefore, was much ſtronger than that on which the Engliſh had depended at Sandy Hook. The rebels alſo were poſſeſſed of the left-hand ſhore, the whole length of the harbour, which gave them an opportunity not only to annoy the Britiſh fleet from the heights of Conanicut, near to which it muſt have approached, but, during the attack againſt D'Eſtaing, to bring all their guns to bear upon the Engliſh ſhips from the northern extremity of that iſland.

Next morning the wind blew directly out of the harbour, and in a ſhort time the French ſquadron appeared ſtanding out to ſea with all their ſails on board. Lord Howe immediately made the ſignal to get under way, and endeavoured by ſeveral maſterly manœuvres to throw the enemy to leeward. The weather-gage was a matter of the utmoſt importance, as, unleſs

he

he could obtain that, the fire-ſhips, in which were placed the greateſt hopes in contending with ſuch a ſuperior force, could not be brought into action; and the frigates which had charge of them would likewiſe have been prevented from engaging. But the attention of the French was as great to preſerve this advantage, as the ſolicitude of the Engliſh to acquire it. Night put an end to the manœuvres on both ſides, and next morning preſented the two fleets in the ſame ſituation with regard to the weather, but at ſomewhat greater diſtance. The wind ſtill being to the eaſtward, blowing freſh, and there appearing no proſpect of change, lord Howe, therefore, ordered the frigates which had the charge of the fire-ſhips to be informed, that, ſhould the enemy continue to preſerve the weather-gage, he ſhould wait their approach with the ſquadron formed in a line of battle a-head, from the wind to the ſtarboard. At the ſame time he took a ſtep upon which no officer could have ventured, whoſe character for perſonal bravery was leſs fully eſtabliſhed. It is well known that a commander in chief, ſtationed in the line, cannot, after the action is commenced, obſerve the general conduct of the battle. His ſervices are then of no more avail than thoſe of any other officer, equally brave and expert in the management of a ſingle ſhip. But, as lord Howe had on this occaſion to engage under ſo many diſadvantages, it was neceſſary to ſeek reſource in his ſuperior ſkill and activity, to be ready to profit of every fortuitous occurrence, and to compenſate for the inferiority of his force by his addreſs in applying it. He therefore ſhifted his flag on board the Apollo frigate, leaving the Eagle in the centre, and moved to a convenient diſtance to take a view of the whole line. Having by this gained a nearer view of the French fleet, and obſerved that they had placed their ſtrongeſt ſhips in the van, he ſtrengthened the rear of the Britiſh to receive their attack. About four o'clock the French admiral altered his bearing, and new-formed his line to engage to leeward. Lord Howe croſſed through the interſtices of the Engliſh line with the frigates and fire-ſhips, and in a few minutes after made a ſignal for his ſhips to ſhorten ſail, and cloſe to the centre. The engagement ſeemed now to be decided on by the commanders of both ſquadrons; but in a

A. D. 1778.

A. D. 1778. ſhort time the French again altered their courſe, and bearing to the ſouthward were ſpeedily, from the ſtate of the weather, entirely out of ſight.

The wind blew ſo hard that it was neceſſary for the Britiſh to lie to all night to prevent the ſeparation of their fleet. But the gale increaſed to ſuch violence, that, notwithſtanding this precaution, the blue diviſion was totally ſeparated from the reſt; the centre and van with moſt of the frigates ſtill keeping together. The Apollo, in which the admiral was embarked, having loſt her fore-maſt in the night, he ſhifted his flag next day on board the Phœnix, captain Hammond, then in company with the Centurion, Ardent, Richmond, Vigilant and Roebuck. The whole fleet was greatly diſabled by the ſtorm, their ſails ſhattered, their maſts ſprung, and the fire-ſhips rendered by the wet totally unfit for ſervice. But, though the elements warred againſt them, they failed not to aſſail their enemies wherever the opportunity offered. On the evening of the 13th, captain Dawſon, in the Renown of fifty guns, fell in with the Languedoc, carrying M. D'Eſtaing, totally diſmaſted. Having run cloſe under her lee, he gave her all his upper-deck guns; then ſtanding off to windward, opened his lower ports, and, at half a cable's length, poured in three broadſides. The darkneſs obliged him to lie to for the night, in the reſolution of renewing the attack next morning; but at the firſt dawn ſix French ſhips hove in ſight, three of which remained with the wreck, and the other three gave him chace. The ſame evening commodore Hotham would have taken the Tonant, had it not been for the intervention of other French ſhips. A circumſtance of another kind prevented the Cæſar, a 74 gun ſhip, from becoming a prize to the Iſis, after an action as brilliant as any on record in the hiſtory of the Engliſh navy. Captain Rayner of the Iſis, diſcovering the force of his opponent, at firſt endeavoured to eſcape her; but ſhe proved to be the faſteſt ſailer. In a ſhort time they were cloſe on board each other, and engaged for an hour and a half within piſtol-ſhot. Notwithſtanding the extraordinary diſproportion of force, the addreſs and intrepidity of the Engliſh captain was ſo happily ſeconded by the ardour of his officers and men, that the Frenchman was forced to put before the wind. The Iſis

was

was incapable of purſuing him, being ſo much ſhattered in her masts and rigging. Mr. Bougainville, the French captain, loſt his arm, the firſt lieutenant his leg, and they acknowledged ſeventy men killed and wounded; whereas the Iſis had but one man killed, and fourteen wounded. After theſe honourable but partial engagements, the Engliſh ſhips ſailed for the general rendezvous, which the admiral had appointed at the Hook, where they found their conſorts almoſt as much ſhattered by the ſtorm, as they had been by the ſtorm and the French fleet together. A. D. 1778.

During the time requiſite for repairing the diſabled ſhips, the Experiment, being ſent to explore the ſtate of affairs at Newport, brought intelligence, the 23d of Auguſt, that D'Eſtaing's ſquadron had again returned to Rhode Iſland. Lieutenant Stanhope arrived next day, having with great gallantry paſſed through the body of the French fleet in a whale-boat, conveying more complete information of the ſituation of the enemy. He had left them at anchor at the harbour's mouth, which it was not probable they had entered, as the wind had all along continued at eaſt. The rebels, to the number of twenty thouſand, had advanced within fifteen hundred yards of our works. From them, however, Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the Engliſh garriſon, apprehended little danger; but ſhould the French fleet come in, the governor ordered his meſſenger to ſay it would make an alarming change.

Lord Howe loſt not a moment, upon this information, to ſet ſail for the relief of the place. But he was met at ſea by the Galatea with diſpatches from general Pigot, acquainting him that D'Eſtaing had ſailed from his anchorage, and ſteered in a courſe for Boſton. His lordſhip, therefore, detached the Nautilus, Sphinx, and Vigilant to Rhode Iſland, and proceeded with the remainder of his ſquadron in queſt of the enemy. As it was not probable that the French would attempt to navigate their large ſhips in their diſabled ſtate through the ſouth channel, within George's Bank, his lordſhip was in hopes that, by following that courſe, he might intercept their paſſage to Boſton Bay. But on entering that bay the 30th, he found to his great mortification that the enemy had anticipated his arrival. The

next

A. D. 1778. next day he endeavoured to take advantage of a leading wind to view their poſition, but was prevented by the St. Albans running on ſhore near the point of Cape Cod. He effected his purpoſe, however, on the 1ſt of September, and judging that no attempt could be made againſt them in their preſent ſituation with the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs, he ſtood off to ſea, in order to diſengage his ſhips from the navigation of the coaſt, which was extremely dangerous, the wind blowing freſh from the eaſt, and the appearance of the weather in other reſpects unfavourable. When he arrived at Newport, he found that the meaſures which he had taken, had been effectual in relieving that important garriſon; the rebel general Sullivan, on the unexpected retreat of D'Eſtaing, having retired from before the place after uttering many bitter reproaches againſt the brittle faith of his new allies. Lord Howe afterwards returned to Sandy Hook, and his health being infirm, ſurrendered the powers with which he was intruſted to rear-admiral Gambier, and ſet ſail for England, where he arrived the 25th of October.

The naval operations in Europe, though far leſs complicated, were not more deciſive than in America. The French, as early as the month of May, had in the road of Breſt nineteen ſhips of 74 guns, three of 80, and fourteen frigates, commanded by the count D'Orvilliers, lieutenant-general of the marine. The duke of Chartres, eldeſt ſon of the firſt prince of the blood, commanded an eighty-gun ſhip, and gave the ſplendour of his name to this formidable equipment. The Britiſh fleet *, deſtined to act againſt the main force of the enemy, was committed to admiral Keppel, who ſailed from St. Helen's the 8th of June, with unlimited diſcretionary powers. Nothing particular hap-

* It conſiſted of the following ſhips: The Victory of 100 guns, admiral Keppel; the Queen of 90 guns, vice-admiral Harland; the Ocean of 90 guns, vice-admiral Palliſer; the Sandwich of 90 guns; the Prince George of 90 guns; the Foudroyant, Shrewſbury, Egmont, Valiant, Courageux, Ramilies, Hector, Monarque, Eliſabeth, Berwick, and Cumberland, of 74 guns each: the America, Exeter, Stirling Caſtle, Robuſte, and Bienfaiſant, of 64 guns each; Arethuſa frigate of 30 guns; Fox and Proſerpine frigates; the Alert and Meredith armed cutters, and the Vulcan fire-ſhip; in all 27 ſail; which were afterwards joined by ſome others.—See Appendix, N°. XXI. for a complete liſt of the Britiſh and French fleets.

pened

pened until the 17th, when the Engliſh fleet being in line of battle, 25 miles diſtant from the Lizard, they perceived two ſhips and two tenders ſurveying the fleet, and watching its motions. The ſituation of the admiral was ſomewhat embarraſſing; for by commencing hoſtilities without expreſs orders, the whole blame of the war might be laid upon him; but conſidering that it was neceſſary to ſtop theſe frigates, as well to obtain intelligence, as to prevent its being communicated, he immediately directed the whole fleet to chace; and between five and ſix in the evening the Milford had got cloſe along-ſide the leeward ſhip, which proved to be a large French frigate called the Licorne, of 32 guns and 230 men. Her commander could not be perſuaded by civil words to bring his veſſel to the Engliſh fleet, ſo that it was neceſſary to fire a gun, which made him prepare to obey the Engliſh officer's requeſt. The other French ſhip was purſued by the Arethuſa and Alert cutter, and, at ſome diſtance aſtern, the Valiant and Monarque. Meanwhile the French frigate which had been overtaken by the Milford, and was now attended by the America, changed her courſe, and went upon a different tack, with a view to eſcape. One of the Engliſh ſhips attending her, fired a ſhot acroſs her, which was immediately followed by the French frigate's diſcharging a whole broadſide into the America, at the very moment lord Longford was upon the gunwale talking to the French captain in the moſt civil ſtrain. The latter then ſtruck his colours; and though his conduct merited the fire of the America, lord Longford's magnanimity diſdained to take vengeance on an enemy whom he had entirely in his power. On the 19th the Valiant and Monarque who had chaced the other French ſhip, were ſeen making for the fleet with a diſabled ſhip in tow, which was ſoon perceived to be the Arethuſa with her main-maſt gone, and much ſhattered in other reſpects. The Arethuſa had, on the night of the 17th, come up with her chace, which proved to be the Belle Poule, a large French frigate with heavy metal. The French captain peremptorily refuſed to bring to, which obliged captain Marſhall of the Arethuſa to fire a ſhot, which was immediately returned by a whole broadſide from the French frigate. This brought on an engagement which laſted upwards of two hours. The action was conteſted with equal obſtinacy on A. D. 1778.

both

A. D. 1778. both ſides. The French frigate was ſuperior in weight of metal, and in the number of men; advantages which ſhe ſtood in need of: at length the Arethuſa being much ſhattered in her maſts, ſails and rigging, and there being little wind to govern her, ſhe could not prevent the French ſhip from getting into a ſmall bay, where boats at day-light came out and towed her into ſafety. The Arethuſa had eight men killed, and thirty-ſix wounded. The French acknowledge forty ſlain, and forty-ſeven wounded, on board the Belle Poule. Captain Fairfax of the Alert cutter was more fortunate, having taken, after a gallant engagement, a French ſchooner of ten carriage-guns, and ten ſwivels that attended the Belle Poule. And on the 18th the Foudroyant, Courageux, and Robuſte, had chaced and taken the Pallas, a French frigate of 32 guns and 220 men.

From papers found on board the Pallas and Licorne French frigates, the admiral diſcovered that the enemy's fleet in Breſt water conſiſted of thirty-two ſail of the line, and about a dozen frigates; whereas his own conſiſted only of twenty of the former, and three of the latter. In this perplexing ſituation he conſidered the probable conſequences of riſking an engagement againſt ſuch odds, alſo the critical and hazardous ſituation the nation might be reduced to in caſe of a defeat, as the dock-yards and whole ſhipping in the ports of the channel would, in that caſe, be at the mercy of the enemy; therefore, though he foreſaw that to come home without orders might be fatal to his own reputation, yet he reſolved to riſk that for the ſafety of his country, and accordingly returned to Spithead the 27th June for a reinforcement.

At this juncture two fleets from the Weſt Indies, with ſome ſhips from the Levant, arrived, which afforded a ſupply of ſeamen; by this ſeaſonable relief the admiral was enabled to ſail again on the 9th July, with twenty-four ſhips of the line, and was joined on his way down the channel by ſix more. The French king in the mean time had iſſued orders for repriſals on the ſhips of Great Britain, aſſigning the capture of the frigates, and our engagement with the Belle Poule, as the oſtenſible reaſons: thus nothing of war was wanting between the two nations but the ceremony of a proclamation. The French fleet, conſiſting of thirty-two ſhips of the line, and a number of frigates,

gates, had ſailed from Breſt the 8th July; they were divided into three ſquadrons, under count D'Orvilliers, (commander in chief), count Duchaffault, and the duke de Chartres, a prince of the blood, aſſiſted by three other admirals*. On their departure from Breſt, the Lively frigate, which had been cruizing to watch their motions, was captured, being ſo much entangled amongſt them that ſhe could not eſcape. A. D. 1778.

The Britiſh fleet† was alſo divided into three ſquadrons, commanded by admiral Keppel, the vice-admirals Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliſer: rear-admiral Campbell, from friendſhip to admiral Keppel, condeſcended to act as firſt captain on board the Victory. The two fleets came in ſight of each other in the afternoon of the 23d July, in the Bay of Biſcay, about 35 leagues to the weſtward of Breſt. At firſt the French admiral, from his movements, ſeemed deſirous to bring on an engagement, probably ſuppoſing the Britiſh fleet to be nearly of equal force with what it was about four weeks before; but on coming nearer he diſcovered his miſtake, and from that moment he evidently determined to avoid an action. This plan he adhered to for the three following days, notwithſtanding every effort uſed by the Britiſh admiral to bring him to action; which the latter ardently wiſhed for, before the Eaſt and Weſt India fleets, which were expected about this time, ſhould arrive, finding it would be difficult to protect them effectually, as the French fleet overſpread many leagues of the ocean. All the advantage he could obtain in four days was to ſeparate two of the enemy's line-of-battle ſhips, which returned to Breſt, and could not afterwards rejoin their fleet: this placed both fleets upon an equality as to line-of-battle ſhips. On the 24th the Britiſh admiral threw out the ſignal to chace to windward, which was continued the two following days, keeping at the ſame time his ſhips as much connected as the nature of a purſuit would admit, in order to ſeize the firſt opportunity of bringing the enemy to a cloſe engagement; but this proved ineffectual, the French cautiouſly avoiding coming to action, and in their manœuvres ſhowing great addreſs and nautical

* For a liſt of the French fleet ſee Appendix, No. XXI.

† See Appendix, N°. XXI. for a liſt of the Britiſh fleet.

A. D. 1778. knowledge. About four o'clock in the morning of the 27th July, the French were diſcovered to windward about five miles diſtance. Admiral Keppel finding ſome of his fleet too much ſcattered, made ſignals to collect them together, ſtill continuing to follow the enemy. About ten o'clock a heavy dark ſquall came on, which continued near an hour; when it cleared up, the two fleets, by a ſhift of wind, had neared each other, but on different tacks. About half paſt eleven the ſignal was hove out for a general engagement, at which time the ſhips as they came up began firing. The French attacked at ſome diſtance the headmoſt of Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, which led the van. Their fire was warmly returned by almoſt every ſhip in the fleet, as they ranged along the line; and notwithſtanding it had been extended by the chace, they were ſoon engaged, as the two fleets paſſed each other. The cannonade was very heavy, and did conſiderable execution on both ſides. The enemy, as uſual, fired chiefly at the rigging, which crippled many of the Britiſh ſhips, while Mr. Keppel continued the old way of fighting, by firing principally at the hulls of the enemy's ſhips with good ſucceſs.

The action, for the ſhort ſpace it laſted, (about three hours), was very warm. The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh was 133 killed, and 373 wounded; among the latter were four officers, none of whom died. The French concealed their loſs as much as poſſible; they acknowledged, however, 150 killed, and about 600 wounded. From the manner of engaging it is probable they loſt more men than the Britiſh, perhaps double the number.

After the different ſhips had repaired their damages, the commander in chief, about three o'clock in the afternoon, made the ſignal to form the line of battle a-head. The red diviſion, commanded by Sir Robert Harland, immediately obeyed; but the blue diviſion never came into the line during the reſt of the day, Sir Hugh Palliſer alledging, that his ſhip the Formidable was ſo much diſabled that he could not obey the ſignal.

Admiral Keppel's letter to the admiralty prior to the engagement mentioned his being for ſeveral days in chace of the enemy, from which the public expected that, if an action ſhould happen,

happen, it would prove a decisive one: but, on reading the Gazette account of this affair when it was over, and finding the enemy had escaped with their whole fleet, not a ship being captured or destroyed, they were greatly chagrined and disappointed. A.D. 1778.

Both sides claimed the victory * in this undecisive action. The French soon after the engagement, drew up in a line of battle to leeward, and continued during the afternoon in that position, with an intention, they assert, to renew the engagement; but it is more probable, with a view to bring off their crippled ships in the night, which must have been abandoned if they had fled sooner.

The French Gazette relates, that the English stole away in the night, without showing any lights; and in the morning, the French having no expectation of being able to renew the action, and finding themselves unexpectedly off Ushant, (the effects of the winds and currents), while they supposed themselves near thirty leagues from any land, they took that opportunity of putting into Brest, in order to land their wounded men.

Although the English, had no great reason to boast of victory, yet the French account is totally false; for it appeared by the evidence of witnesses upon oath, (in the subsequent trials of Keppel and Palliser), that the French, on purpose to deceive, stationed soon after it was dark three of their best sailing ships in a line, at considerable distances from each other, with lights, in order to have the appearance of their whole fleet. This finesse had the intended effect; their fleet stole away in the night, and the three ships followed them at day-light in the morning.

The British fleet was nearly in a line of battle all night, (excepting the Formidable and some other ships of Sir Hugh Palliser's division); both admiral Keppel, and Sir Robert Harland, had distinguishing lights out, and also a light at their bowsprit end. Sir Hugh Palliser, not being in his station, had no lights, neither in that situation would it have been proper, as it might have misled some of the ships of his own and other divisions. The

* See admiral Keppel's letter to the admiralty, giving an account of the action. Appendix, N°. XX.

A. D. 1778. men were on deck all night in every ſhip of the fleet, quartered at their guns, ready to renew the action in the morning, expecting the French were alſo inclined to fight; but in this they found themſelves miſtaken, their whole fleet being out of ſight, excepting the three ſhips above mentioned, which were alſo at too great a diſtance to be overtaken.

Whether the want of ſucceſs in this engagement was owing to any miſconduct in the commander in chief, to a miſunderſtanding between him and Sir Hugh Palliſer, or to ſome other cauſe *, is perhaps not eaſy to determine †: but whatever reaſons may be aſſigned for this, it is evident that a fair opportunity was loſt of ſtriking a blow againſt the maritime power of France, which might have been deciſive.

The commander diſcovering in the morning that the French had eſcaped, that many ſhips of his own fleet had ſuffered greatly in their maſts and rigging, and that there was not the leaſt proſpect of overtaking the enemy before they could reach Breſt, he had no alternative but to bring the fleet home to be repaired. He arrived off Plymouth on the 31ſt of July.

Admiral Keppel put to ſea again with the ſame number of ſhips and commanders, on the 22d of Auguſt. The French had left Breſt ſome days before, but inſtead of looking out for the Britiſh fleet, they bore away for Cape Finiſterre, leaving their trade at the mercy of our fleet and privateers. Many of their merchantmen accordingly fell into the hands of the Engliſh. The Britiſh admiral continued cruizing in the bay till the 28th of October, when he returned to Portſmouth, and the French got to Breſt a few days after.

The commiſſioners appointed to ſettle matters amicably with the Americans had ſo little effect in ſuſpending the military or naval operations acroſs the Atlantic, that it was not neceſſary to interrupt the thread of our narration by giving an account of their proceedings. But as the propoſals which they were em-

* Some experienced ſeamen attribute the miſcarriage on the 27th of July, to the Britiſh fleet keeping the old way of fighting, by firing chiefly at the hulls of the enemy; whereas if they had fired at the rigging and maſts, ſome of them muſt have been much crippled, which would have forced the French admiral, either to have ſubmitted to a general engagement, or to have abandoned the lame ſhips.

† A ſhort account of admiral Keppel's trial is ſubjoined.

powered

powered to make, altered intirely the object of the war, it is A. D.
neceſſary to explain the purport of their commiſſion, the means 1778.
uſed for giving it effect, and the ſentiments with which it was received. They ſailed the 21ſt of April in his majeſty's ſhip the Trident, and their arrival in America was notified the 9th of June, in a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to general Waſhington, intimating, that the earl of Carliſle, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, three of the commiſſioners for reſtoring peace between Great Britain and America, were then at Philadelphia, and requeſting a paſſport for their ſecretary Dr. Ferguſon, with a letter from them to Congreſs. General Waſhington declined granting this requeſt until the pleaſure of Congreſs ſhould be known; but while that aſſembly were deliberating on the expediency of the meaſure referred to them, an expreſs arrived from the general, carrying a letter from the commiſſioners addreſſed to his excellency Henry Laurens the preſident, and other members of the Congreſs. This letter, after much debate, was read. It contained the powers with which the commiſſioners were furniſhed to ſuſpend hoſtilities, to remove grievances, and to grant the requeſts which the colonies had frequently made on the ſubject of acts of parliament paſſed ſince the year 1763, and to ſettle a plan of policy for the future government of America, which ſhould obtain force, when ratified by the parliament of Great Britain; the whole ſtrain of the letter is highly reſpectful. The commiſſioners declare, it is their inclination "to eſtabliſh "the powers of the legiſlatures in each particular ſtate of Ame-"rica, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhment, "and to allow it the exerciſe of a perfect freedom of legiſla-"tion and internal government." They alſo declare themſelves ready "to concur in meaſures towards extending every freedom "to trade that the reſpective intereſts of Great Britain and "America can require; to agree that no military force ſhall be "kept up in the different ſtates of North America without the "conſent of the General Congreſs, or particular aſſemblies; "and to concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts "of America, and raiſe the value and credit of the paper cir-"culation." To theſe advantageous and condeſcending propoſals

A. D. 1778. fals the Congreſs anſwered in terms of great haughtineſs. The commiſſioners proceeded on a ſuppoſition, that the Americans were ſubjects of Great Britain, an idea utterly inadmiſſible. The commiſſioners mentioned the inſidious interpoſition of France, an expreſſion ſo diſreſpectful to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the good and great ally of the United States, that nothing but an earneſt deſire to ſpare the farther effuſion of blood could have perſuaded Congreſs to allow the reading of a paper drawn up with ſuch bold indecency of language. They obſerve, however, that "they will be contented to enter upon a conſidera-"tion of a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain, "not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when his "Britannic majeſty ſhall demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for "that purpoſe. The only ſolid proof of this diſpoſition will be "an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of theſe "ſtates, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies." Such were the fruits of a negociation, propoſed with much triumph by miniſters, and accepted with great unanimity by parliament. By the ſame fatal miſconduct, or the ſame unexampled misfortune, which had marked every ſtep of the proceedings of the Britiſh adminiſtration with regard to the colonies, the army had orders to evacuate Philadelphia at the time of the arrival of the commiſſioners. At the moment that we held out terms of peace, we diſcovered our inability to continue the war with effect. Such a remarkable coincidence naturally damped the hopes of our negociators as well as of all thoſe who were ſtill attached to the intereſts of the mother country. The Engliſh general had expected to receive a powerful reinforcement of troops; he received commiſſioners who had powers to negociate away the principal objects for which he fought. The commiſſioners expected to add weight and perſuaſion to their propoſals by being ſeconded by the active operations of the army. They were obliged to retire with that army, which now abandoned its conqueſts, and, inſtead of aſpiring at advantage, diſcovered great merit in being able to make a retreat without ſuſtaining any irreparable loſs.

Thus it happened by a fatality unknown in any other age or country, that the propoſals of the commiſſioners damped the ſpirits

ſpirits and checked the ardour of the troops, while the conduct A. D.
of the troops, however neceſſary and proper in itſelf, weakened, 1778.
diſgraced, and vilified the propoſals of the commiſſioners. After this inauſpicious beginning, it could ſcarcely be expected that any future meaſures ſhould be attended with better ſucceſs. The commiſſioners, however, continued in America four months, publiſhing proclamations of grace and pardon to thoſe who deſpiſed their power; offering friendſhip and union to thoſe who avowed that they were not only divided from us for ever, but leagued with our worſt enemies; and endeavouring to treat with aſſemblies, or correſpond with private perſons, all which endeavours were rejected with marks of ineffable contempt. At length, after being expoſed to ſuch indignities as we do not recollect that the miniſters of any independent nation ever ſubmitted to among a civilized people, and after condeſcending to ſuch degrading language of their conſtituents, as was never held by the repreſentatives of any kingdom upon earth *, they determined to return home; previous to which they publiſhed a manifeſto dated at New York the 3d of October, 1778. This contained a recapitulation of the advantages which they were empowered to confer, with an appeal from the reſolutions of the Congreſs to the inhabitants at large, and a denunciation of a more deſtructive war than had hitherto been carried on, ſince, if the Britiſh colonies were to become an acceſſion to France, prudence would dictate to Great Britain the neceſſity of rendering that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible to her enemy. Soon after the publication of this paper, which was not more effectual than the reſt of their proceedings, they ſet ſail for England.

The military and naval operations, it has been obſerved, were little interrupted by this extraordinary negociation. The advanced ſeaſon of the year, however, prevented thoſe active and powerful exertions which alone could produce any deciſive effect; the ſpirits and vigour of the troops and ſeamen ſeemed

* As an example take the following memorable words of one of the commiſſioners in a letter to the preſident of the Congreſs: "If you ſhould follow the example of Great Britain in the hour of her inſolence, and ſend us back without a hearing, I ſhould hope from private friendſhip, that I may be permitted to ſee the country, and the worthy characters ſhe has exhibited."

gradually

A. D. 1778. gradually to languiſh, and their operations naturally degenerated into the *petite guerre*. In thoſe partial hoſtilities the king's troops were generally ſucceſsful. They deſtroyed ſeveral magazines belonging to the enemy; laid waſte the poſſeſſions of ſome of the moſt obſtinate of the rebels; and demoliſhed, by the aſſiſtance of the ſhips, ſome villages which were built for the reception of prize goods, and the accommodation of the ſailors belonging to the American privateers. But no general engagement took place, nor was any thing deciſive performed by the Engliſh or French ſquadrons, both of which ſuffered greater injury from the weather than from the aſſaults of the enemy. The ſurrender of Dominica by the Engliſh was in ſome meaſure compenſated by the taking of the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were the only ſettlements the French poſſeſſed in the northern parts of America. Thus every thing ſeemed to tend to an equality; and we had the mortification to mourn over our loſs in the courſe of the war, without any proſpect of being ſoon able to repair it. We had already loſt two ſhips of the line, thirteen frigates, and ſeven ſloops of war *. The

* Liſt of Engliſh men of war taken or deſtroyed in the preſent war.

Ships.	guns.	
Auguſta,	64	burnt in the Delaware;
Somerſet,	64	loſt on the coaſt of New England;
Repulſe,	32	loſt off Bermudas;
Orpheus, Flora, Juno, Lark, each of	32	ſunk or burnt at Rhode Iſland;
Minerva,	32	taken by the French in the Weſt Indies;
Acteon,	28	burnt at Sullivan's Iſland;
Fox,	28	taken by the French off Breſt. This ſhip had before been taken by the Americans, and retaken by the Flora;
Lively,	20	taken by the French off Breſt;
Cerberus,	28	burnt at Rhode Iſland;
Mermaid,	28	run aſhore by the French off Cape Henlopen;
Active,	28	taken by the French in the Weſt Indies;
Syren,	28	deſtroyed by the Americans;
Drake,	18	taken by an American privateer;
Falcon, King's Fiſher,	18	ſunk or burnt at Rhode Iſland;
Pomona,	18	loſt in the Weſt Indies;
Merlin,	14	burnt in the Delaware;
Senegal, Thunder bomb,	14	taken by the French off Rhode Iſland.

merchant

merchant ſhips taken by the American privateers, were near a thouſand in number, and valued at nearly two millions ſterling. We had not taken one capital ſhip from the French, nor, excepting the Pallas and Licorne frigates, any man of war worth mentioning. After the naval force of the Americans ſeemed to be totally deſtroyed, it aroſe more than once from its ruins, and haraſſed our trade as much as before. The value of American captures, however, made by Engliſh veſſels, exceeded, by ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds, the loſs which the Britiſh merchants had ſuſtained; and when we take into the account the captures from the French, particularly the Modeſte and Carnatic Indiamen, each of which was worth near half a million, the balance will appear to be conſiderably in favour of Great Britain. But, in eſtimating national advantages, we muſt not compenſate the loſs of Engliſh merchants by the gains of Engliſh ſeamen. The latter, being chiefly the profit of a few individuals, is not to be put in competition with the benefit of the great body of merchants and manufacturers; nor does it even indemnify the public for the damage and diminution which the navy itſelf has ſuffered by the misfortunes of the ſea, and ſuſtained from the efforts of the enemy. A. D. 1778.

In taking a general retroſpect of the conduct of the war, in as far as the navy is concerned, it appears that the commanders in chief, as well as the captains of particular veſſels, have for the moſt part acted with their uſual bravery and wiſdom. Whatever aſperſions may be thrown on thoſe who ſuperintended the management of our marine, no diſhonour has been fixed on the Britiſh flag, nor has the ancient glory of our ſeamen been tarniſhed. Hitherto, indeed, their ſpirited ardour and intrepidity have not produced the effects that uſually reſult from them. But we are not to account for this, by ſuppoſing any diminution of thoſe eminent qualities for which they have been long diſtinguiſhed. The inauſpicious and fatal influence which prevails in a high department has continued to give us one proof after another, that no people can be great without being virtuous. The iniquities of the miniſters have been viſited on the nation——

Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

A. D. 1778. But that very circumſtance which has hitherto occaſioned our perplexity and diſtreſs, the unhappy ſuperintendence of our naval affairs, is what ought at preſent to afford us juſt grounds of conſolation. If our boundleſs ſupplies and powerful armaments had been managed and directed by the wiſdom and virtue of miniſters, and if, notwithſtanding this moſt favourable circumſtance, the exertion of our forces by ſea and land had been unable to maintain with honour the cauſe in which we were engaged, we ſhould have juſt reaſon to deſpair; becauſe it is plain, that in ſuch a caſe we could not expect, by any alteration of management, to defeat the malignant purpoſes of our natural and inveterate enemies. But if our fleets and armies were condemned to reluctant inactivity at the beginning of the war; if while we had the Americans only to contend with, we took no reſolutions becoming the dignity of a great nation; if while our enemies prepared for hoſtility, by augmenting their troops and equipping their ſquadrons, our own were allowed to rot, languiſh, and moulder away in a ſtate the moſt deplorable; if after the meſſage delivered by the French ambaſſador, which was in effect a declaration of war, had rouzed the ſpirit of the nation, our miniſters ſtill remained profoundly ſunk in lethargic ſecurity, totally incapable of thoſe vigorous meaſures which their ſituation required, and in every inſtance behind-hand with our enemies; what could we poſſibly expect from ſuch a conduct but misfortune, diſgrace, and complicated calamity? A French fleet was equipped at Breſt, and another at Toulon. The deſtination of the latter appeared plainly to every body, not concerned in adminiſtration, to be for America. But the firſt lord of the admiralty remained in doubtful ſuſpenſe. He knew not what part of the empire might be attacked. He continued motionleſs himſelf, and received patiently the hoſtile aſſault; like an unſkilful boxer, intending to cover the part on which he had already received a blow, and then ſhifting his hand to another part juſt wounded, but poſſeſſing neither ſpirit nor addreſs ſufficient to ward off the impending ſtroke. Even after D'Eſtaing's ſquadron had ſailed, the account of which we obtained by the vigilance of a foreign reſident, without any thanks to the court of admiralty, the important paſs of the Mediterranean

was

was left unguarded. It was ſtill pretended, that the deſtination of this fleet was uncertain: their ſailing in an American direction might be a feint; if a ſquadron ſhould be detached from our fleet in purſuit of them, they might perhaps return, and form a junction with D'Orvilliers, which would give him a deciſive advantage over admiral Keppel. Then the diſgrace of the nation burſt forth with irreſiſtible evidence. Notwithſtanding the boaſted declarations that our fleet was ſuperior to the united power of France and Spain, it happened that the fleet of France alone commanded more than our reſpect. The immenſe ſums voted for the navy ſupplies, for theſe three years paſt, could not furniſh us with ſhips to follow D'Eſtaing without leaving our own coaſt defenceleſs. A. D. 1778.

The conſequence of this was, that while we employed ſeveral months in gleaning the old ſtores, that had lain for years rotting in the different dock-yards, ſplicing and knotting cordage that had long been condemned as unſerviceable, and patching up maſts and yards from the remnants of a fleet once the terror of the world, D'Eſtaing rode the waves in triumph, carrying protection and independence to America. If the fortune of lord Howe had not been equal to his activity, his fatigued veſſels, conſiderable part of which, from the nature of the ſervice in which they were engaged, lay diſperſed over the wide-extended coaſt of North America, muſt have been attacked in detail, and defeated by piece-meal. The admiral himſelf, with the main force of his ſquadron, narrowly eſcaped deſtruction in the Delaware; for, had the French fleet arrived a few days ſooner, he would have been ſurprized in that river with two ſhips of 64 guns, one of 50, two of 40, and a few frigates, encumbered with a fleet of tranſports, victuallers, and private traders, laden for the moſt part with the refugees from Philadelphia, who ſeized this laſt opportunity of tranſporting their families and the wreck of their fortunes.

Thus was the main force of Great Britain on that ſide of the Atlantic left to be the ſport of contingencies. It was ſaved by ſomething that nearly reſembles a miracle. Lord Howe reſiſted until Byron's fleet, which had long been kept waving in the harbour of Portſmouth, to the no ſmall entertainment of the

A. D. 1778. populace, at length arrived in America. But this ſquadron had been equipped in ſuch a manner as rendered it fitter for a naval review than for any effective ſervice. It was unable to weather a ſummer ſtorm, and approached the coaſt of America, having more need of protection than ability to yield aſſiſtance. Among theſe and all the other multiplied errors which diſgraced every part of our naval adminiſtration, we find the great ſource of our preſent calamities. But if we make a thorough reformation in this important department, we ſhall ſoon ſee that there is no reaſon to deſpair, until the whole maſs of citizens become as corrupt as thoſe men who have brought diſgrace and calamity upon their country.

Before concluding this chapter, we have thought proper to wait for the judgment of the court-martial concerning the conduct of admiral Keppel in the action of the 27th of July. Though the period of this deciſion extends beyond the limits aſſigned to the preſent work, yet as it tends to clear up an important tranſaction, the principal circumſtances of which have been already related, we have thought it eſſential to the naval hiſtory of the year 1778. Soon after the action, the periodical publications were filled, as uſual, with encomiums or ſatires on the admiral, according to the various opinions, inclinations, or humours of the different writers, who choſe to celebrate or to arraign his character and conduct. As the admiral had little perſonal connection with the king's miniſters, and belonged to a family which had been diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of friendſhip from the late duke of Cumberland whom they followed in oppoſition, it was evident that he owed the high command conferred on him to his profeſſional abilities alone, without the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance from court favour. Thoſe who approved all the meaſures of adminiſtration were naturally, therefore, the loudeſt in condemning his behaviour, while the antiminiſterial party not only juſtified his proceedings, but held him forth as an object deſerving the warmeſt gratitude and applauſe of his fellow-citizens. Various anonymous paragraphs were publiſhed and anſwered. The panegyric of Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral of the blue, occaſioned a criticiſm on his conduct; it was ſaid that he diſobeyed orders by neglecting

to

to pay any attention to the admiral's ſignals, and thereby pre- A. D.
vented the deſtruction of the whole French fleet. Theſe in- 1778.
yectives and recriminations might have paſſed on both ſides without any material conſequence, and the propriety of admiral Keppel's behaviour being blended with the prejudices of party, would probably have remained a matter of doubt, until the paſſions of contending factions ſubſiding, had left time for liſtening to the impartiality of ſome future hiſtorian. But Sir Hugh Palliſer took a deciſive ſtep on the 4th of November; and by giving his name to the public in a letter written for his own juſtification, conveyed an indirect inſinuation againſt his commander. In the beginning of December theſe imputations were re-echoed in the houſe of commons, which called up the admiral to vindicate his profeſſional character. "If he was to go over "the buſineſs of the 27th of July again, he would conduct himſelf in the ſame manner. Every thing that could be done had "been done; and he was happy to ſay, the Britiſh flag had not "been tarniſhed in his hands. He felt himſelf perfectly eaſy "on that head, and ſhould never be aſhamed of his conduct on "the day alluded to. The oldeſt and moſt experienced officers "in his majeſty's navy, in every engagement, ſaw ſomething "which they were before unacquainted with; and that day "preſented ſomething new. He impeached no man of neglect "of duty, becauſe he was ſatisfied that the officer alluded to "had manifeſted no want of courage, the quality moſt eſſential "in a Britiſh ſeaman." He ſaid "he was much ſurprized when "an officer under his command, had made an appeal to the "public in a common newſpaper, ſigned with his name, before "any accuſation had been made againſt him, and which tended "to render him odious and deſpicable in the eyes of his countrymen." Sir Hugh Palliſer declared "he was ſo conſcious "of not having been any hindrance to a re-action with the Breſt "fleet on the 27th of July, that he was equally indifferent with "the honourable admiral how ſoon an inquiry were ſet on foot. "He had diſcovered from what the admiral had juſt ſaid, that "the principal matter which weighed againſt him in the admiral's mind was the publication in the newſpapers, which he "had ſigned with his name, and by which he would abide. If

"it

A. D. 1778. " it was imprudent, if it was wrong, the conſequence was to " himſelf. To ſay any thing againſt a friend was to a man of " ſenſibility the moſt diſagreeable thing in nature; but where an " officer's reputation was at ſtake, the removing an unjuſt ſtig- " ma was certainly the firſt object. If there was any reaſon of " accuſation, why not make it openly and fairly? If not, why " inſinuate that he had been wanting in point of conduct, though " a teſtimony was given in favour of his courage? This," he ſaid, " was a language extremely different from that of the admiral's " diſpatch containing an account of the action, in which he in- " formed the admiralty-board of the ſpirited and gallant conduct " of all the officers under his command." Admiral Keppel ac- knowledged " he had given that approbation, and was ready to " repeat it, and point the teſtimony particularly as well as gene- " rally. The vice-admiral had alluded to ſignals, and ſaid that " it was no fault of his that the fleet of France was not re-at- " tacked. As to that he could only ſay, that he preſumed every " inferior officer was to obey the ſignals of his commander; and " now when called upon to ſpeak out, he would inform the " houſe and the public, that the ſignal for coming into the Vic- " tory's wake was flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till " eight in the evening unobeyed: at the ſame time he did not " charge the vice-admiral with actual diſobedience. He doubt- " ed not but, if an inquiry ſhould be thought neceſſary, that " he would be able to juſtify himſelf, becauſe he was fully per- " ſuaded of his perſonal bravery."

In conſequence of this altercation, Sir Hugh Palliſer drew up the following charge againſt admiral Keppel, which he exhibited at the board of admiralty on the 9th of December.

CHARGE *of* MISCONDUCT *and* NEGLECT *of* DUTY *againſt the Honourable* ADMIRAL KEPPEL, *on the* 27*th and* 28*th of July*, 1778, *in divers inſtances as under mentioned.*

" I. THAT on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778, having " a fleet of thirty ſhips of the line under his command, and being " then in the preſence of a French fleet of the like number of

" ſhips

" ſhips of the line, the ſaid admiral did not make the neceſſary A. D.
" preparations for fight, did not put his fleet into a line of bat- 1778.
" tle, or into any order proper either for receiving or attacking
" an enemy of ſuch force; but, on the contrary, although his
" fleet was already diſperſed and in diſorder, he, by making the
" ſignal for ſeveral ſhips of the vice-admiral of the blue diviſion
" to chace to windward, increaſed the diſorder of that part of
" his fleet, and the ſhips were in conſequence more ſcattered
" than they had been before; and, whilſt in this diſorder, he
" advanced to the enemy, and made the ſignal for battle.
" That the above conduct was the more unaccountable, as the
" enemy's fleet was not then in diſorder, nor beaten, nor flying,
" but formed in a regular line of battle on that tack which ap-
" proached the Britiſh fleet, all their motions plainly indicating
" a deſign to give battle, and they edged down and attacked it
" whilſt in diſorder. By this unofficer-like conduct, a general
" engagement was not brought on, but the other flag-officers
" and captains were left to engage without order or regularity,
" from which great confuſion enſued: ſome of his ſhips were
" prevented from getting into action at all; others were not
" near enough to the enemy; and ſome, from the confuſion,
" fired into others of the king's ſhips, and did them conſider-
" able damage: and the vice-admiral of the blue was left alone
" to engage ſingle and unſupported. In theſe inſtances the
" ſaid admiral Keppel negligently performed the duty impoſed
" on him.

" II. That after the van and centre diviſions of the Britiſh
" fleet paſſed the rear of the enemy, the admiral did not imme-
" diately tack and double upon the enemy with theſe two divi-
" ſions, and continue the battle, nor did he collect them toge-
" ther at that time, and keep ſo near the enemy as to renew
" the battle as ſoon as it might be proper: on the contrary, he
" ſtood away beyond the enemy to a great diſtance before he
" wore to ſtand towards them again, leaving the vice-admiral
" of the blue engaged with the enemy, and expoſed to be cut
" off.

" III. That after the vice-admiral of the blue had paſſed the
" laſt of the enemy's ſhips, and immediately wore, and laid his

" own

A. D. 1778. " own ſhip's head towards the enemy again, being then in their " wake and at a little diſtance only, and expecting the admiral " to advance with all the ſhips to renew the fight, the admiral " did not advance for that purpoſe, but ſhortened ſail, hauled " down the ſignal for battle; nor did he at that time, nor at " any other time whilſt ſtanding towards the enemy, call the " ſhips together in order to renew the attack, as he might have " done, particularly the vice-admiral of the red and his diviſion, " which had received the leaſt damage, had been the longeſt " out of action, were ready and fit to renew it, were then to " windward, and could have bore down and fetched any part " of the French fleet, if the ſignal for battle had not been haul- " ed down, or if the ſaid admiral Keppel had availed himſelf of " the ſignal appointed by the 31ſt article of the fighting inſtruc- " tions, by which he might have ordered thoſe to lead, who are " to lead with the ſtarboard tacks on board, by a wind; which " ſignal was applicable to the occaſion for renewing the engage- " ment with advantage, after the French fleet had been beaten, " their line broken, and in diſorder. In theſe inſtances he did " not do the utmoſt in his power to take, ſink, burn, or deſtroy " the French fleet that had attacked the Britiſh fleet.

" IV. That inſtead of advancing to renew the engagement, " as in the preceding articles is alledged, and as he might and " ought to have done, the admiral wore, and made ſail directly " from the enemy, and thus he led the whole Britiſh fleet away " from them, which gave them an opportunity to rally unmo- " leſted, and to form again into a line of battle, and to ſtand " after the Britiſh fleet. This was diſgraceful to the Britiſh flag; " for it had the appearance of a flight, and gave the French " admiral a pretence to claim the victory, and to publiſh to the " world, that the Britiſh fleet ran away, and that he purſued " it with the fleet of France, and offered it battle.

" V. That on the morning of the 28th of July, 1778, when " it was perceived that only three of the French fleet remained " near the Britiſh in the ſituation the whole had been in the " night before, and that the reſt were to leeward at a greater " diſtance, not in a line of battle but in a heap, the admiral did " not cauſe the fleet to purſue the flying enemy, not even to

" chace

" chace the three ſhips that fled after the reſt, but on the con- A. D.
" trary he led the Britiſh fleet another way directly from the 1778.
" enemy. By theſe inſtances of miſconduct and neglect a glo-
" rious opportunity was loſt of doing a moſt eſſential ſervice to
" the ſtate, and the honour of the Britiſh navy was tarniſhed.
H. PALLISER."

THIS charge was ſent to the admiralty on the afternoon of the 9th of December, and intimation thereof was given by that board to admiral Keppel the ſame evening.

When the contents of the accuſation were laid before the public, the opinions of men, warped by a thouſand prejudices, and ſhaded by all the different gradations of knowledge and ignorance, were infinitely various, inconſiſtent, oppoſite, and contradictory. Thoſe who only knew that we had neither taken nor deſtroyed any of the French ſhips in the late engagement, a circumſtance which they could not heſitate in aſcribing to the miſconduct of our commanders, underſtood, or fancied they underſtood, the charges alledged againſt the admiral. They wiſhed that the man who had tarniſhed the antient luſtre of the Britiſh flag might be brought to condign puniſhment; for never any criſis was more alarming than the preſent, or more loudly demanded every exertion of diſcipline and ſeverity, that ſo thoſe who, ſheltered under great examples, negligently or ignorantly performed the ſervice required of them, might be rouzed to a ſenſe of their duty or inſufficiency, and either acquire ſuch talents as were beneficial to the public, or decline the weight of a command too heavy for their abilities.

This torrent of popular cenſure, which on another occaſion would have burſt forth with irreſiſtible fury, was effectually checked by two circumſtances, extremely honourable to the admiral. His candid, open, liberal behaviour had endeared him to the great body of Britiſh ſeamen, who loved his manners, and reſpected his courage. He was known to have little connection with the preſent miniſtry, and eſpecially to be no favourite with the firſt lord of the admiralty. This was ſufficient to occaſion a ſuſpicion that the miniſters in general heartily concurred in the accuſation, partly to divert the public from melancholy reflections on our preſent deplorable condition, and partly to ſhare

A. D. 1778. with others the blame which muſt otherwiſe have lain entirely on their own ſhoulders. It was known that almoſt every officer intruſted with a principal command had fallen under their diſpleaſure; and although errors, doubtleſs, muſt have been committed by our commanders in the courſe of the war, yet a repeated ſeries of calamity could only be occaſioned by an error at head-quarters, a defect of preparation, a want of vigour, ſkill, or integrity in thoſe who fitted out, planned, and directed our naval and military expeditions.

The cauſe and reputation of admiral Keppel were ſtill further ſupported by a memorial preſented to his majeſty the 30th of December, and ſigned by the firſt names in the Britiſh navy. This paper, drawn up in the form of a petition, contained, in elegant and nervous language, a ſevere remonſtrance againſt the conduct not only of Sir Hugh Palliſer, but of the lords of the admiralty. The ſubſcribing admirals repreſented to the wiſdom and juſtice of his majeſty, that Sir Hugh Palliſer had withheld the accuſation againſt his commander in chief, from the twenty-ſeventh day of July to the ninth of December; that the avowed motive of the accuſation was to recriminate againſt charges conjectured by Sir Hugh Palliſer, but which in fact were never made; that the commiſſioners of the admiralty without conſidering theſe circumſtances, or giving any previous notice to the party accuſed, had, on the ſame day on which the charge was preferred, intimated their intention that a court-martial ſhould be held on him, after forty years of meritorious ſervice, in which the glory of the Britiſh flag had been maintained and increaſed in various parts of the world. The conſequences of ſuch meaſures are repreſented as dangerous to the honour of his majeſty's officers, ſubverſive of the diſcipline of the navy, and deſtructive to the public order of ſociety *.

This memorial occaſioned no alteration in the meaſures adopted by the lords of the admiralty, who iſſued their orders to Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet, to hold a court-martial at Portſmouth, the 7th of January, for the trial of admiral Keppel. The court accord-

* See Appendix, N°. XVIII.

ingly

ingly was aſſembled, on the day appointed, with the uſual formalities, and continued, by ſeveral adjournments, till the 11th of February. In the courſe of the evidence brought by the proſecutor, no one fact was proved that could give the ſmalleſt ſupport to a ſingle article in the charge. Admiral Keppel, before bringing forward his witneſſes, made a particular reply to the various accuſations of his adverſary; and in this reply ſome circumſtances are incidentally mentioned, which place the adminiſtration of the marine department in the ſame light in which it muſt already have appeared to every one who conſiders with attention the naval hiſtory of the preſent period. In the month of March 1778, the admiral was told that a fleet lay ready for him to command. Having reached Portſmouth, he ſaw but ſix ſhips ready, and "on viewing even thoſe with a ſeaman's eye, "he was not by any means pleaſed with their condition." On the 30th of June he ſailed with twenty ſhips of the line. Thirty-two ſhips of the line lay in Breſt water, beſides an incredible number of frigates. "Was I to ſeek an engagement," ſays the admiral, "with a ſuperior force? I never did, nor ſhall I ever "fear to engage a force ſuperior to the one I then command-"ed, or that I may hereafter command. But I well know "what men and ſhips can do, and if the fleet I commanded "had been deſtroyed, we muſt have left the French maſters of "the ſea. To refit a fleet requires time. From the ſituation "of affairs, naval ſtores are not very ſoon ſupplied. Never "did I experience ſo deep a melancholy as when I found my-"ſelf forced to turn my back on France! I quitted my ſta-"tion, and courage was never put to ſo ſevere a trial." A. D. 1779.

The admiral was permitted to ſail a ſecond time, without receiving official praiſe or blame for the part which he had acted. Having taken two French frigates, he was fearful that a war with France, and all its conſequences, might be laid to his charge. "This," he ſays, "for any thing I can tell, may be "treaſured up to furniſh another matter for future accuſation." He was ſurpriſed, on his return, to be threatened with the fate of admiral Byng, and ſtill more ſurpriſed to be charged with cowardice. "I am exceedingly ſorry that the admiralty have "refuſed me the liberty of producing my inſtructions. In all

A. D. 1779. "former courts-martial the inſtructions and orders have been "ſent with the charge to the members of the court. Although "on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and com- "pelled him to take ſhelter by returning into port, yet the ef- "fort did by no means anſwer my wiſhes. I ruſhed on to re- "attack the enemy; and why I did not accompliſh my de- "ſign will be ſeen in the evidence which I ſhall produce."

When the admiral's witneſſes were examined, it appeared, that if he had waited for forming the line of battle, and had not immediately taken advantage of a change of wind to cloſe with the enemy, there could have been no engagement on the 27th of July. It was proved, that, having paſſed the French fleet, he wore ſhip in order to renew the engagement as ſoon as it was proper; as he could not have done it ſooner, had the ſtate of his own ſhip admitted of it, without throwing the ſhips aſtern into the greateſt confuſion. The Engliſh fleet at no time exhibited any ſigns of flying from the enemy; when the French after the engagement edged away, and made for ſome of our diſabled ſhips, it was neceſſary to wear again, in order to pre- vent thoſe ſhips from falling into their hands. The three French ſhips which were ſeen on the morning of the 28th of July, could not have been purſued with the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſuc- ceſs *. Thoſe facts, which entirely deſtroyed the charge againſt admiral Keppel, were eſtabliſhed by the witneſſes on both ſides. The evidence brought by the admiral, and particularly the teſtimony of admiral Campbell, Sir John Lindſay, and cap- tain Jarvis, proved, that the reaſon why the Britiſh fleet did not re-attack the French, was the diſobedience of Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral of the blue, who diſregarded the admi- ral's ſignal for forming the line, which continued flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till the evening. The court, having heard the proſecutor's evidence, and the priſoner's de- fence, unanimouſly proceeded to give ſentence on the 11th of February in the following terms: "That it is their opinion the "charge againſt admiral Keppel is malicious and ill-found- "ed, it having appeared, that the ſaid admiral, ſo far from

* See admiral Keppel's defence at large in the Appendix, N°. XIX.

"having

" having by miſconduct and neglect of duty, on the days there- A. D.
" in alluded to, loſt an opportunity of rendering eſſential ſer- 1779.
" vice to the ſtate, and thereby tarniſhed the honour of the
" Britiſh navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and ex-
" perienced officer." The preſident then delivered him his ſword, congratulating him on its being reſtored with ſo much honour, and hoping ere long he would be called forth by his ſovereign to draw it again in the ſervice of his country*.

Thus ended this celebrated trial, from which the public were led to form a very different opinion of the action of the 27th of July, from that which naturally preſented itſelf on reading the admiral's public letter to the commiſſioners of the marine department. This letter, though it contained nothing directly in oppoſition to truth, (unleſs the general panegyric beſtowed on the ſpirited conduct of Sir Robert Harland, Sir Hugh Palliſer, and the captains of the fleet, be ſuppoſed to imply an acquittal of every individual from the crime of diſobedience), yet, by concealing part of the truth, tended to miſlead the judgment of the public, and to give them both an inadequate and erroneous idea of the action. It ſeemed from the letter †, that the admiral could have attacked the French fleet a ſecond time that afternoon while they were forming the line of battle; but it appeared from the evidence, that this could not have been done, nor the engagement renewed at any time that day, without giving an evident advantage to the enemy, as Sir Hugh Palliſer's not coming into the admiral's wake agreeably to ſignal, left the Britiſh fleet throughout the whole afternoon greatly inferior to that of France.

When the voice of party ſpirit ſhall be heard no more, the impartial voice of hiſtory will aſk admiral Keppel, why he did not make the particular ſignal for each ſhip in the blue diviſion ſeparately to come into his wake, when he ſaw Sir Hugh Palliſer refuſing to obey his ſignal? By this means the engagement

* A few days after admiral Keppel's acquittal both houſes of parliament agreed unanimouſly in a vote of thanks for his gallant behaviour on the 27th of July. That of the lords was ſent by the lord chancellor, and that of the commons delivered to the admiral in his place by the ſpeaker. The city of London and Weſt India merchants followed this example.

† See Appendix, N°. XX.

might

A. D. 1779. might have been renewed, though the Formidable had continued in disobedience. However delicate a point it might be to criminate an officer who had behaved bravely, yet it will be allowed, that every degree of delicacy ought to have given place to the duty Mr. Keppel owed his country. The letter written after the action, inserted in the London Gazette, will be a sufficient warning to future commanders, not to bestow praise if they think censure is due. But if, on the one hand, admiral Keppel was blameable in some particulars, Sir Hugh Palliser seems to have been culpable on the other. If the Formidable was so much crippled as was represented, why did not the vice-admiral shift his flag on board some other ship of his division? This, it might have been expected, would have naturally occurred to so brave a man as Sir Hugh Palliser. It is to be hoped, however, that when this officer is brought to a trial *, he will be able to explain his conduct; and that his not doing what he was ordered to do will appear to have arisen from some unknown circumstances, inferring at most an error in judgment, without any malignant purpose against his commander, or intention of tarnishing the naval honour of this kingdom †.

* Sir Hugh Palliser, about a fortnight after the trial, resigned his employments of lieutenant-general of the marines, one of the lords of the admiralty, and governor of Scarborough-castle; he also vacated his seat in parliament, and retains nothing but his rank as vice-admiral of the blue. Sir Hugh was tried by a court-martial in April 1779, by orders from the board of admiralty, and acquitted.—Next year he was, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy, promoted to the government of Greenwich Hospital.

† The reduction of the French island of St. Lucia in the West Indies took place in the month of December, 1778; no advice was received in England of this event till March following, which was too late for its being inserted in this work. This omission is now supplied in the Appendix, (N°. XXII.) by an account of that important event, as transmitted to the admiralty by the honourable rear-admiral Barrington, who had the honour of commanding his majesty's ships on that expedition.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

No. I. (P. 17.)

SAILING *and* FIGHTING INSTRUCTIONS *given to the Fleet on their ſailing from Jamaica, by Edward Vernon, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Weſt Indies.*

LINE OF BATTLE.

THE *Princeſs Amelia* to lead with the ſtarboard, and the *Suffolk* with the larboard tacks on board. But if I ſhall find it neceſſary, from the different motions of the enemy, to change our order of battle, to have thoſe, who are now appointed to lead on the ſtarboard tack, to continue to lead the fleet on the larboard tack on our going about; or thoſe now to lead on the larboard tack, on the contrary to do the ſame, as the exigency of the ſervice may require: I will, with my ſignal for tacking, hoiſt a Dutch jack on the flag-ſtaff, under the Union-flag, the uſual ſignal for tacking, when they are to continue to lead the fleet on their reſpective tacks accordingly.

Rear-Admiral of the Blue, Sir CHALONER OGLE.

Frigates.	*Ships of the Line.*	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*
	Princeſs Amelia, Capt.	Hemington,	80
Experiment.	Windſor,	Berkley,	60
Sheerneſs.	York,	Coates,	60
Veſuvius, fire-ſhip.	Norfolk,	Graves,	80
Terrible, bomb.	Ruſſel, (the admiral,)	Norris,	80
Phaeton.	Shrewſbury,	Townſend,	80
Goodly.	Rippon,	Jolley,	60
	Litchfield,	Cleveland,	50
	Jerſey,	Lawrence,	60
	Tilbury,	Long,	60

Vice-

Vice-Admiral of the Blue, VERNON.

Frigates.	*Ships of the Line.*	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*
Squirrel.	Orford,	Capt. L. Aug. Fitzroy,	70
Shoreham.	Princeſs Louiſa,	Stapleton,	60
Eleanor.	Auguſta,	Denniſon,	60
Seahorſe.	Worceſter,	Perry Mayne,	60
Strombolo.	Chicheſter,	Robt. Trevor,	80
Succeſs.	Pr. Caroline, (admiral),	Watſon,	80
Vulcan.	Torbay,	Gaſcoigne,	80
Cumberland.	Strafford,	Thos. Trevor,	60
Alderney Bomb.	Weymouth,	Knowles,	60
Pompey.	Deptford,	Moſtyn,	60
Brig Tender.	Burford,	Griffin,	70

Commodore LESTOCK's *Diviſion.*

	Defiance,	Jn°. Trevor,	60
	Dunkirk,	Cooper,	60
Aſtrea.	Lyon,	Cotterel,	60
Wolf Sloop.	Prince Frederick,	L. A. Beauclerc,	70
Ætna.	Boyne, (commodore),	Colby,	80
Firebrand.	Hampton Court,	Dent,	70
Virgin Queen.	Falmouth,	Douglas,	50
	Montague,	Chambers,	60
	Suffolk,	Davers,	70

SIGNALS.

When the admiral would ſpeak with the captain of any ſhip under-mentioned, he will raiſe a pendant, as againſt the ſhip's name, and of the colour ſet above it; if a lieutenant, the ſame ſignal with a weſt of the enſign; and if a boat without an officer, the weſt will be hoiſted but half-ſtaff up.

Memorandum: When I would have any of the fire-ſhips, bombs, or tenders, taken in tow, at the ſame time that I make the ſignal for the ſhip that is to tow, and for the ſhip that is to be towed, I will hoiſt up a flag, blue and white, at the flag-ſtaff of the main top-maſt head.

Red.

Red.	*White.*	*Blue.*	*Yellow.*		
Boyne	Prſs. Amelia	Chicheſter	Terrible	*Main*	*Top-maſt head.*
Norfolk	Suffolk	Shrewſbury	Eleanor	*Fore*	
Worceſter	Lyon	Defiance	Ætna	*Mizen*	
Tilbury	Squirrel	Torbay	Firebrand	*Starb.*	*Main topſail yard arm.*
Windſor	Prſs. Louiſa	Falmouth	Veſuvius	*Larb.*	
Burford	Pr. Frederick	Strafford	Phaeton	*Starb.*	*Fore topſail yard arm.*
Montague	Orford	Weymouth	Strombolo	*Larb.*	
Shoreham	Auguſta	Prſs. Caroline	Succeſs	*Starb.*	*Mizen topſail yard arm.*
Hampt[n] Court	Dunkirk	Jerſey	Vulcan	*Larb.*	
Litchfield	Ludl. Caſtle	Deptford	Cumberland	*Starb.*	*Main yard-arm.*
Experiment	Rippon	York	Alderney	*Larb.*	
Sea Horſe	Sheerneſs	Ruſſel	Brig. Tender	*Starb.*	*Fore yard-arm.*
Aſtrea	Wolf		Virgin Queen	*Larb.*	
			Pompey	*Starb.*	*Croſs jack yard arm.*
			Goodly	*Larb.*	

When the ſhips are in line of battle, the frigates, fire-ſhips, bombs and tenders are to keep on the oppoſite ſide of the enemy. When I make the ſignal, in line of battle, for the van of the fleet to tack firſt, in order to gain the windward of the enemy then each ſhip is to tack in the headmoſt ſhip's wake, for loſing no ground. For all other ſignals they are referred to the general printed ſailing and fighting inſtructions, and ſuch other additional inſtructions as you receive from me.

VERNON.

No. II. (P. 37.)

SHIPS *in* COMMISSION *in the year* 1741.

FIRST RATES, 100 *guns.*

Royal George,	Captain Allen.
Royal Sovereign,	Faulkener.
Victory,	Falkland.

SECOND RATES, 90 *guns.*

Duke,	Commodore Brown.
St. George,	Captain Dilkes.
Marlborough,	Clinton.
Neptune,	Whorwood.
Sandwich,	Mead.

THIRD RATES, 80 *guns.*

Princeſs Amelia,	Captain Hemmington.
Boyne,	Leſtock.
Princeſs Caroline,	Griffin.
Chicheſter,	Trevor.
Cumberland,	Steuart.
Lancaſter,	Coyley.
Norfolk,	Graves.
Ruſſel,	Norris.
Shrewſbury,	Townſend.
Somerſet,	Barneſley.
Torbay,	Gaſcoigne.

70 *guns.*

Burford,	Captain Watſon.
Buckingham,	Young.
Prince Frederick,	Lord A. Beauclerc.
Grafton,	Rycault.
Elizabeth,	Durele.
Eſſex,	Robinſon.
Hampton Court,	Dent.
Ipſwich,	Martin.
Kent,	Mitchel.

Lenox,

Lenox,	Commodore	Mayne
Naſſau,	Captain	Medley.
Prince of Orange,		Oſborne.
Norwich,		Herbert.
Orford,		Lord Auguſtus Fitzroy.
Suffolk,		Davies.

FOURTH RATES, 60 *guns.*

Auguſta,	Captain	Denniſon.
Centurion,		Anſon.
Dragon,		Barnard.
Deptford,		Moſtyn.
Dunkirk,		Cooper.
Jerſey,		Laurence.
Kingſton,		Richard Norris.
Princeſs Louiſa,		Stapleton.
Lion,		Cotterel.
Montague,		Chambers.
Pembroke,		Lee.
Plymouth,		Sir R. Butler.
Rupert,		Ambroſe.
Rippon,		Jolly.
Sunderland,		Byng.
Strafford,		Trevor.
Superb,		Hervey.
Tilbury,		Long.
Windſor,		Berkeley.
Warwick,		Toller.
Worceſter,		P. Mayne.
York,		Cotes.

50 *guns.*

Aſſiſtance,	Captain	Cleland.
St. Albans,		Vincent.
Argyle,		Lingen.
Briſtol,		Young.
Chatham,		Strange.
Colcheſter,		Sir W. Hewit.
Cheſter,		Slaughter.

Falkland,	Oliphant.
Falmouth,	Douglas.
Glouceſter,	Michel.
Guernſey,	John Forbes.
Litchfield,	Knowles.
Newcaſtle,	Fox.
Orford,	Ruſſel.
Portland,	Hawes.
Panther,	Cotes.
Ruby,	Frogmore.
Romney,	Smith.
Rocheſter,	Allen.
Saliſbury,	P. Oſborne.
Severn,	Legge.
Tiger,	Forbes.
Wincheſter,	Lloyd.

FIFTH RATES, 40 *guns*.

Angleſea,	Captain Reddiſh.
Dover,	Burriſh.
Eltham,	Smith.
Hector,	Sir Y. Peyton.
Lark,	Lord G. Graham.
Liverpool,	Lord Banff.
Mary Galley,	John Durell.
Pearl,	Kidd.
Roebuck,	Crawford.
South-Sea Caſtle,	Cuzack.
Torrington,	Knight.

SIXTH RATES, 20 *guns*.

Alborough,	Captain Pocock.
Blandford,	Burriſh.
Biddeford,	Lord Forreſter.
Bridgewater,	Pet.
Deal-Caſtle,	Weſt.
Durſley Galley,	T. Smith.
Dolphin,	Holbourne.

Experiment,

Experiment,	Renton.
Flamborough,	Pearce.
Fox,	Maſters.
Gibraltar,	W. Purvis.
Greyhound,	Balchen.
Garland,	Watſon.
Kennington,	Peyton.
Loweſtaffe,	Drummond.
Lyme,	Lord Mt. Bertie.
Lively,	Swayſland.
Phœnix,	Fanſhawe.
Portmahon,	Pawlet.
Roſe,	Frankland.
Rye,	Luſhington.
Seahorſe,	Limeburner.
Shoreham,	Boſcawen.
Squirrel,	Warren.
Sheerneſs,	R. Maynard.
Succeſs,	Thompſon.
Scarborough,	Liſle.
Tartar Pink,	Townſhend.
Winchelſea,	
Wager,	Chepe.
Royal Caroline,	Sir Charles Hardy.

Fire-ſhips,	16	Store-ſhips,	3
Bomb ſloops,	6	Yachts,	6
Sloops,	15	Smacks and Tenders,	41

No. III. (P. 48.)

BRITISH FLEET *in the Mediterranean, in the year* 1743.

VAN. *Rear-admiral* ROWLEY.

Frigates, &c.	*Ships of the Line.*	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*
	Stirling Caſtle,	Capt Cooper,	70
	Warwick,	Weſt,	60
Oxford.	Naſſau,	Lloyd,	70
Feverſham.	Cambridge,	Drummond,	80
Winchelſea.	Barfleur (admiral),	De Langle,	90
	Princeſs Caroline,	Oſborne,	80
	Berwick,	Hawke,	70
	Chicheſter,	Dilkes,	80
	Kingſton,	Lovet,	60

CENTER. *Admiral* MATHEWS.

	Dragon,	Capt Watſon,	60
	Bedford,	Townſend,	70
Guernſey.	Princeſſa,	Pit,	74
Chatham.	Norfolk,	Forbes,	80
Saliſbury.	Namure (admiral,)	Ruſſel,	90
Durſley Galley.	Marlborough,	Cornwall,	90
Ann Galley.	Dorſetſhire,	Burriſh,	80
	Eſſex,	Norris,	70
	Rupert,	Ambroſe,	60
	Royal Oak,	Williams,	70

REAR. *Vice-admiral* LESTOCK.

	Dunkirk,	Capt Purvis,	60
	Somerſet,	Slaughter,	80
Nonſuch.	Torbay,	Gaſcoigne,	70
Romney.	Neptune (admiral),	Stepney,	90
Diamond.	Ruſſel,	Long,	80
Mercury fire-ſhip.	Buckingham,	Towrey,	70
	Boyne,	Frogmore,	80
	Eliſabeth,	Lingen,	70
	Revenge,	Berkeley,	70

COM-

COMBINED FLEET.

VAN. FRENCH.

Commodore GABARET.

Frigates.	*Ships of the Line.*	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*
	Le Diamant,	Monſ. de Maſſie,	50
	Le Toulouſe,	d'Aſtrour,	60
	Le Serieux,	de Chylus,	64
L'Attalante.	L'Eole,	de Gravier,	64
Le Flore.	L'Eſperance, (comm^re),	Gabaret,	74
	Le St. Eſprit,	de Pioſin,	74
	Le Boreè,	de Marquiſe,	64
	L'Aguilon,	de Vandreuil,	50

CENTER. FRENCH.

Admiral DE COURT.

	Le Tigre,	Monſ. de Saurin,	56
	Le Trident,	de Caylus,	64
	Le Duc d'Orleans,	d'Orvey,	74
Le Zephire.	Le Terrible, (adm^l),	de Court,	74
Le Volga.	Le Ferme,	de Sergue,	74
	Le Solide,	de Chateauneuf,	64
	Le Leopard,	de Galifet,	64
	L'Alcion,	de Lauce,	56

REAR. SPANISH.

Admiral NAVARRO.

	Le Superbe,	Juan Valdez,	60
	Le Poder,	Rodriguez,	60
	Le S. Fernando,	de la Viga,	60
Two Frigates.	Le Conſtant,	de Tortuga,	70
	L'Iſabella,	Pectathoui,	70
	Le R. Infanta,	Adm^l Navarro,	114
	Le Hercule,	Coſm. d'Alvarez,	70
	L'Amerique,	Fran. Patrouchi,	70
	Le Neptune,	Hen. Olivarez,	60
	L'Orient,	Joach. de Villena,	60
	Le Brillant,	Blaiſe de la Barrera,	60
	Le Retiro,	Juan Souriane,	54

No. IV. (P. 77.)

Admiral BYNG's *Inſtructions from the Lords of the Admiralty.*

WHEREAS the King's pleaſure has been ſignified to us by Mr. Fox, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, that, upon conſideration of the ſeveral advices which have been received relating to the ſuppoſed intention of the French to attack the iſland of Minorca, a ſquadron of ten ſhips of the line do forthwith ſail for the Mediterranean, under your command: and whereas we have appointed the ſhips named in the margin for this ſervice, you are hereby required and directed immediately to put to ſea with ſuch of them as are ready, (leaving orders for the reſt to follow you as ſoon as poſſible), and proceed with the utmoſt expedition to Gibraltar. Upon your arrival there, you are to inquire whether any French ſquadron is come through the Streights; and if there is, to inform yourſelf, as well as poſſible, of their number and force, and if any of them were tranſports. And as it is probable they may be deſtined for North America, and as his majeſty's ſhips, named in the margin, are either at, or going to Halifax, and are to cruize off Louiſbourg and the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, you are immediately to take the ſoldiers out of ſo many ſhips of your ſquadron, as, together with the ſhips at, and going to Halifax, will make a force ſuperior to the French ſquadron, (replacing them with landmen or ordinary ſeamen from your other ſhips), and then detach them under the command of rear-admiral Weſt, directing him to make the beſt of his way off Louiſbourg; and taking the afore-mentioned ſhips, which he may expect to find there, under his command, to cruize off the ſaid place, and the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to intercept and ſeize the aforeſaid French ſhips, or any other ſhips belonging to the French, that may be bound to, or returning from that part of North America.

If, upon your arrival at Gibraltar, you ſhall not gain intelligence of a French ſquadron having paſſed the Streights; you are then to go on without a moment's loſs of time to Minorca: or,

or, if in conſequence of ſuch intelligence you ſhall detach rear-admiral Weſt, as before directed, you are to uſe equal expedition in repairing thither with the ſhips which ſhall remain with you; and if you find any attack made upon that iſland by the French, you are to uſe all poſſible means in your power for its relief. If you find no ſuch attack made, you are to proceed off Toulon, and ſtation your ſquadron in the beſt manner you ſhall be able for preventing any ſhip's getting out of that port; or for intercepting and ſeizing any that may get out; and you are to exert the utmoſt vigilance therein, and in protecting Minorca and Gibraltar from any hoſtile attempts.

You are alſo to be vigilant for protecting the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects from being moleſted, either by the French or by cruizers from Morocco, or any other of the Barbary ſtates; and for that purpoſe to appoint proper convoys and cruizers.

You are likewiſe to be as attentive as poſſible to the intercepting and ſeizing as well ſhips of war and privateers as merchant ſhips belonging to the French, wherever they may be met with, within the limits of your command. But, in purſuance of the King's order in council, you are not to ſuffer any of the ſhips of your ſquadron to take any French veſſels out of any port belonging to the Ottoman empire, upon any pretence; nor to moleſt, detain, or impriſon, the perſons of any of the ſubjects of the Ottoman empire; and alſo, not to ſeize and detain any French ſhip or veſſel whatſoever, which they ſhall meet with in the Levant ſeas, bound from one port to another in thoſe ſeas, or to or from any ports of Egypt, having any effects of Turks on board.

Upon your arrival in the Mediterranean, you are to take under your command his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels named in the margin, which are at preſent there.

If any French ſhip of war ſhould ſail from Toulon and eſcape your ſquadron, and proceed out of the Mediterranean, you are forthwith to ſend, or repair yourſelf to England with a proportionable part of the ſhips under your command; obſerving that you are never to keep more ſhips in the Mediterranean than ſhall be neceſſary for executing the ſervice recommended to you.

To enable you to perform the above-mentioned ſervices, you are to take care to keep the ſhips and veſſels under your com-

mand in conſtant good condition, and to have them cleaned as often as ſhall be requiſite for that purpoſe.

March 30, 1756. (Signed) *Anſon, Villiers, Rowley, Boſcawen, Bateman, Edgecombe, and J. Cleland.*

No. V. (P. 87.)

State of the Royal Navy of Great Britain at the declaration of war againſt France, in the year 1756.

Firſt rates, 100 *guns*.
Royal Ann,
Britannia,
Royal George,
Royal Sovereign,
Royal William.

Second rates, 90 *guns*.
Blenheim,
Duke,
St. George
Namur,
Prince,
Ramillies,
Princeſs Royal,
Union

Third rates, 80 *guns*.
Barfleur,
Boyne,
Princeſs Caroline,
Cambridge,
Cornwall,
Prince George,
Marlborough,
Neptune,
Newark,
Norfolk,
Ruſſel.

74 *guns*.
Culloden,
Invincible,
Monarque,
Terrible,
Torbay,
Fougueux.

70 *guns*.
Bedford,
Berwick,
Buckingham,
Burford,
Captain,
Chicheſter,
Dorſetſhire,
Edinburgh,
Eliſabeth,
Eſſex,
Prince Frederick,
Grafton,
Hampton-Court,
Kent,
Lenox,
Monmouth,
Naſſau,
Northumberland,
Royal Oak,
Orford,
Princeſſa,
Revenge,
Stirling Caſtle,
Suffolk,
Somerſet,
Vanguard,
Yarmouth,
Swiftſure,
Magnanime.

66 *guns*.
Princeſs Amelia,
Cumberland,
Devonſhire,
Lancaſter.

64 *guns*.
Ipſwich,
Intrepid,
Trident.

Fourth

Fourth rates, 60 *guns*.
St. Alban's,
Anſon,
Auguſta,
Canterbury,
Defiance,
Dragon,
Dreadnought,
Dunkirk,
Eagle,
Exeter,
Greenwich,
Jerſey,
Kingſton,
Lion,
Medway,
Princeſs Louiſa,
Princeſs Mary,
Prince of Orange,
Montague,
Nottingham,
Pembroke,
Plymouth,
Rupert,
Rippon,
Strafford,
Sunderland,
Superbe,
Tilbury,
Tiger,
Vigilant,
Windſor,
Weymouth,
Worceſter,
York.

50 *guns*.
Advice,
Aſſiſtance,
Antelope,
Briſtol,
Centurion,
Chatham,
Colcheſter,
Cheſter,
Deptford,
Falkland,
Falmouth,
Glouceſter,
Guernſey,
Hampſhire,
Harwich,
Iſis,
Litchfield,
Leopard,
Newcaſtle,
Nonſuch,
Norwich,
Oxford,
Portland,
Preſton,
Panther,
Ruby,
Rocheſter,
Saliſbury,
Severn,
Sutherland,
Taviſtock,
Winchester.

Fifth rates, 44 *guns*.
Adventure,
America,
Angleſea,
Ambuſcade,
Cheſterfield,
Crown,
Diamond,
Dover,
Eltham,
Prince Edward,
Expedition,
Enterprize,
Goſport,
Glory,
Prince Henry,
Humber,
Haſtings,
Hector,
Jaſon,
Kinſale,
Launceſton,
Ludlow Caſtle,
Lark,
Liverpool,
Loop,
Lynn,
Mary Galley,
Pearl,
Penzance,
Pool,
Rainbow,
Roebuck,
Romney,
Saphire,
South-Sea Caſtle,
Thetis,
Torrington,
Woolwich.

Sixth rates, 24 *and* 20 *guns*.
Amazon,
Alderney,
Aldborough,

Aldborough,
Arundel,
Bellona,
Biddiford,
Boſton,
Bridgewater,
Blandford,
Centaur,
Deal Caſtle,
Durſley Galley,
Dolphin,
Experiment,
Flamborough,
Fowey,
Fox,
Gibraltar,
Greyhound,
Garland,
Glaſgow,
Grand Turk,
Hind,
Inverneſs,
Kennington,
Leoſtoffe,
Lively,
Lys,
Lyme,
Margate,
Mercury,
Mermaid,
Nightingale,
Phœnix,
Port-Mahon,
Queenborough,
Renown,
Ranger,
Roſe,
Rye,
Sea-Horſe,
Shoreham,
Squirrel,
Seaford,
Sheerneſs,
Syren,
Sphinx,
Surprize,
Succeſs,
Scarborough,
Solebay,
Tartar,
Triton,
Unicorn,
Wincheſter,
Wager,
Royal Caroline.

Bombs.

Firedrake,
Furnace,
Granado.

Sloops.

Albany,
Badger,
Baltimore,
Cruizer,
Diſpatch,
Falcon,
Ferret,
Fly,
Fortune,
Grampus,
Happy,
Hazard,
Hornet,
Hound,
Jamaica,
King's Fiſher,
Otter,
Peggy,
Peregrine,
Porcupine,
Ranger,
Raven,
Saltaſh,
Savage,
Scorpion,
Shark,
Speedwell,
Swallow,
Swan,
Swift,
Trial,
Viper,
Vulture,
Waſp,
Weazle,
Wolf.

Yachts.

Catherine,
Charlotte,
Dorſet,
Fubbs,
Mary,
William and Mary,
Bolton,
Chatham,
Drake,
Portſmouth,
Queenborough;

Alſo ſeveral fire-ſhips, hoys, &c.

No. VI.

No. VI. (P. 87.)

State of the Navy of France at the declaration of war againſt Great Britain, in the year 1756.

Perrier de Salvert's ſquadron.

	Guns.
Le Courageux,	74
Protheè,	64
Amphion,	50
Aigle,	50
Fleur de Lys,	30
Emeraude,	28

At Breſt.

Le Comet,	30
Amethyſte,	30
Blonde,	30
Brune,	30
Zephyr,	30
Hermione,	26
Valeur,	26
Fidele,	26
Friponne,	26

Galiſſoniere's fleet.

Le Foudroyant,	80
Temeraire,	74
Couronne,	74
Redoubtable,	74
Guerrier,	74
Content,	64
Triton,	64
Sage,	64
Lion,	64
Orpheè,	64
Fier,	50
Hipopotame,	50
Junon,	46
Roſe,	30
Pleide,	26
La Gracieuſe,	24
Nymphe,	24
Topaze,	24

Conflans's ſquadron.

Le Soleil,	80
Bourgogne,	80
Tonnant,	80
Superbe,	74
Defenſeur,	74
Dauphin,	74
Juſte,	70
Hardi,	66
Bienfaiſant,	64
Inflexible,	64
Eveille,	64
Capricieux,	64
Arc-en-Ciel,	50
Diana,	50

For carrying troops to America under M. Beaſſier.

Le Hero,	74
Illuſtre,	64
Leopard,	60
Sirene,	30
Licorne,	30
Sauvage,	30
Concord,	30
Amarante,	12

At Breſt and Rochfort.

Le Formidable,	80
Entreprenant,	74

On a cruize.

La Thetis,	24
Mutine,	24
Pomone,	24
Cumberland,	24
Galathè,	24
Heroine,	24
Anemone,	12

At Cape Breton and Martinico.

Le Prudent,	74
Aquilon,	60
Attalante,	34
Palmier,	74
Bizarre,	64
Opiniatre,	64
Active,	64
St. Michel,	64
Alcion,	54
Apollon,	50

At Toulon.	*Guns.*
Le Hector,	74
Vaillant,	64
Achille,	64
Hercule,	64
Oriflamme,	50
Careening.	
L'Intrepide,	74
Conquerant,	74
Magnifique,	74
Sceptre,	74
Algougeux,	74
Floride,	74
Floriſſant,	74
Northumberland,	68
Dragon,	74
In different docks.	
L'Ocean,	80
Centaure,	70
Diademe,	74
Zodiaque,	74
Monature,	74
Souverain,	74
Glorieux,	74
Not yet named,	74
Belliqueux,	64
Celebre,	64
Robuſte,	64
Solitaire,	64
Terrible,	64
Aigrette,	30
Veſtable,	30
Minerva,	24
Oiſeau,	24
Protecteur,	74
Fantaſque,	64
Modeſte,	60
Defiance,	30
Surprize,	30
Warwick,	50

No. VII. (P. 101.)

Secret Inſtructions to Sir John Mordaunt in the year 1757.

GEORGE, R.

1*ſt*, YOU ſhall immediately, upon the receipt of theſe inſtructions, repair to the Iſle of Wight, where we have appointed ſhips to convey you, and the forces under your command, to the coaſt of France; and, ſo ſoon as the ſaid forces ſhall be embarked, you ſhall accordingly proceed, without loſs of time, under convoy of a ſquadron of our ſhips of war, to be commanded by our truſty and well-beloved Sir Edward Hawke, knight of the Bath, admiral of the blue ſquadron of our fleet; whom we have appointed commander in chief of our ſhips to be employed in this expedition; the ſaid admiral, or the commander in chief of our ſaid ſhips for the time being, being inſtructed to co-operate with you, and be aiding and aſſiſting in all ſuch enterprizes, as, by theſe our inſtructions, you ſhall be directed to undertake for our ſervice.

2*d*, Whereas we have determined, with the bleſſing of God, to proſecute the juſt war in which we are engaged againſt the French king, with the utmoſt vigour; and it being highly expe-

dient,

dient, and of urgent neceſſity, to make ſome expedition, that may cauſe a diverſion, and engage the enemy to employ in their own defence, a conſiderable part of their forces, deſtined to invade and oppreſs the liberty of the empire, and to ſubvert the independency of Europe; and if poſſible to make ſome effectual impreſſion on the enemy, which, by diſturbing and ſhaking the credit of their public loans, impairing the ſtrength and reſources of their navy, as well as diſconcerting, and in part fruſtrating their dangerous and extenſive operations of war, may reflect luſtre on our arms, and add life and ſtrength to the common cauſe; and whereas we are perſuaded, that nothing, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, can ſo ſpeedily and effectually annoy and diſtreſs France, as a ſucceſsful enterprize againſt Rochfort; our will and pleaſure is, that you do attempt, as far as it ſhall be found practicable, a deſcent, with the forces under your command, on the French coaſt, at or near Rochfort, in order to attack, if practicable, and by a vigorous impreſſion force that place; and to burn and deſtroy, to the utmoſt of your power, all docks, magazines, arſenals, and ſhipping, that ſhall be found there, and exert ſuch other efforts, as you ſhall judge moſt proper for annoying the enemy.

3*d*, After the attempt on Rochfort ſhall either have ſucceeded or failed; and in caſe the circumſtances of our forces and fleet ſhall, with proſpect of ſucceſs, ſtill admit of further operations, you are next to conſider Port L'Orient and Bourdeaux, as the moſt important objects of our arms, on the coaſt of France; and our will and pleaſure is, that you do proceed ſucceſſively to an attempt on both, or either of thoſe places, as ſhall be judged practicable; or on any other place that ſhall be thought moſt adviſable, from Bourdeaux homeward to Havre, in order to carry and ſpread, with as much rapidity as may be, a warm alarm along the maritime provinces of France.

4*th*, In caſe, by the bleſſing of God upon our arms, you ſhall make yourſelf maſter of any place on the coaſt of France, our will and pleaſure is, that you do not keep poſſeſſion thereof; but that, after demoliſhing and deſtroying, as far as may be, all works, defences, magazines, arſenals, ſhipping, and naval ſtores, you do proceed, ſucceſſively, on the ulterior

part

At Toulon.	Guns.
Le Hector,	74
Vaillant,	64
Achille,	64
Hercule,	64
Oriflamme,	50
Careening.	
L'Intrepide,	74
Conquerant,	74
Magnifique,	74
Sceptre,	74
Algougeux,	74
Floride,	74

	Guns.
Floriſſant,	74
Northumberland,	68
Dragon,	74
In different docks.	
L'Ocean,	80
Centaure,	70
Diademe,	74
Zodiaque,	74
Monature,	74
Souverain,	74
Glorieux,	74
Not yet named,	74
Belliqueux,	64

	Guns.
Celebre,	64
Robuſte,	64
Solitaire,	64
Terrible,	64
Aigrette,	30
Veſtable,	30
Minerva,	24
Oiſeau,	24
Protecteur,	74
Fantaſque,	64
Modeſte,	60
Defiance,	30
Surprize,	30
Warwick,	50

No. VII. (P. 101.)

Secret Inſtructions to Sir John Mordaunt in the year 1757.

GEORGE, R.

1*ſt*, YOU ſhall immediately, upon the receipt of theſe inſtructions, repair to the Iſle of Wight, where we have appointed ſhips to convey you, and the forces under your command, to the coaſt of France; and, ſo ſoon as the ſaid forces ſhall be embarked, you ſhall accordingly proceed, without loſs of time, under convoy of a ſquadron of our ſhips of war, to be commanded by our truſty and well-beloved Sir Edward Hawke, knight of the Bath, admiral of the blue ſquadron of our fleet; whom we have appointed commander in chief of our ſhips to be employed in this expedition; the ſaid admiral, or the commander in chief of our ſaid ſhips for the time being, being inſtructed to co-operate with you, and be aiding and aſſiſting in all ſuch enterprizes, as, by theſe our inſtructions, you ſhall be directed to undertake for our ſervice.

2*d*, Whereas we have determined, with the bleſſing of God, to proſecute the juſt war in which we are engaged againſt the French king, with the utmoſt vigour; and it being highly expe-

dient,

dient, and of urgent neceſſity, to make ſome expedition, that may cauſe a diverſion, and engage the enemy to employ in their own defence, a conſiderable part of their forces, deſtined to invade and oppreſs the liberty of the empire, and to ſubvert the independency of Europe; and if poſſible to make ſome effectual impreſſion on the enemy, which, by diſturbing and ſhaking the credit of their public loans, impairing the ſtrength and reſources of their navy, as well as diſconcerting, and in part fruſtrating their dangerous and extenſive operations of war, may reflect luſtre on our arms, and add life and ſtrength to the common cauſe; and whereas we are perſuaded, that nothing, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, can ſo ſpeedily and effectually annoy and diſtreſs France, as a ſucceſsful enterprize againſt Rochfort; our will and pleaſure is, that you do attempt, as far as it ſhall be found practicable, a deſcent, with the forces under your command, on the French coaſt, at or near Rochfort, in order to attack, if practicable, and by a vigorous impreſſion force that place; and to burn and deſtroy, to the utmoſt of your power, all docks, magazines, arſenals, and ſhipping, that ſhall be found there, and exert ſuch other efforts, as you ſhall judge moſt proper for annoying the enemy.

3*d*, After the attempt on Rochfort ſhall either have ſucceeded or failed; and in caſe the circumſtances of our forces and fleet ſhall, with proſpect of ſucceſs, ſtill admit of further operations, you are next to conſider Port L'Orient and Bourdeaux, as the moſt important objects of our arms, on the coaſt of France; and our will and pleaſure is, that you do proceed ſucceſſively to an attempt on both, or either of thoſe places, as ſhall be judged practicable; or on any other place that ſhall be thought moſt adviſable, from Bourdeaux homeward to Havre, in order to carry and ſpread, with as much rapidity as may be, a warm alarm along the maritime provinces of France.

4*th*, In caſe, by the bleſſing of God upon our arms, you ſhall make yourſelf maſter of any place on the coaſt of France, our will and pleaſure is, that you do not keep poſſeſſion thereof; but that, after demoliſhing and deſtroying, as far as may be, all works, defences, magazines, arſenals, ſhipping, and naval ſtores, you do proceed, ſucceſſively, on the ulterior

part

part of this expedition, according as any of them ſhall be judged adviſable, and may be performed with ſuch time as ſhall be conſiſtent with your return with the troops under your command, ſo as to be in England at, or about, or as near as may be, the latter end of September, unleſs the circumſtances of our forces and fleet ſhall neceſſarily require their return ſooner; and you are to land the troops at Portſmouth, or ſuch other of our ports as the exigency of the caſe may ſuggeſt.

5th, Whereas it is neceſſary, that, upon certain occaſions, you ſhould have the aſſiſtance of a council of war, we have thought fit to appoint ſuch a council, which ſhall conſiſt of four of our principal land-officers, and of an equal number of our principal ſea-commanders, including the commanders in chief of our land and ſea forces, (except in caſes happening at land, relating to the carrying on any military operations, to be performed by our land forces only, in which caſes you may call a council of war, conſiſting of ſuch officers of our land forces as you ſhall think proper,) and all ſuch land and ſea officers, in the ſeveral caſes before mentioned, are hereby reſpectively directed, from time to time, to be aiding and aſſiſting with their advice, ſo often as they ſhall be called together by you, or by the commander in chief of our ſquadron, for that purpoſe; and in all ſuch councils of war, when aſſembled, the majority of voices ſhall determine the reſolutions thereof; and, in caſe the voices ſhall happen to be equal, the preſident ſhall have the caſting vote.

6th, And whereas the ſucceſs of this expedition will very much depend upon an entire good underſtanding between our land and ſea officers, we do hereby ſtrictly enjoin and require you, on your part, to maintain and cultivate ſuch good underſtanding and agreement; and to order that the ſoldiers under your command ſhould man the ſhips when there ſhall be occaſion for them, and when they can be ſpared from the land ſervice; as the commander in chief of our ſquadron is inſtructed, on his part, to entertain and cultivate the ſame good underſtanding and agreement; and to order the ſailors and marines, and alſo the ſoldiers ſerving as a part of the complements of our ſhips, to aſſiſt our land forces, if judged expedient, by taking

king poſt on ſhore, manning batteries, covering the boats, ſecuring the ſafe re-embarkation of the troops, and ſuch other ſervice as may be conſiſtent with the ſafety of our fleet. And in order to eſtabliſh the ſtricteſt union that may be between you and the commander in chief of our ſhips, you are hereby required to communicate theſe inſtructions to him, and he will be directed to communicate thoſe he ſhall receive to you.

7th, You ſhall, from time to time, and as you ſhall have opportunity, ſend conſtant accounts of your proceedings in the execution of theſe our inſtructions, to one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, from whom you will receive ſuch further orders and directions as we may think proper to give you.

G. R.

No. VIII. (P. 175.)

Tranſlation of an intercepted letter from General Lally to Mr. Raymond, French reſident at Pullicat, dated Pondicherry, the 2d January, 1761.

MR. RAYMOND,

THE Engliſh ſquadron is no more, Sir; out of the twelve ſhips they had in our road, ſeven are loſt, crews and all; the four others diſmaſted; and it appears that there is no more than one frigate that has eſcaped; therefore do not loſe an inſtant to ſend us chelingoes upon chelingoes, loaded with rice: the Dutch have nothing to fear now, beſides (according to the law of nations) they are only to ſend us no proviſions themſelves, and we are no more blocked up by ſea. The ſaving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already; if you miſs the preſent opportunity, it will be entirely your fault. Do not forget alſo ſome ſmall chelingoes; offer great rewards. I expect ſeventeen thouſand Marattoes within theſe four days. In ſhort, riſk all, attempt all, force all, and ſend us ſome rice, ſhould it be but half a garſe at a time.

(Signed) LALLY.

No. IX. (P. 184.)

Capitulation for the citadel of Belleiſle, made June 7, 1761.

Preliminary article. The Chevalier de St. Croix, brigadier in the king's army, and commandant of the citadel of Belleiſle, propoſes that the place ſhall ſurrender on the 12th of June, in caſe no ſuccours arrive before that time; and that, in the mean while, no works ſhall be carried on on either ſide, nor any act of hoſtility, nor any communication between the Engliſh beſieging and the French beſieged.——"Refuſed."

I. The entire garriſon ſhall march through the breach with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, lighted matches, and three pieces of cannon, with twelve rounds each. Each ſoldier ſhall have fifteen rounds in his cartouch-box. All the officers, ſerjeants, ſoldiers, and inhabitants, are to carry off their baggage: the women to go with their huſbands.——"Granted. In favour of the gallant defence which the citadel "has made, under the orders of the Chevalier de St. Croix."

II. Two covered waggons ſhall be provided, and the effects which they carry ſhall be depoſited in two covered boats, which are not to be viſited.——"The covered waggons are refuſed; "but care ſhall be taken to tranſport all the baggage to the "continent by the ſhorteſt way."

III. Veſſels ſhall be furniſhed for carrying the French troops by the ſhorteſt way into the neareſt ports of France, by the firſt fair wind.——"Granted."

IV. The French troops that are to embark are to be victualled in the ſame proportion with the troops of his Britannic majeſty; and the ſame proportion of tunnage is to be allowed to the officers and ſoldiers which the Engliſh troops have.——"Granted."

V. When the troops ſhall be embarked, a veſſel is to be furniſhed for the Chevalier de St. Croix, brigadier in the king's army, to M. de la Ville, the king's lieutenant, to M. de la Garique, colonel of foot, with brevet of commandant in the abſence of the Chevalier de St. Croix, and to the field-officers, including

including thoſe of the artillery and engineers; as alſo for the three pieces of cannon, as well as for the ſoldiers of the Cour-Royale, to be tranſported to Nantz, with their wives, ſervants, and the baggage which they have in the citadel, which is not to be viſited. They are to be victualled in the ſame proportion with the Engliſh officers of the ſame rank.——" Care ſhall be " taken that all thoſe who are mentioned in this article ſhall be " tranſported, without loſs of time, to Nantz, with their bag- " gage and effects, as well as the three pieces of cannon granted " by the firſt article."

VI. After the expiration of the term mentioned in the firſt article, a gate of the citadel ſhall be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic majeſty, at which there ſhall be kept a French guard of equal number, until the king's troops ſhall march out to embark. Thoſe guards ſhall be ordered to permit no Engliſh ſoldier to enter, nor no French ſoldier to go out.——" A gate " ſhall be delivered to the troops of his Britannic majeſty the " moment the capitulation is ſigned; and an equal number of " French troops ſhall occupy the ſame gate."

VII. A veſſel ſhall be furniſhed to the commiſſaries of war, and to the treaſurer, in which they may carry their baggage, with their ſecretaries, clerks, and ſervants, without being moleſted or viſited. They ſhall be conducted, as well as the other troops, to the neareſt port of France.——" Granted."

VIII. Meſſ. de Taille, captain-general of the garde coſte, Lamp, major, two lieutenants of cannoneers of the garde coſte, and ninety bombardiers, cannoneers, ſerjeants, and fuſileers, gardes coſtes of Belleiſle, paid by the king, ſhall have it in their choice to remain in the iſland, as well as all the other inhabitants, without being moleſted either as to their perſons or goods. And if they have a mind to ſell their goods, furniture, boats, nets, and, in general, any effects which belong to them, within ſix months, and to paſs over to the continent, they ſhall not be hindered; but, on the contrary, they ſhall have proper aſſiſtance and the neceſſary paſſports.——" They " ſhall remain in the iſland under protection of the king of " Great Britain, as the other inhabitants; or ſhall be tranſport- " ed to the continent, if they pleaſe, with the garriſon."

IX. M. Sarignon, clerk of the treaſury of the French troops, the armourer, the Bourgeois cannoneers, the ſtorekeepers, and all the workmen belonging to the engineers, may remain at Belleiſle with their families, or go to the continent with the ſame privileges as above mentioned.——"Granted. To re- "main in the iſland, upon the ſame footing with the other "inhabitants, or to be tranſported with the garriſon to the "continent, as they ſhall think proper."

X. The Roman Catholic religion ſhall be exerciſed in the iſland with the ſame freedom as under a French government. The churches ſhall be preſerved, and the rectors and other prieſts continued; and, in caſe of death, they ſhall be replaced by the biſhop of Vannes. They ſhall be maintained in their functions, privileges, immunities, and revenues.——"All the "inhabitants, without diſtinction, ſhall enjoy the free exerciſe "of their religion. The other part of this article muſt neceſ- "ſarily depend on the pleaſure of his Britannic majeſty."

XI. The officers and ſoldiers, who are in the hoſpitals of the town and citadel, ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the garriſon, and, after their recovery, they ſhall be furniſhed with veſſels to carry them to France. In the mean while they ſhall be ſupplied with ſubſiſtence and remedies till their departure, according to the ſtate which the comptroller and ſurgeons ſhall give in.——"Granted."

XII. After the term mentioned in the preliminary article is expired, orders ſhall be given that the commiſſaries of artillery, engineers, and proviſions, ſhall make an inventory of what ſhall be found in the king's magazines, out of which bread, wine, and meat ſhall be furniſhed to ſubſiſt the French troops to the moment of their departure.——"They ſhall be furniſhed with "neceſſary ſubſiſtence till their departure, on the ſame footing "with the troops of his Britannic majeſty."

XIII. Maj.-Gen. Crawfurd, as well as all the Engliſh officers and ſoldiers who have been made priſoners ſince the 8th of April 1761 incluſive, ſhall be ſet at liberty after the ſigning of the capitulation, and ſhall be diſengaged from their parole. The French officers of different ranks, volunteers, ſerjeants, and ſoldiers, who have been made priſoners ſince the 9th of

April,

April, ſhall alſo be ſet at liberty.——" The Engliſh officers " and ſoldiers, priſoners of war in the citadel, are to be free " the moment the capitulation is ſigned. The French officers " and ſoldiers, who are priſoners of war, ſhall be exchanged " according to the cartel of Sluys."

All the above articles ſhall be executed faithfully on both ſides, and ſuch as may be doubtful ſhall be fairly interpreted. ——" Granted."

After the ſignature hoſtages ſhall be ſent on both ſides, for the ſecurity of the articles of the capitulation.——" Granted."

" All the archives, regiſters, public papers, and writings, " which have any relation to the government of this iſland, " ſhall be faithfully given up to his Britannic majeſty's commiſ- " ſary. Two days ſhall be allowed for the evacuation of the " citadel; and the tranſports, neceſſary for the embarkation, " ſhall be ready to receive the garriſon and their effects. A " French officer ſhall be ordered to deliver up all the warlike " ſtores and proviſions, and, in general, every thing which be- " longs to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, to an Engliſh commiſ- " ſary appointed for that purpoſe; and an officer ſhall be or- " dered to ſhew us all the mines and ſouterains of the place."

S. Hodgson. A. Keppel.
Le Chevalier de St. Croix.

No. X.

No. X. (P. 198.)

A List of the Spanish Fleet as it stood at the breaking out of the war in 1762.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*
El Phœnix,	80	El Hercules,	68
El Rayo	80	El Principe,	68
La Rayna,	70	El Victorioso,	68
El Tigre,	70	El Terrible,	68
La Galicia,	70	El Allante,	68
El Infanto,	70	Africa,	68
La Princessa,	70	El Firme,	68
El San Philippe,	70	El Aquilos,	68
El Oriente,	68	La Espana,	62
El Levia,	68	Ferdinando,	60
El Acquilon,	68	Asia,	60
El Neptuno,	68	El Septentrion,	60
El Brillante,	68	El America,	60
El Glorioso,	68	El Dragon,	60
El Guerriero,	68	La Europa,	60
El Vencedor,	68	La Castella,	60
El Soberano,	68	El Campion,	58
El Hector,	68	El Tridente,	58
El Gallardo,	68	El Conquestador,	58
El Magnanimo,	68	El Astuto,	58
El Dichoso,	68	El Fuerte,	50
El Diligente,	68	Adventurero,	30
El Triumphante,	68	Andaluzio,	30
El Monarcho,	68	La Esmeralda,	30
El Serio,	68	La Pallas,	26
El Arrogante,	68	La Juno,	26
El Superbe,	68	La Estrea,	26
El Ponderoso,	68	La Ventura,	26
El Contente,	68	La Venus,	26

L'Industrie,

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*
L'Induſtrie,	26	La Flora,	20
La Liebre,	26	El Diligente,	20
La Venganza,	24	El Jaſon,	20
La Vittoria,	24	La Conception,	20
La Hermiona,	24	El Gabilan,	20
Galgo,	22	Gilano Xebeque,	18
La Dorada,	22	El Mercurio,	18
La Peria	22	El Jupiter,	18
La Aquila,	22	El Voſante,	18
La Frecha,	22	El Caſador,	18
La Gazutta,	22	Marte,	16
El Catalan	22	Liebre,	16
El Ibecinea,	22	El Majorquin,	16

Bomb-ketches.

El Eſterope,	16	El Pieramonte,	16
El Bronje,	16	El Bolcano,	16

Fire-ſhips.

El Valenciano,	El Botompago,
El Frueno,	El Bayo,

Addition made to the Spaniſh navy during the war.

El Monarco,	86	La Nouva Princeſſa,	84
El Elephante,	76	El Vigoroſo,	74
El Gujon,	70	El St. Geronimo,	60
El Diamante,	64		

No. XI.

No. XI. (P. 204.)

PAPERS relating to the conquest of MARTINICO.

Articles of capitulation of the citadel of Fort Royal, in the island of Martinico, the 4th of February, 1762.

Article I. THE commanding officer of the citadel shall march out at the head of the garrison, composed of troops detached from the marine, the royal grenadiers, cannoneers, bombardiers and Swiss; the different detachments of the militia and freebooters, and the other volunteers, with the honours of war, and three rounds of ammunition each.—— Answered, "The troops of his most Christian majesty shall be embarked "and sent to France, as soon as possible, at the expence of his "Britannic majesty; but the troops belonging to the island "shall lay down their arms, and be prisoners of war, until the "fate of Martinico is determined."

II. That the officers and others shall preserve their effects, have time to settle their affairs, and shall take their servants along with them.—"Granted."

III. That three days shall be granted for the evacuation of the place, at the end of which time the gate shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic majesty, whilst the garrison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning.—— Answered, "The "gate of the fort shall be given up to the troops of his Britan-"nic majesty this evening at five o'clock, and the French gar-"rison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning."

(Signed) ROBERT MONKTON.
DE LIGNERY. G. B. RODNEY.

Capitulation

Capitulation demanded by the inhabitants of the iſland of Martinico, repreſented by Meſſrs. D' Aleſſo, knight, Signior Defragny, La Pierre, captain of horſe, and Feryre, captain of infantry, furniſhed with full powers from nine quarters of the iſland.

Article I. The inhabitants ſhall quit their poſts with two field-pieces, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, and all the honours of war.——" The inhabitants ſhall march " out of all their garriſons and poſts with their arms; upon " condition that they afterwards lay them down; and that all " the forts, batteries, and military implements, be delivered to " perſons appointed to receive them."

II. The inhabitants ſhall have the free exerciſe of their religion, and the prieſts, nuns and friars, ſhall be preſerved in their cures and convents.——" Granted."

III. The inhabitants ſhall not be obliged to take arms againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, nor even againſt any other power.—" They become ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and muſt " take the oath of allegiance; but ſhall not be obliged to take " arms againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, until a peace may " determine the fate of the iſland."

IV. The inhabitants ſhall be preſerved in their privileges, rights, honours and exemptions.——" They are ſubjects of " his Britannic majeſty, and ſhall enjoy their properties, and " the ſame privileges as in the other of his majeſty's Leeward " Iſlands."

V. The priſoners taken during the ſiege ſhall be reſtored on both ſides; the free mulattoes, as well as the negroes, ſhall be reſtored as priſoners of war.——" The inhabitants and mu- " lattoes will become Britiſh ſubjects, upon the ſubmiſſion of " the whole iſland. The negroes taken in arms are deemed " ſlaves."

VI. The ſubjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in the iſland for crimes, or condemned to puniſhments, ſhall have liberty of retiring.——" Refuſed."

VII. No others than the inhabitants of this iſland ſhall, till the peace, poſſeſs any eſtates, either by acquiſition, agreement, or otherwiſe; but in caſe at the peace the country ſhall be ceded to the king of Great Britain, then it ſhall be permitted to the inhabitants, who ſhall not be willing to become his ſubjects, to ſell their eſtates, and to retire to any place they think proper.——"All ſubjects of Great Britain may poſſeſs any lands or "houſes by purchaſe. The remainder of this article granted, "provided they ſell to Britiſh ſubjects."

VIII. The inhabitants and merchants ſhall enjoy all their privileges of commerce as the ſubjects of Great Britain.—— "Granted; ſo that it does not affect the privileges of particu- "lar companies eſtabliſhed in England, or the laws of the "kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on trade in other "than Britiſh bottoms."

Signed by the above-mentioned deputies, and by *Robert Monkton* and *G. B. Rodney*, commanders of his Britannic Majeſty's forces by ſea and land, the 7th February, 1762.

On the 13th of February a ſimilar capitulation was demanded for the whole iſland, and granted with the ſame reſtrictions.

No. XII.

No. XII. (P. 219.)

Abſtract of the articles of capitulation agreed upon between Sir George Pocock, knight of the Bath, and the earl of Albemarle, and the marquis of Real Tranſporte, commander in chief of the ſquadron of his Catholic majeſty, and Don Juan de Prada, governor of the Havannah, for the ſurrender of the city, and all its dependencies, with all the Spaniſh ſhips in the harbour.

Preliminary Article.

Fort La Punta and the land-gate ſhall be delivered to his Britannic majeſty's troops to-morrow morning, the 13th of Auguſt, at twelve o'clock; at which time it is expected the following articles of capitulation ſhall be ſigned and ratified.

Article I. The garriſon, conſiſting of the infantry, artillery-men, and dragoons, the different militia of the towns in the iſland, ſhall march out of the land-gate the 20th inſtant, provided in that time no relief arrives, ſo as to raiſe the ſiege, with all the military honours, arms ſhouldered, ſix field pieces of 12 pounders each, and as many rounds to each ſoldier; the regiments ſhall take out with them the military cheſts. And the governor ſhall have ſix covered waggons which are not to be examined upon any pretence whatever.—"The garriſon ſhall "have the honours of war, and ſhall march out of the Punta "gate with two pieces of cannon, and ſix rounds for each gun. "The military cheſt refuſed. The governor will be allowed as "may boats as neceſſary to tranſport his baggage and effects "on board the ſhips deſtined for him. The military without "the town, as well as thoſe within, to deliver up their arms "to the Britiſh commiſſary."

II. The marines, and the ſhips crews who have ſerved on ſhore, ſhall obtain, on their going out, the ſame honours as the garriſon of the city; and ſhall proceed with thoſe honours on board the ſaid ſhips, that they may, together with their commander in chief, Don Gulierres de Ilevia, marquis del Real Tranſporte, ſail in the ſaid ſhips as ſoon as the port is open,

with all their money and effects, in order to proceed to ſome other port belonging to Spain, in doing which they will oblige themſelves, that, during their navigation to their deſtined port, they ſhall not attack any veſſels belonging to his Britannic majeſty, his ſubjects or allies. Likewiſe liberty ſhall be granted to the marines and ſhips crews, with their officers, to go on board the ſaid ſhips, and carry with them the effects and money in the city belonging to his Catholic majeſty.——" The marquis " of Real Tranſporte, with his officers, ſailors and marines, as " making part of the garriſon, ſhall be treated in every reſpect " as the governor and regular troops. All ſhips in the Havan- " nah, and all money and effects belonging to his Catholic " majeſty, ſhall be delivered up to perſons appointed by Sir " George Pocock and the earl of Albemarle."

III. That the Roman Catholic religion ſhall be maintained and preſerved in the ſame manner as it has hitherto been in all the dominions belonging to his Catholic majeſty; and the different orders, colleges and univerſities remain in the full enjoyment of all their rights.——" Granted."

IV. That, in conſideration that this port is ſituated by nature for the relief of thoſe who navigate in thoſe parts of Spaniſh and Britiſh America, that this port ſhall be allowed to be neutral to the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty; who are to be admitted in and out freely, to take in ſuch refreſhments as they may be in need of, as well as repairing their veſſels, paying the current prices for every thing, and that they are not to be inſulted nor interrupted in their navigation by any veſſels belonging to his Britannic majeſty, or his ſubjects or allies, from the capes Caloche, on the coaſt of Campeche, and that of St. Antonio to the weſtward of this iſland, nor from the Tortuga bank to this port; and from hence till they get into the latitude of 33 degrees north, till both their majeſties agree to the contrary.——" Refuſed."

V. That the effects detained in this city belonging to the merchants of Cadiz, which have arrived here in the different regiſter ſhips, and in which are intereſted all the European nations, a ſufficient paſſport ſhall be granted to the ſupercargoes thereof, that they may freely remit the ſame with the regiſter

ſhips,

ſhips, without running the riſk of being inſulted in their paſſage.—" Refuſed."

VI. That thoſe civil or other officers, who have had charge of the management of the adminiſtration and diſtribution of the royal treaſure, or any other affair of a peculiar nature from his Catholic majeſty, they are to be left with the free uſe of all thoſe papers which concern the diſcharge of their duty, with free liberty to carry them to Spain for that purpoſe; and the ſame ſhall be underſtood with the managers of the royal company in this city.——" All public papers to be delivered to " the ſecretaries of the admiral and general for inſpection, " which ſhall be returned to his Catholic majeſty's officers, if " not found neceſſary for the government of the iſland."

(Signed) ALBEMARLE.
G. POCOCK.

EL MARQUES DEL REAL TRANSPORTE.
JUAN DE PRADO.

No. XIII.

No. XIII. (P. 246.)

Abſtract of the principal articles of the definitive treaty of peace and friendſhip between his Britannic majeſty, the moſt Chriſtian king, and the king of Spain; concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the king of Portugal acceded on the ſame day.

BE it known to all thoſe to whom it ſhall or may in any manner belong. It has pleaſed the Moſt High to diffuſe the ſpirit of concord and union among the princes, whoſe diviſions had ſpread troubles in the four quarters of the globe. For this purpoſe the high contracting parties have named and appointed their reſpective ambaſſadors, his ſacred majeſty the king of Great Britain, John duke of Bedford; his ſacred majeſty the moſt Chriſtian king, Gabriel de Choiſeul duke of Praſlin; his ſacred majeſty the Catholic king, Don Jerome marquis of Grimaldi; his ſacred majeſty the moſt Faithful king, Martin de Mello and Caſtro; who, having duly communicated to each other their full powers, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

Article I. There ſhall be a Chriſtian, univerſal, and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between the before-mentioned ſovereigns; and a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or ſince the commencement of the æra that is juſt ended.

II. The former treaties concluded between the reſpective kingdoms are hereby renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, and ſerve as the baſis of the preſent definitive treaty.

III. The priſoners made on all ſides, and the hoſtages carried away or given during the war, ſhall be reſtored without ranſom, each crown reſpectively paying the advances made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained.

IV. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty renounces all pretenſions which he has heretofore formed, or might form to Nova Scotia,

tia, or Acadia, in all its parts; and guarantees the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain: moreover, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty cedes and guarantees to his Britannic majeſty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, and in general every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, and poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the crown of France has had till now over the ſaid places. His Britannic majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada.

V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as it is ſpecified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; and his Britannic majeſty conſents to leave to the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian king the liberty of fiſhing in the Gulf St. Lawrence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great Britain.

VI. The king of Great Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, to ſerve as ſhelter to the French fiſhermen; and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands, to erect no buildings upon them but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery, and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of the reſpective crowns in that part of the world ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the ſea; and for this purpoſe the moſt Chriſtian king cedes in full right the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſed on

the

the left ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated.

VIII. The king of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie-Galante, of Deſirade, of Martinico, and Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms.

IX. The moſt Chriſtian king cedes and guarantees to his Britannic majeſty the iſlands of Grenada and of the Grenadines; and the partition of the iſlands called neutral is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right.

X. His Britannic majeſty reſtores to France the iſland of Goree; and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty cedes to Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St Lewis, Podor, and Galam.

XI. In the Eaſt Indies, Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France the different factories which that crown poſſeſſed on the coaſt of Coromandel and Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhall reſtore, on his ſide, all that he may have conquered in the Eaſt Indies during the preſent war.

XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannic majeſty as well as Fort St. Philippe; and the town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the laſt treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

XIII. His Britannic majeſty ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed all the fortifications which his ſubjects ſhall have erected in the Bay of Honduras; and his Catholic majeſty ſhall not permit, on any pretence whatever, the Britiſh ſubjects to be diſturbed in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood.

XIV. The king of Great Britain reſtores to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the iſland of Cuba, with the fortreſs of the Havannah; and, in conſequence of this reſtitution, his Catholic majeſty cedes to Great Britain Florida, with Fort St. Auguſtine, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that

Spain

Spain poſſeſſed on the continent of North America, to the eaſt and to the ſouth-eaſt of the river Miſſiſſippi.

XV. There is a reciprocal reſtoration, on all ſides, of the conqueſts made in Germany and Portugal.

XVI. The deciſion of the prizes, made in time of peace by the ſubjects of Great Britain on the Spaniards, ſhall be referred to the courts of juſtice of the Admiralty of Great Britain, conformable to the rules eſtabliſhed among all nations; ſo that the validity of the ſaid prizes between the Britiſh and Spaniſh nations, ſhall be decided and judged according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of juſtice of the nation who ſhall have made the capture.

No. XIV. (P. 338.)

Abſtract of the Declaration ſigned and delivered by Prince Maſſerano, ambaſſador extraordinary from his Catholic majeſty, dated the 22d January, 1771; which was the ſame day accepted by the earl of Rochford, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

HIS Britannic majeſty having complained of the violence which was committed on the 10th of June, 1770, at the iſland commonly called the Great Malouine, and by the Engliſh Falkland's Iſland, in obliging by force the commander and ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty to evacuate the port by them called Egmont; a ſtep offenſive to the honour of his crown;—the prince de Maſſerano has received orders to declare, that his Catholic majeſty conſidering the deſire with which he is animated for peace, and for the maintenance of good harmony with his Britannic majeſty, and reflecting that this event might interrupt it, has ſeen with diſpleaſure this expedition tending to diſturb it; and in the perſuaſion, in which he is, of the reciprocity of ſentiments of his Britannic majeſty, and of its being far from his ſentiments to authorize any thing that might diſturb the good underſtanding between the two courts; his Catholic majeſty does diſavow the ſaid violent enterprize, and in conſequence, the Prince Maſſerano declares, that his Catholic majeſty engages to

give immediate orders that things ſhall be reſtored in the Great Malouine, at the port called Egmont, preciſely to the ſtate in which they were before the 10th of June, 1770: for which purpoſe his Catholic majeſty will give orders to one of his officers to deliver up, to the officer authorized by his Britannic majeſty, the port and fort called Egmont, with all the artillery, ſtores, and effects of his Britannic majeſty and his ſubjects. The prince de Maſſerano declares at the ſame time in the name of the king his maſter, that the engagement to reſtore the poſſeſſion of Port Egmont, cannot nor ought any ways to affect the queſtion of the prior right of ſovereignty of the Malouine Iſlands, otherwiſe called Falkland's Iſlands.

No. XV. (P. 340.)

The Proteſt of the Lords againſt an addreſs to his Majeſty to return thanks for his firm and ſpirited conduct in demanding ſatisfaction for the violent enterprize againſt Falkland's Iſlands.

DISSENTIENT, I. Becauſe it is highly unſuitable to the wiſdom and gravity of this houſe, and to the reſpect which we owe to his majeſty and ourſelves, to carry up to the throne an addreſs, approving the acceptance of an imperfect inſtrument, which has neither been previouſly authorized by any ſpecial full powers produced by the Spaniſh miniſter, nor been as yet ratified by the king of Spain. If the ratification on the part of Spain ſhould be refuſed, the addreſs of this houſe will appear no better than an act of precipitate adulation to miniſters; which will juſtly expoſe the peerage of the kingdom to the indignation of their country, and to the deriſion of all Europe.

II. Becauſe it is a direct inſult on the feelings and underſtanding of the people of Great Britain, to approve this declaration and acceptance, as a means of ſecuring our own and the general tranquillity, whilſt the greateſt preparations for war are making both by ſea and land.

III. Becauſe, from the declaration and correſpondence laid before us, we are of opinion that the miniſters merit the cenſure of

of this houſe, rather than any degree of commendation, on account of ſeveral improper acts, and equally improper omiſſions, from the beginning to the cloſe of this tranſaction: for it is aſſerted by the Spaniſh miniſters that ſeveral diſcuſſions had paſſed which might give the Britiſh miniſters reaſon to foreſee the attack upon that ſettlement that was afterwards made by the forces of Spain. Captain Hunt alſo arriving from them gave them the ſame intimations; yet ſo obſtinately negligent and ſupine were his majeſty's miniſters, that they did not even make a ſingle repreſentation to the court of Spain; which might have prevented the injury, and ſaved the enormous expence, and manifold hardſhips, which the nation has ſuffered in preparing to reſent it.

IV. Becauſe the negociation entered into much too late, was from the commencement conducted on principles as diſadvantageous to the wiſdom of our public councils, as it was finally concluded in a manner diſgraceful to the crown of Great Britain; for it appears that the court of Madrid did diſavow the act of hoſtility, as proceeding from particular inſtructions, but juſtified it under her general inſtructions to her governors; under the oath by them taken, and under the eſtabliſhed laws of America.

V. Becauſe nothing has been had or demanded as a reparation in damage for the enormous expence and other inconveniencies, ariſing from the unprovoked and confeſſed violence of the Spaniſh forces in the enterprize againſt Falkland's Iſland, and the long ſubſequent delay of juſtice.

VI. Becauſe an unparalleled and moſt audacious inſult has been offered to the honour of the Britiſh flag, by the detention of a ſhip of war of his majeſty's, for twenty days after the ſurrender of Port Egmont, and by the indignity of forcibly taking away her rudder. No reparation in honour is demanded for this wanton inſult, by which his majeſty's reign is rendered the unhappy æra in which the honour of the Britiſh flag has ſuffered the firſt ſtain with entire impunity.

VII. Becauſe the declaration by which his majeſty is to obtain poſſeſſion of Port Egmont, contains a reſervation or condition of the queſtion of the claim of prior right, being the

firſt time ſuch a claim has ever authentically appeared in any public inſtrument concluded on by the two courts.

The above was ſigned by ſixteen peers.

No. XVI. (P. 342.)

An account of the Naval Review at Portſmouth, in June 1773.

EARLY in the morning on Tueſday the 22d inſtant, the king ſet out from Kew for Portſmouth, and being arrived at Portſea Bridge, between ten and eleven the ſame morning, was received by a royal ſalute of 21 guns. His majeſty then proceeded to the firſt barrier, when major-general Parker, who commanded the garriſon during the royal reſidence at Portſmouth, delivered the keys to the king, who was pleaſed to return them. On his majeſty's entering the Grand-port Gate, he was ſaluted by a triple diſcharge of 232 pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts of Portſmouth, at Blackhouſe Fort, and at South-Sea Caſtle. His majeſty proceeded through the town out of the Water-gate to the dock-yard, and arrived at the commiſſioner's houſe ten minutes before eleven o'clock, where he was received by the preſident of the council, and ſeveral other of the great officers of ſtate, the commiſſioners of the admiralty, and the three admirals of the ſquadron at Spithead. The officers and workmen belonging to the yard, gave three cheers as his majeſty entered, and then returned to their ſeveral employments. After his majeſty had taken ſome refreſhment, he went to the governor's houſe, where he had a public levee, and then returning to the dock-yard, embarked at half an hour after one in a barge in which the royal ſtandard was immediately hoiſted. His majeſty then proceeded to Spithead, attended by the barge of the Board of Admiralty, with the flag of their office, the three admirals with their flags, and all the captains of the fleet with their pendants in their barges. As his majeſty paſſed the garriſon he was ſaluted by twenty one guns from the Blockhouſe Fort, Saluting Platform and South-Sea Caſtle. When the royal ſtandard was ſeen by the fleet at Spithead, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, two frigates, and three ſloops, moored in two lines abreaſt of each other,

other, the whole manned ſhips, and ſaluted with twenty-one guns each. The king went on board the Barfleur of 90 guns, where he was received by the Board of Admiralty, the captain being at the head of the accommodation ladder, and the ſide manned by the lieutenants of the ſhips. As ſoon as his majeſty paſſed the guard of marines on the quarter-deck, the flag of the lord high admiral, which was then flying, was ſtruck, and the royal ſtandard hoiſted at the main-top-maſt head, the lord high admiral's flag at the fore-top-maſt head, and the union flag at the mizen-top-maſt head: on the right of which all the ſhips, except the Barfleur, ſaluted with twenty one guns each. The ſhips being cleared as for action, and the officers and men at their reſpective quarters, his majeſty, after the nobility who came off upon this occaſion, and the flag officers had paid their duty to him on the quarter deck, walked fore and aft on the lower gun-deck, and took a view of the whole. His majeſty then dined on board the Barfleur, and after dinner went into the Auguſta yacht, and after making the circle of the fleet, ſailed into the harbour. Similar ceremonies were repeated during the four following days, in which time the king made ſeveral naval promotions, knighted many admirals, and diſtributed money to the ſailors and workmen.

No. XVII.

No. XVII. (P. 412.)

LIST of the FRENCH Fleet in 1778.

B. *ſignifies Breſt*, T. *Toulon*, R. *Rochfort, and* L'O. *L'Orient.*

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*
B. La Bretagne,	110	*T.* Le Cæſar,	74
La Ville de Paris,	90	La Bourgogne,	74
Le St. Eſprit,	80	Le Souverain,	74
La Couronne,	80	Le Deſtin,	74
Le Duc de Burgogne,	80	L'Altier,	64
L'Orient,	74	Le Lion,	64
Le Magnifique,	74	Le Vaillant,	64
L'Intrepide,	74	*B.* La Pourvoyeure,	40
Le Sceptre,	74	La Conſolante,	40
Le Palmier,	74	La Belle Poulle,	32
Le Defenſeur,	74	L' Amphitrite,	32
Le Diademe,	74	La Dedaigneuſe,	32
Le Zodiaque,	74	La Tourterelle,	32
Le Minataure,	74	La Nymphe,	32
Le Robuſte,	74	La Malicieuſe,	32
Le Citoyen,	74	La Licorne,	32
Le Six Corps,	74	Le Zephir,	32
Le Diligent,	74	L'Aigrette,	32
Le Glorieux,	74	L'Oiſeau,	32
Le Conquerant,	74	La Tolle,	32
T. Le Tonnant,	80	Le Dauphin,	70
Le Languedoc,	80	Le Northumberland,	78
L'Actif,	74	La Proteé,	64
Le Bien Aimé,	74	Le Sphinx,	64
Le Guerrier,	74	Le Vengeur,	64
L'Hector,	74	Le Solitaire,	64
Le Fendant,	74	L'Union,	64
Le Zelé,	74	Le Brilliant,	64
Le Protecteur,	74	L'Actionnaire,	64
Le Marſeillois,	74	*B.* L'Indien,	

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*
B. L'Indien,	64	*B.* Le David,	28
Le Roland,	64	L'Elephant,	26
L'Alexandre,	64	La Fortune,	24
Le Bizarre,	64	La Seine,	24
Le Reflechi,	64	La Menagerie,	22
Le Triton,	64	L'Etoile,	20
La Provence,	64	La Tampane,	20
Le Fantaſque,	64	La Porteuſe,	20
Le Hardi,	64	L'Ecluſe,	20
Le Caton,	64	La Bouſſole,	20
L'Amphion,	50	Le Compas,	20
Le Fier,	50	L'Eſturgeon,	20
R. L'Arteſien,	64	La Danae,	26
Le Reſolu,	64	La Mouche,	26
Le St. Michel,	64	L'Enjouée,	26
Le Bourdelois,	50	*L'O.* Le Triton,	26
L'Hippopotame,	50	*T.* La Cagnelle,	26
L'O. Le Flamand,	60	L'Atalante,	26
T. Le Sagittaire,	50	La Precieuſe,	26
L'Imperieux,	32	La Sultane,	26
L'Envieux,	32	La Chimere,	26
La Terpſichore,	32	L'Engageante,	26
La Comete,	30	La Gracieux,	26
La Diligente,	26	La Pleiade,	26
B. Le Renomeé,	30	La Fine,	26
La Sibylle,	30	La Topaze,	26
L'Indiſcrete,	30	L'Aurore,	26
La Senſible,	28	La Flore,	26
La Legere,	26	La Mignone,	26
L'Infidelle,	26	L'Amelone,	26
La Sincere,	26	L'Aimable,	26
L'Inconſtante,	26	*R.* L'Ecole,	16
La Bondeuſe,	26	Le Courrier,	16
La Blanche,	26	La Nourrice,	14
La Thetis,	24	La Barbue,	14
L'Etourdi,	20	La Coriſante,	14
La Couliſſe,	28	Le Solomon,	12

In all 67 capital veſſels, 49 frigates, beſides a great number of advice-boats, prames, pinks, xebeques and bomb-ketches.

No. XVIII. (P. 442.)

On the 30th December, the Duke of Bolton delivered to his Majeſty, in his cloſet, at St. James's, the following Memorial of the Admirals.

To the KING.

WE the ſubſcribing admirals of your majeſty's royal navy, having hitherto on all occaſions ſerved your majeſty with zeal and fidelity, and being deſirous of devoting every action of our lives, and our lives themſelves to your majeſty's ſervice, and the defence of our country, think ourſelves indiſpenſibly bound by our duty to that ſervice and that country, with all poſſible humility, to repreſent to your wiſdom and juſtice,

That Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral of the blue, lately ſerving under the command of the honourable Auguſtus Keppel, did prefer certain articles of accuſation, containing ſeveral matters of heinous offence againſt his ſaid commander in chief, to the lords commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, he the ſaid Sir Hugh Palliſer being himſelf a commiſſioner in the ſaid commiſſion. This accuſation he the ſaid Sir Hugh Palliſer with-held from the twenty-ſeventh day of July laſt, the time of the ſuppoſed offences committed, until the ninth day of this preſent December, and then brought forward for the purpoſe of recrimination againſt charges conjectured by him the ſaid Sir Hugh Palliſer, but which in fact were never made.

That the commiſſioners of the admiralty, near five months after the pretended offences aforeſaid, did receive from their ſaid colleague in office, the charge made by him againſt his ſaid commander, and without taking into conſideration the relative ſituation of the accuſer and the party accuſed, or attending to the avowed motives of the accuſation, or the length of time of with-

with-holding, or the occaſion of making the ſame, and without any other deliberation whatever, did, on the very ſame day on which the charge was preferred, and without previous notice to the party accuſed of an intention of making a charge againſt him, give notice of their intending that a court-martial ſhould be held on the ſaid admiral Keppel, after forty years of meritorious ſervice, and a variety of actions in which he had exerted eminent courage and conduct, by which the honour and power of this nation, and the glory of the Britiſh flag, had been maintained and increaſed in various parts of the world.

We beg leave to expreſs to your Majeſty our concern at this proceeding, and to repreſent our apprehenſions of the difficulties and diſcouragements which will inevitably ariſe to your ſervice therefrom; and that it will not be eaſy for men, attentive to their honour, to ſerve your Majeſty, particularly in ſituations of principal command, if the practice now ſtated to your Majeſty be countenanced, or the principles upon which the ſame has been ſupported ſhall prevail with any lord high admiral, or with any commiſſioner for executing that office.

We are humbly of opinion, that a criminal charge againſt an officer (riſing in importance according to the rank and command of that officer) which ſuſpends his ſervice to your Majeſty, perhaps in the moſt critical exigencies of the public affairs, which calls his reputation into doubt and diſcuſſion, which puts him on trial for his life, profeſſion and reputation, and which, in its conſequences, may cauſe a fatal ceſſation in the naval exertions of the kingdom, to be a matter of the moſt ſerious nature, and never to be made by authority but on ſolid ground, and on mature deliberation. The honour of an officer is his moſt precious poſſeſſion and beſt qualification; the public have an intereſt in it; and whilſt thoſe under whom we ſerve countenance accuſation, it is often impoſſible perfectly to reſtore military fame by the mere acquittal of a court-martial. Imputations made by high authority remain long and affect deeply. The ſphere of action of commanders in chief is large, and their buſineſs intricate, and ſubject to great variety of opinion; and before they are to be put on the judgment of others for acts done upon their diſcretion, the greateſt diſcretion ought to be employed.

Whether the Board of Admiralty hath by law any ſuch diſcretion, we, who are not of the profeſſion of the law, cannot poſitively aſſert; but if we had conceived that this Board had no legal uſe of their reaſon in a point of ſuch delicacy and importance, we ſhould have known on what terms we ſerved. But we never did imagine it poſſible, that we were to receive orders from, and be accountable to thoſe who, by law, were reduced to become paſſive inſtruments to the poſſible malice, ignorance, or treaſon of any individual who might think fit to diſarm his Majeſty's navy of its beſt and higheſt officers. We conceive it diſreſpectful to the laws of our country to ſuppoſe them capable of ſuch manifeſt injuſtice and abſurdity.

We therefore humbly repreſent, in behalf of public order, as well as of the diſcipline of the navy, to your Majeſty, the dangers of long concealed, and afterwards precipitately adopted charges, and of all recriminatory accuſations of ſubordinate officers againſt their commanders in chief; and particularly the miſchief and ſcandal of permitting men, who are at once in high civil office, and in ſubordinate military command, previous to their making ſuch accuſations, to attempt to corrupt the public judgment, by the publication of libels on their officers in a common news-paper, thereby exciting mutiny in your Majeſty's navy, as well as prejudicing the minds of thoſe who are to try the merits of the accuſation againſt the ſaid ſuperior officer.

HAWKE,
JOHN MOORE,
BOLTON,
SAMUEL GRAVES,
HUGH PIGOT,
ROBERT HARLAND.
BRISTOL,
JAMES YOUNG,
MATTHEW BARTON,
FRANCIS GEARY,
SHULDHAM,
CLARK GAYTON.

No. XIX.

No. XIX. (P. 444.)

January 30, 1779.

This morning, at half paſt ten o'clock, the court-martial were reſumed, and Admiral Keppel delivered the following ſpeech:

The DEFENCE *of Admiral* KEPPEL.

SIR,

AFTER forty years ſpent in the ſervice of my country, little did I think of being brought to a court-martial to anſwer to charges of miſconduct, negligence in the performance of duty, and tarniſhing the honour of the Britiſh navy. Theſe charges, Sir, have been advanced by my accuſer. Whether he has ſucceeded in proving them or not the court will determine. Before he brought me to a trial, it would have been candid in him to have given vent to his thoughts, and not by a deceptious ſhew of kindneſs to lead me into the miſtake of ſuppoſing a friend in the man who was my enemy in his heart, and was ſhortly to be my accuſer. Yet, Sir, after all my miſconduct; after ſo much negligence in the performance of duty, and after tarniſhing ſo deeply the honour of the Britiſh navy, my accuſer made no ſcruple to ſail a ſecond time with the man who had been the betrayer of his country! Nay, during the time we were on ſhore, he correſponded with me on terms of friendſhip, and even in his letters he approved of what had been done, of the part which he now condemns, and of the very negligent miſconduct, which has ſince been ſo offenſive in his eyes!

Such behaviour, Sir, on the part of my accuſer, gave me little reaſon to apprehend an accuſation from him. Nor had I any reaſon to ſuppoſe that the ſtate would criminate me. When I returned, his majeſty received me with the greateſt applauſe. Even the firſt lord of the admiralty gave his flattering teſtimony to the rectitude of my conduct, and ſeemed with vaſt ſincerity to applaud my zeal for the ſervice. Yet in the moment of approbation, it ſeems as if a ſcheme was concerting againſt my

life; for, without any previous notice, five articles of a charge were exhibited againſt me by Sir Hugh Palliſer, who, moſt unfortunately for his cauſe, lay himſelf under an imputation of diſobedience of orders, at the very time when he accuſed me of negligence! This to be ſure was a very ingenious mode of getting the ſtart of me. An accuſation exhibited againſt a commander in chief might draw off the public attention from neglect of duty in an inferior officer. I could almoſt wiſh, in pity to my accuſer, that appearances were not ſo ſtrong againſt him. Before the trial commenced, I actually thought that my accuſer might have ſome tolerable reaſons for his conduct. But from the evidence, even as adduced to account for the behaviour of the honourable gentleman in the afternoon of the 27th of July, from that evidence, I ſay, Sir, I find that I was miſtaken. The trial has left my accuſer without excuſe, and he now cuts that ſort of figure which, I truſt in God, all accuſers of innocence will ever exhibit!

I have obſerved, Sir, that the opinions of officers of different ranks have been taken. I truſt that the court will indulge me with the ſame liberty, in the evidence for my defence. Some have refuſed to give their opinions. I thought it ſtrange, as plain ſpeaking, and a full declaration, are the beſt of evidences in a good cauſe.

I would wiſh, Sir, the court to conſider, that in all great naval, as well as military operations, unleſs the deſign be fully known, the ſeveral manœuvres may have a ſtrange appearance. Maſters have been called to give their opinions on the higher departments of command. Higher authorities ſhould have been taken. Such authorities are not ſcarce, for I am happy to ſay, there never was a country ſerved by naval officers of more bravery, ſkill and gallantry, than England can boaſt at preſent. As to this court, I intreat you, gentlemen, who compoſe it, to recollect, that you ſit here as a court of honour, as well as a court of juſtice, and I now ſtand before you, not merely to ſave my life, but for a purpoſe of infinitely greater moment—to clear my fame.

My accuſer, Sir, has not been a little miſtaken in his notions of the duty of a commander in chief, or he would never have

accuſed

accuſed me in the manner he has done. During action ſubordinate officers either are (or they ought to be) too attentive to their own duty to obſerve the manœuvres of others. In general engagements it is ſcarcely poſſible for the ſame objects to appear in the ſame point of view to the commanders of two different ſhips. The point of ſight may be different. Clouds of ſmoke may obſtruct the view. Hence will ariſe the difference in the opinions of officers as to this or that manœuvre, without any intentional partiality. Whether I have conceived objects in exact correſpondence with the truth; whether I have viewed them unſkilfully, (or, as my accuſer has been pleaſed to term it, unofficer-like), theſe are matters which remain to be determined. I can only ſay, that what Sir Hugh Palliſer has imputed to me as negligence, was the effect of deliberation and choice. I will add, that I was not confined in my powers when I ſailed; I had ample diſcretion to act as I thought proper for the defence of the kingdom. I manœuvred; I fought; I returned; I did my beſt. If my abilities were not equal to the taſk, I have the conſolation to think, that I did not ſolicit, nor did I bargain for the command. More than two years ago, in the month of November, 1776, I received a letter from the firſt lord of the marine department, wherein he obſerved, "That owing to motions of foreign courts, it might be neceſſary to prepare a "fleet of obſervation." My reply to this letter was, "That "I was ready to receive any command from his majeſty, and I "begged to have the honour of an audience." This requeſt was complied with. I was cloſetted, and I told the king, "that "I was willing to ſerve him as long as my health would permit." I heard no more until the month of March, 1778, at which time I had two or three audiences, and I told his majeſty, that "I had no acquaintance with his miniſters, but I "truſted to his protection and zeal for the public good." Here were no ſiniſter views; no paltry gratifications; I had nothing, I felt nothing but an earneſt deſire to ſerve my country. I even accepted the command in chief with reluctance. I was apprehenſive of not being ſupported at home. I foreſaw that the higher the command, the more liable was I to be ruined in my reputation. Even my misfortunes, if I had any, might be conſtrued

ſtrued into crimes. During forty years ſervice I have not received any particular mark of favour from the crown. I have only been honoured with the confidence of my ſovereign in times of public danger. Neither my deficiencies nor my miſconduct were ever before brought forward to the public. And it is now ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſo well acquainted as my accuſer muſt have been with my deficient abilities, it is ſtrange, I ſay, Sir, that he ſhould be the very perſon who brought me the meſſage to take the command upon me; nay, further, Sir, he brought me that meſſage with great ſeeming pleaſure! There was, or there was not reaſon at that time to doubt my ability. If there was reaſon, how could my accuſer wiſh me to accept a command for which I was diſqualified? If there was not any reaſon to doubt my profeſſional abilities ſixteen months ago, I have given no reaſon why they ſhould be ſince called in queſtion. When I returned from the expedition, I did not complain of any thing. I endeavoured to ſtop all murmurings. I even truſted the firſt lord of the admiralty in the ſame manner as I would have done my moſt intimate friend. This might be imprudent. It might be dangerous. But, Sir, I am by nature open and unguarded, and little did I expect that traps would artfully be laid to endeavour to catch me on the authority of my own words.

It was in the month of March, 1778, that I was told a fleet lay ready for me to command. When I reached Portſmouth I ſaw but ſix ſhips ready, and, on viewing even thoſe with a ſeaman's eye, I was not by any means pleaſed with their condition. Before I quitted Portſmouth, four or five more were ready, and I will do the perſons in office the juſtice to ſay, that from that time they uſed the utmoſt diligence in getting the fleet ready for ſervice. On the 30th of June I ſailed with twenty ſhips of the line, and very fortunately fell in with the Belle Poule and other French frigates; and the letters and papers found on board them were of material ſervice to the ſtate. Captain Marſhall diſtinguiſhed himſelf with the greateſt honour. I confeſs that when I fell in with thoſe frigates I was at a loſs how to act. On the one hand I conceived the incident to be favourable to my country, and on the other I was fearful that a war with France

and

and all its conſequences might be laid to my charge. For any thing I can tell this may yet be the caſe. It may be treaſured up to furniſh another matter for future accuſation. To this hour I have neither received official approbation or cenſure for my conduct. With twenty ſhips of the line I ſailed. Thirty-two ſhips of the line lay in Breſt water, beſides an incredible number of frigates. Was I to ſeek an engagement with a ſuperior force? I never did, nor ſhall I ever fear to engage a force ſuperior to the one I then commanded, or that I may hereafter command. But I well know what men and ſhips can do, and if the fleet I commanded had been deſtroyed, we muſt have left the French maſters of the ſea. To refit a fleet requires time. From the ſituation of affairs, naval ſtores are not very ſoon ſupplied. Never did I experience ſo deep a melancholy as when I found myſelf forced to turn my back on France! I quitted my ſtation, and courage was never put to ſo ſevere a trial.

I was permitted to ſail a ſecond time, without receiving official praiſe or blame for the part I had acted. Theſe were diſcouraging circumſtances. But they did not diſturb my temper. My principal object was to get ready for ſea with all poſſible haſte. I was ſurpriſed on my return to be threatened with the fate of admiral Byng, and I was ſtill more ſurpriſed to be charged with cowardice.

With thirty ſhips of the line I ſailed early in July. The French admiral ſailed from Breſt with thirty-two ſhips. I believe that, when the fleets came in ſight of each other, the French were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee me ſo ſtrong. I deſire not to throw the ſlighteſt imputation on the courage of the French admiral. I believe him to be a brave man, and one who had ſome particular reaſons for the line of conduct he purſued. I was determined, if poſſible, to bring the French to battle, as I had every reaſon to think, that their having avoided an engagement, when it was for four days in their power to attack me, was owing to their expecting ſome capital reinforcements. I therefore thought, that the ſooner I could engage them the better, eſpecially as I knew that the principal fleets of our trade were daily expected in the channel, and if the French fleets had been permitted to diſperſe without an action, our Eaſt and

Weſt

Weſt India fleets might have been intercepted, the convoys might have been cut off, and the ſtake of England might have been loſt. I beg leave to mention, that, in the reign of king William, the gallant admiral Ruſſel was two months in ſight of a French fleet, and he could not poſſibly bring them to action. My being in ſight of the French fleet four days before the engagement, will not therefore appear to be ſo extraordinary as it has been repreſented. Had it not been for the favourable change of wind on the morning of the 27th of July, I could not have brought the French to action when I did.

I am exceedingly ſorry, Sir, that the admiralty have refuſed me the liberty of producing my inſtructions. In all former courts-martial the inſtructions and orders have been ſent with the charge to the members of the court. As it has been denied in this inſtance, I muſt, and do ſubmit.

Although on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and compelled him to take ſhelter by returning into port; yet the effort did by no means anſwer my wiſhes. I ruſhed on to re-attack the enemy. Why I did not accompliſh my deſign will be ſeen in the evidence I ſhall produce. I might, it is true, have chaced the three ſhips which were viſible on the morning of the 28th of July, but with very little proſpect of ſucceſs. I therefore choſe to return to Plymouth with my ſhattered fleet, to get ready for ſea again, not, however, forgetting to leave two ſhips of the line to cruize for the protection of our trading fleets, which, thank God, all arrived ſafe.

On my return, Sir, I moſt cautiouſly avoided to utter a ſyllable of complaint, becauſe it might have ſuſpended our naval operations, which at that time would have been highly dangerous. I could not think of attending to a court-martial, when greater objects were in view.

With reſpect to the ſecond edition of the Formidable's log-book, it appears to have been fabricated rather for the purpoſe of exculpating the proſecutor than to criminate me. I ſhall therefore paſs it over, and permit the gentleman to make the moſt of ſuch an exculpation. I cannot, however, be ſo civil to the alterations and additions in the log-book of the Robuſte.

Captain

Captain Hood's conduct muſt have ſtruck the court, as I believe it did every perſon, except the proſecutor, with aſtoniſhment.

A great ſtreſs, Sir, has been laid on my letter to the Admiralty. There is a paſſage in it where I ſeemed to approve the conduct of every officer in the fleet. The court will obſerve, that I was not in my letter to inform all Europe, that a vice-admiral under my command had been guilty of neglect, whilſt there remained a poſſibility of excuſe for his conduct. As to courts-martial, one very bad conſequence will, I am ſure, reſult from this trial: it will terrify a commander in chief from accepting a commiſſion, if he ſhould be liable to be brought to a trial by every ſubordinate officer.

As I have touched on my letters, I will juſt obſerve, Sir, that the moſt diſagreeable taſk I ever experienced was that of writing my letter of the 30th of July. However, if I writ ill, I am confident that I fought well; and the deſertion of the trade of France was evident from the numbers of rich captures which we made: a number far exceeding any thing ever known in ſo ſhort a period! His majeſty noticed this in a ſpeech from the throne.

Mr. Preſident, I now deſire that the judge-advocate may be directed to read the charge, and I will anſwer the ſeveral accuſations.

The REPLIES *of Admiral* KEPPEL *to the* CHARGES *againſt him.*

The firſt of the Charges, contained in the firſt article, is,

"THAT on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778, having "a fleet of thirty ſhips of the line under my command, and "being then in the preſence of a French fleet of the like num-"ber of ſhips of the line, I did not make the neceſſary prepa-"rations for fight."

To this I anſwer, That I have never underſtood preparations for fight to have any other meaning in the language and underſtanding of ſeamen, than that each particular ſhip, under the direction and diſcipline of her own officers, when in purſuit of an enemy, be in every reſpect cleared and in readineſs for action; the contrary of which no admiral of a fleet, without a reaſonable

cauſe, will preſume: and as from the morning of the 24th, when the French fleet had got to windward, to the time of the action, the Britiſh fleet was in unremitting purſuit of them, it is ſtill more difficult to conceive that any thing more is meant by this charge, than what is immediately after conveyed by the charge that follows it, *viz.* "That on the ſame morning of "the 27th I did not put my fleet into line of battle, or into "any order proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy "of ſuch force."

By the ſecond part of the charge I feel myſelf attacked in the exerciſe of that great and broad line of diſcretion, which every officer, commanding either fleets or armies, is often obliged, both in duty and conſcience, to exerciſe to the beſt of his judgment; and which, depending on circumſtances and ſituations infinitely various, cannot be reduced to any poſitive rule of diſcipline or practice:—a diſcretion which, I ſubmit to the court, I was peculiarly called upon, by the ſtrongeſt and beſt motives, to exerciſe, which I therefore did exerciſe, and which, in my public letter to the Board of Admiralty, I openly avowed to have exerciſed. I admit, that, on the morning of the 27th of July, I did not put my fleet into a line of battle, becauſe I had it not in my choice to do ſo, conſiſtently with the certainty, or even the probability, of either giving or being given battle, and becauſe, if I had not ſcrupulouſly adhered to that order, in which, if the election had been mine, I ſhould have choſen to have received or attacked a willing enemy, I ſhould have had no enemy either to receive or attack.

I ſhall therefore, in anſwer to this charge, ſubmit to the court my reaſons for determining to bring the enemy to battle at all events, and ſhall ſhew, that any other order than that in which my fleet was conducted, from my firſt ſeeing them to the moment of the action, was incompatible with ſuch determination.

In order to this I muſt call the attention of the court to a retroſpective view of the motions of the two fleets from their firſt coming in ſight of each other.

On my firſt diſcovering the French fleet at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d of July, I made the neceſſary ſignals for forming my fleet in the order of battle, which I effected towards the

the evening, and brought to by ſignal, and lay till the morning, when perceiving that the French fleet had gained the wind during the night, and carried a preſſed ſail to preſerve it, I diſcontinued the ſignal for the line, and made the general ſignal to chace to windward, in hopes that they would join battle with me, rather than ſuffer two of their capital ſhips to be entirely ſeparated from them, and give me a chance of cutting off a third, which had carried away a top-maſt in the night, and which, but for a ſhift of wind, I muſt have taken. In this, however, I was diſappointed; for they ſuffered two of them to go off altogether, and continued to make every uſe of the advantage of the wind.

This aſſiduous endeavour of the French admiral to avoid coming to action, which, from his having the wind, was always in his option, led me to believe that he expected a reinforcement. This reflection would alone have been ſufficient to determine me to urge my purſuit, in as collected a body as the nature of ſuch a purſuit would admit of, without the delay of the line, and to ſeize the firſt opportunity of bringing on an engagement.

But I had other reaſons no leſs urgent.

If by obſtinately adhering to the line of battle, I had ſuffered, as I inevitably muſt, the French fleet to have been ſeparated from me; and if, by ſuch ſeparation, the Engliſh convoys from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, then expected home, had been cut off, or the coaſt of England had been inſulted, what would have been my ſituation!—Sheltered under the forms of diſcipline, I might perhaps have eſcaped puniſhment, but I could not have eſcaped cenſure. I ſhould neither have eſcaped the contempt of my fellow-citizens, nor the reproaches of my own conſcience.

Moved by theſe important conſiderations, ſupported by the examples of admiral Ruſſel, and other great commanders, who, in ſimilar ſituations, had ever made ſtrict orders give way to reaſonable enterprize; and particularly encouraged by the remembrance of having myſelf ſerved under that truly great officer, lord Hawke, when, rejecting all rules and forms, he graſped at victory by an irregular attack, I determined not to loſe ſight of the French fleet, by being out-ſailed from preſerving the line of battle, but to keep my fleet as well collected as I could, and near enough to aſſiſt and act with each other, in

caſe a change of wind, or other favourable circumſtances, ſhould enable me to force the French fleet to action.

Such were my feelings and reflections when the day broke on the morning of the 27th of July, at which time the fleet under my command was in the following poſition: Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland was about four miles diſtant, on the Victory's weather-quarter, with moſt of the ſhips of his own diviſion, and ſome of thoſe belonging to the centre. Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer at about three miles diſtant, a point before the lee-beam of the Victory, with his main-ſail up, which obliged the ſhips of his diviſion to continue under an eaſy ſail.

The French fleet was as much to windward, and at as great a diſtance as it had been the preceding morning, ſtanding with a freſh wind at ſouth-weſt, cloſe hauled on the larboard tack, to all appearance avoiding me with the ſame induſtry it ever had done.

At this time, therefore, I had no greater inducement to form the line, than I had the morning of the former day; and I could not have formed it without greatly increaſing my diſtance from the French fleet, contrary to that plan of operation, which I have already ſubmitted to the judgment of the court.

The vice-admiral of the blue next charges, "That although "my fleet was already diſperſed and in diſorder, I, by making "the ſignal for ſeveral ſhips in his diviſion to chace to wind-"ward, increaſed the diſorder of that part of my fleet, and "that the ſhips were in conſequence more ſcattered than they "had been the day before; and that, whilſt in this diſorder, I "advanced to the enemy, and made the ſignal for battle."

In this part of the charge there is a ſtudious deſign to miſlead the underſtanding, and, by leaving out times and intermediate events, to make the tranſactions of half a day appear but as one moment. It is, indeed, impoſſible to read it, without being poſſeſſed with the idea, that at half paſt five in the morning, when I made the ſignal for ſix of the ſhips of the vice-admiral of the blue's diviſion to chace to windward, I was in the immediate proſpect of cloſing with an enemy, approaching me in a regular line, and all their motions plainly indicating a deſign to give battle—inſtead of which, both the fleets were on the

larboard

larboard tack, the enemy's fleet near three leagues, if not more, to windward, going off close by the wind with a preſſed ſail.—My reaſon, therefore, for making that ſignal, at half paſt five, was to collect as many ſhips to windward as I could, in order to ſtrengthen the main body of the fleet, in caſe I ſhould be able to get to action, and to fill up the interval between the Victory and the vice-admiral, which was occaſioned by his being far to leeward; and it is plain that the vice-admiral muſt have himſelf underſtood the object of the ſignal, ſince it has appeared in the courſe of the evidence, that on its being made, the Formidable ſet her main-ſail, and let the reefs out of her top-ſail; and, indeed, the only reaſon why it was not originally made for the whole diviſion, was, that they muſt have then chaced as a diviſion, which would have retarded the beſt going ſhips by an attendance on the vice-admiral.

Things were in this ſituation, when, at half paſt nine, the French admiral tacked, and wore his whole fleet, and ſtood to the ſouthward, on the ſtarboard tack, cloſe hauled; but the wind immediately after they wore about, coming more ſoutherly, I continued to ſtand on till a quarter paſt ten, at which time I tacked the Britiſh fleet together by ſignal. Soon after we wore about, on the ſtarboard tack, the wind came two points in our favour to the weſtward, which enabled us to lie up for a part of them; but in a dark ſquall that ſoon after came on, I loſt ſight of the enemy for above half an hour, and when it cleared away at eleven o'clock, I diſcovered the French fleet had changed their poſition, and were endeavouring to form the line on the larboard tack, which finding they could not effect without coming within gun-ſhot of the van of the Britiſh fleet, they edged down, and fired on my headmoſt ſhips, as they approached them on the contrary tack, at a quarter after eleven, which was inſtantly returned; and then, and not till then, I made the ſignal for battle. All this happened in about half an hour, and muſt have been owing to the enemy's falling to leeward in performing their evolution during the ſquall, which we could not ſee, and by that means produced this ſudden and unexpected opportunity of engaging them, as they were near three leagues a-head of me when the ſquall came on.

If,

If, therefore, by making the ſignal for the line of battle, when the van of my fleet was thus ſuddenly getting within reach of the enemy, and well connected with the centre, as my accuſer himſelf has admitted, I had called back the vice-admiral of the red, the French fleet might either have formed their line compleat, and have come down upon my fleet while in the confuſion of getting into order of battle, or (what I had ſtill greater reaſon to apprehend) might have gone off to windward out of my reach altogether; for even as it was, the enemy's van, inſtead of coming cloſe to action, kept their wind, and paſſed hardly within random ſhot.

My accuſer next aſſerts, as an aggravation of his former charge,

"That the French fleet was in a regular line on that tack "which approached the Britiſh fleet, all their motions plainly "indicating a deſign to give battle."

Both which facts have already been contradicted by the teſtimony of even his own witneſſes: that the enemy's fleet was not in a regular line of battle, appeared by the French admiral being out of his ſtation, far from the centre of his line, and next, or very near, to a ſhip carrying a vice-admiral's flag, and from ſome of their ſhips being a-breaſt of each other, and in one, as they paſſed the Engliſh fleet, with other apparent marks of irregularity. Indeed every motion of the French fleet, from about nine, when it went upon the ſtarboard tack, till the moment of the action, and even during the action itſelf, I apprehend to be deciſive againſt the alledged indication of deſigning battle; for if the French admiral had really deſigned to come to action, I apprehend he never would have got his fleet on the contrary tack to that on which the Britiſh fleet was coming up to him, but would have ſhortened ſail and waited for it, formed in the line on the ſame tack; and even when he did tack towards the Britiſh fleet, the alledged indication is again directly refuted, by the van of the French fleet hauling their wind again, inſtead of bearing down into action, and by their hoiſting no colours when they began to engage.

Notwithſtanding theſe incontrovertible truths my accuſer imputes it to me that a general engagement was not brought on;

but

but it is evident from the teſtimony of every witneſs he has called, that a general engagement was never in my choice; and that ſo far from its being prevented by my not having formed the line of battle, no engagement, either general or partial, could have been brought on if I had formed it; indeed it is a contradiction in terms to ſpeak of a general engagement, where the fleet that has the wind, tacks to paſs the fleet to leeward on the contrary tack.

Such was the manner, in which, after four days purſuit, I was at laſt enabled by a favourable ſhift of wind to cloſe with the fleet of France; and if I am juſtifiable on principle in the exerciſe of that diſcretion which I have been ſubmitting to your judgment, of bringing, at all events, an unwilling enemy to battle, I am certainly not called upon to deſcend to all the minutiæ of conſequences reſulting from ſuch enterprize, even if ſuch had enſued, as my accuſer has aſſerted, but which his own witneſſes have not only failed to eſtabliſh, but abſolutely refuted. It would be an inſult on the underſtanding of the court, were I to offer any arguments, to ſhew that ſhips which engage without a line of battle, cannot ſo cloſely, uniformly and mutually ſupport each other, as when circumſtances admit of a line being formed; becauſe it is ſelf-evident, and is the baſis of all the diſcipline and practice of lines of battle. But in the preſent caſe, notwithſtanding I had no choice in making my diſpoſition for an attack, nor any poſſibility of getting to battle otherwiſe than I did, which would be alone ſufficient to repel any charge of conſequent irregularity, or even confuſion, yet it is not neceſſary for me to claim the protection of the circumſtances under which I acted, becauſe no irregularity or confuſion either exiſted or has been proved; all the chacing ſhips, and the whole fleet, except a ſhip or two, got into battle, and into as cloſe battle as the French fleet, which had the option by being to windward, choſe to give them. The vice-admiral of the blue himſelf, though in the rear, was out of action, in a ſhort time after the Victory, and ſo far from being left to engage ſingly and unſupported, was paſſed during the action by three ſhips of his own diviſion, and was obliged to back his mizen-top-ſail to keep out of the fire of one of the

largeſt

largeſt ſhips in the fleet, which muſt have continued near him all the reſt of the time he was paſſing the French line, as I ſhall prove ſhe was within three cables length of the Formidable when the firing ceaſed.

Anſwer to the Second Article.

The moment the Victory had paſſed the enemy's rear, my firſt object was to look round to the poſition of the fleet which the ſmoke had till then obſcured from obſervation, in order to determine how a general engagement might beſt be brought on after the fleet ſhould have paſſed each other.

I found that the vice-admiral of the red, with part of his diviſion had tacked, and was ſtanding towards the enemy with top gallant ſails ſet, the very thing I am charged with not having directed him to do; but all the reſt of the ſhips that had paſſed a-head of me were ſtill on the ſtarboard tack, ſome of them dropping to leeward, and ſeemingly employed in repairing their damages. The Victory herſelf was in no condition to tack, and I could not immediately wear and ſtand back on the ſhips coming up a-ſtern of me out of the action (had it been otherwiſe expedient) without throwing them into the utmoſt confuſion. Sir John Roſs, who very gallantly tried the experiment, having informed the court of the momentary neceſſity he was under of wearing back again to prevent the conſequences I have mentioned, makes it unneceſſary to enlarge on the probable effect of ſuch a general manœuvre, with all the ſhips a-head. Indeed I only remark it as a ſtrongly relative circumſtance, appearing by the evidence of a very able and experienced officer, and by no means as a juſtification for having ſtood away to a great diſtance beyond the enemy before I wore, becauſe the charge itſelf is groſsly falſe. In fact, the Victory had very little way while her head was to the ſouthward, and although her damages were conſiderable, was the firſt ſhip of the centre diviſion, that got round towards the enemy again, and ſome time before the reſt were able to follow her, ſince, even as it was, not above three or four were able to cloſe up with her on the larboard tack; ſo that, had it even been practicable to have wore ſooner than I did, no good purpoſe could have been anſwered by it; hence I muſt have only wore the ſooner back again

again to have collected the disabled ships which would have been thereby left still farther a-stern.

The Formidable was no otherwise left engaged with the enemy during this short interval than as being in the rear, which must always necessarily happen to ships in that situation, when fleets engage each other on contrary tacks, and no one witness has attempted to speak to the danger my accuser complains of, except his own captain, who, on being called upon to fix the time when such danger was apprehended, stated it to be before the Formidable opened her fire, which renders the application of it as a consequence of the second charge too absurd to demand a refutation.

Answer to the third Article.

As soon as I had wore to stand towards the enemy, I hauled down the signal for battle, which I judged improper to be kept abroad till the ships could recover their stations, or at least get near enough to support each other in action. In order to call them together for that purpose, I immediately made the signal to form the line of battle a-head of all the centre and red division, I embraced that opportunity of unbending her main-top-sail, which was totally unserviceable, and, in doing which, the utmost expedition was used, the ships a-stern of me doing all they could in the mean time to get into their station; so that no time was lost by this necessary operation.

The Formidable was a-head of the Victory during this period; it was her station in the line on that tack. Yet, at the very moment my accuser dares to charge me with not calling the ships together to renew the attack, he himself, though his ship was in a manageable condition, as appeared by the evidence of his own captain, and though he had wore, expecting, as he says, the battle to be renewed, quitted his station in the front of that line of battle, the signal for which was flying, passed to leeward of me on the starboard tack while I was advancing to the enemy, and never came into the line during the rest of the day.

In this situation I judged it necessary that the vice-admiral of the red, who was to windward, and passing forward on my weather-bow, with six or seven ships of his division, should

lead on the larboard tack, in order to give time to the ſhips which had come laſt out of action to repair their damages, and get collected together; and the ſignal appointed by the 31ſt article of the fighting inſtructions not being applicable, as the French fleet was ſo nearly a-head of us, that by keeping cloſe to the wind we could only have fetched them, I made the Proſerpine's ſignal, in order to have diſpatched captain Sutton with a meſſage to vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland, to lead the fleet to the larboard tack; but, before he left the Victory with the orders he had received, the French fleet wore and ſtood to the ſouthward, forming their line on the ſtarboard tack, their ſhips advancing regularly out of a collected body, which they had got into from the operation of wearing, and not from any diſorder or confuſion which really exiſted. I could have derived no immediate advantage from it, not having a ſufficient force collected to prevent their forming, by an attempt to renew the attack. The Victory was at this time the neareſt ſhip to the enemy, with no more than three or four of the centre diviſion, in any ſituation to have ſupported her or each other in action. The vice-admiral of the blue was on the ſtarboard tack, ſtanding away from his ſtation, totally regardleſs of the ſignal that was flying to form the line, and moſt of the other ſhips, except the red diviſion, whoſe poſition I have already ſtated, were far a-ſtern, and five diſabled ſhips at a great diſtance on the lee quarter. Moſt of theſe facts are already eſtabliſhed by the accuſer's own evidence. I ſhall prove and confirm them all by the teſtimony of that part of the fleet, whoſe ſituations will enable them to ſpeak to them with certainty.

I truſt they will convince the court, that I had it not in my power to collect the fleet together to renew the fight at that time, and that, from their not being able to follow me, I conſequently could not advance with them; that I did not haul down the ſignal for battle till it ceaſed to be capable of producing any good effect; that, during the whole time I ſtood towards the enemy, I endeavoured by the moſt forcible of all ſignals, the ſignal for the line of battle, to call the ſhips together in order to renew the attack; that I did avail myſelf of the ſhips that were with the vice-admiral of the red as far as circumſtances admitted; and

that

that I therefore did do the utmoſt in my power to take, ſink, burn, and deſtroy the French fleet, which had attacked the Britiſh fleet.

Anſwer to the Fourth Article.

The French fleet having wore and begun to form their line, on the ſtarboard-tack, by the wind, which, if they had kept, would have brought them cloſe up with the centre diviſion, ſoon afterwards edged away, pointing towards four or five of the diſabled ſhips, which were at a diſtance to leeward, and with evident intention to have ſeparated them from the reſt of the fleet; to prevent which, I made the ſignal to wear, and ſtood athwart their van, in a diagonal courſe, to give protection to thoſe crippled ſhips, keeping the ſignal for the line flying to form and collect the fleet on the ſtarboard tack. As I had thus been obliged to alter my diſpoſition, before captain Sutton left the Victory with my former meſſage, I diſpatched him with orders to the vice-admiral of the red to form with his diviſion at a diſtance a-ſtern of the Victory, to cover the rear, and keep the enemy in check, till the vice-admiral of the blue ſhould come into his ſtation with his diviſion, in obedience to the ſignal. Theſe orders the vice-admiral of the red inſtantly obeyed, and was formed in my wake before four o'clock, when, finding that while by the courſe I ſteered to protect the crippled ſhips, I was nearer the enemy, the vice-admiral of the blue ſtill continued to ly to windward, and by ſo doing kept his diviſion from joining me, I made the ſignal for ſhips to bear down into my wake, and that it might be the better diſtinguiſhed, (both being ſignals at the mizen-peak,) I hauled down the ſignal for the line for about ten minutes, and then hoiſted it again. This ſignal he repeated, though he had not repeated that for the line of battle; but by not bearing down himſelf, he led the ſhips of his diviſion to interpret his repeating it as requiring them to come into his wake inſtead of mine.

Having now accompliſhed the protection of the diſabled ſhips, and the French fleet continuing to form their line, ranging up to leeward, parallel to the centre diviſion, my only object was to form mine, in order to bear down upon them to renew the

battle; and therefore, at a quarter before five o'clock, after having repeated the ſignal for ſhips to windward to bear down into my wake with no better effect than before, I ſent the Milford with orders to the vice-admiral of the red to ſtretch a-head, and take his ſtation in the line, which he inſtantly obeyed; and the vice-admiral of the blue being ſtill to windward, with his fore-top-ſail unbent, and making no viſible effort to obey the ſignal, which had been flying the whole afternoon, I ſent out the Fox, at five o'clock, with orders to him to bear down into my wake, and to tell him, that I only waited for him, and his diviſion, to renew the battle. While I was diſpatching theſe frigates, having before hauled down the ſignal to come into my wake, I put aboard the ſignal for all ſhips to come into their ſtations, always keeping the ſignal for the line flying. All this producing no effect on the vice-admiral of the blue, and wearied out with fruitleſs expectation, at ſeven o'clock I made the ſignal for each particular ſhip of the vice-admiral of the blue's diviſion to come into her ſtation; but, before they had accompliſhed it, night put an end to all farther operations.

It may be obſerved, that, amongſt theſe ſignals, I did not make the Formidable's. If the vice-admiral chuſes to conſider this as a culpable neglect, I can only ſay, that it occurred to me to treat him with a delicacy due to his rank, which had ſome time before induced me to ſend him the meſſage by captain Windſor, the particulars of which he has already faithfully related to the court.

I truſt I have little reaſon to apprehend that the court will be inclined to conſider my conduct as I have ſtated it, in anſwer to this fourth article of the charge, as diſgraceful to the Britiſh flag. After I had put upon the ſame tack with the enemy, to protect the diſabled part of my fleet, and to collect the reſt together, there would have been little to do to renew the battle, but bearing right down upon the enemy, if my accuſer had led his diviſion in obedience to the repeated ſignals and orders which I have ſtated. The Victory never went more than two knots, was under her double-reefed top-ſail, and fore-ſail much ſhattered, which kept the ſhips that were near her under their top-ſail, and ſuffered the French fleet, which might always have

brough

brought me to action, if they had inclined to do it, to range up parallel with the centre, under very little ſail. It was to protect the five diſabled ſhips above-mentioned, and to give the reſt time to form into ſome order, that I judged it might be expedient to ſtand as I did under that eaſy ſail, than to bring to with my head to the ſouthward. The court will judge whether it was poſſible for any officer in the ſervice really to believe that theſe operations could give the appearance of a flight, or furniſh a rational pretence to the French admiral to claim the victory, or publiſh to the world that the Britiſh fleet had run away.

Anſwer to the Fifth Article.

On the morning of the 28th of July, the French fleet, (except three ſail which were ſeen upon the lee quarter) was only viſible from the maſt-heads of ſome of the ſhips of the Britiſh fleet, and at a diſtance from me, which afforded not the ſmalleſt proſpect of coming up with them, more eſpecially as their ſhips, though certainly much damaged in their hulls, had not apparently ſuffered much in their maſts and ſails. Whereas the fleet under my command was generally and greatly ſhattered in their maſts, yards and rigging, and many of them unable to carry ſail. As to the three French ſhips, I made the ſignal at five o'clock in the morning for the Duke, Bienfaiſant, Prince George, and Eliſabeth, to give them chace, judging them to be the propereſt ſhips for that purpoſe, but the two laſt were not able to carry ſufficient ſail to give even countenance to the purſuit; and looking round to the general condition of my fleet, I ſaw it was in vain to attempt either a general or a partial chace. Indeed my accuſer does not venture to alledge that there was any probability, or even poſſibility, of doing it with effect, which deſtroys the whole imputation of his charge.

Under theſe circumſtances I could not miſtake my duty, and I was reſolved not to ſacrifice it to an empty ſhew and appearance, which is beneath the dignity of an officer, unconſcious of any failure or neglect. To have urged a fruitleſs purſuit, with a fleet ſo greatly crippled in its maſts and ſails, after a diſtant and flying enemy, within reach of their own ports, and with a freſh

freſh wind blowing fair for their port, with a large ſwell, would have been not only wantonly expoſing the Britiſh fleet under my command without end or object, but miſleading and defeating its operations, by delaying the refitment neceſſary for carrying on the future ſervice with vigour and effect.

My accuſer aſſerts, by a general concluſion to the five articles exhibited againſt me, that, from what he ſtates as inſtances of miſconduct and neglect in me, "a glorious opportunity was loſt "of doing a moſt eſſential ſervice to the ſtate," and that the honour of the Britiſh navy was tarniſhed.

The truth of the aſſertion, That an opportunity was loſt, I am not called upon either to combat or deny. It is ſufficient for me, if I ſhall be ſucceſsful in proving, that that opportunity was ſeized by me, and followed up to the full extent of my power; if the court ſhall be of that opinion, I am ſatisfied; and it will then reſt with the vice-admiral of the blue, to explain to what cauſe it is to be referred, that the glorious opportunity he ſpeaks of was loſt, and to whom it is to be imputed, (if the fact be true), that the honour of the Britiſh navy has been tarniſhed.

Having now, Sir, finiſhed my replies, I ſhall call witneſſes to prove my innocence. I have heard it aſſerted as matter of right to alter a log-book. I will only ſay, that there is a wide difference between correcting inaccuracies, and malicious alterations, for the purpoſe of aiding malicious proſecutions.

As to my proſecutor, I have even his own letters, of as late date as the 5th of October, wherein he thus writes to me, "I "know that you would rather meet the French fleet." Yes, Sir, that very French fleet which he afterwards accuſed me of running away from! I cannot produce theſe letters in evidence, but I will ſhow them to any gentleman out of court who deſires to ſee them. I will alſo ſhow to any gentleman a paper which my proſecutor requeſted me to ſign but a very ſhort time ago, and I refuſed to ſign it. In the news-papers my proſecutor denied receiving any meſſage by the Fox frigate. Captain Windſor ſwore to the delivery of ſuch a meſſage. He proved in evidence that he received the meſſage from me at five o'clock, and

delivered

delivered it to the vice-admiral himſelf at half paſt five o'clock. Captain Bazely endeavoured to refute this evidence: but I ſhall call witneſſes to prove the delivery of the meſſage. My conſcience is perfectly clear. I have no ſecret machinations, no dark contrivances to anſwer for. My heart does not reproach me. As to my enemies, I would not wiſh the greateſt enemy I have in the world to be afflicted with ſo heavy a puniſhment as—— my accuſer's conſcience.

No. XX.

No. XX. (P. 445.)

Admiral KEPPEL's Letter to the Admiralty.

Victory, at ſea, July 30, 1778.

SIR,

My letters of the 23d and 24th inſtant, by the Peggy and Union cutters, acquainted you, for their lordſhips information, that I was in purſuit, with the king's fleet under my command, of a numerous fleet of French ſhips of war.

From that time till the 27th, the winds conſtantly in the S. W. and N. W. quarters, ſometimes blowing ſtrong, and the French fleet always to windward going off, I made uſe of every method to cloſe in with them that was poſſible, keeping the king's ſhips at the ſame time collected, as much as the nature of a purſuit would admit of, and which became neceſſary from the cautious manner the French proceeded in, and the diſinclination that appeared in them to allow of my bringing the king's ſhips cloſe up to a regular engagement: this left but little other chance of getting in with them, than by ſeizing the opportunity that offered, the morning of the 27th, by the wind's admitting of the van of the king's fleet under my command, leading up with, and cloſing with, their centre and rear.

The French began firing upon the headmoſt of vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, and the ſhips with him, as they led up; which cannonade the leading ſhips, and the vice-admiral ſoon returned, as did every ſhip as they could cloſe up: the chace had occaſioned their being extended; nevertheleſs they were all ſoon in battle.

The fleets, being upon different tacks, paſſed each other very cloſe; the object of the French ſeemed to be the diſabling of the king's ſhips in their maſts and ſails, in which they ſo far ſucceeded as to prevent many of the ſhips of my fleet being able to follow me when I wore to ſtand after the French fleet; this obliged me to wear again to join thoſe ſhips, and thereby allowed of the French forming their fleet again, and ranging it in a line

line to leeward of the king's fleet towards the close of the day; which I did not discourage, but allowed of their doing it without firing upon them, thinking they meant handsomely to try their force with us the next morning; but they had been so beaten in the day, that they took the advantage of the night to go off.

The wind and weather being such that they could reach their own shores before there was any chance of the king's fleet getting up with them, in the state the ships were in, in their masts, yards, and sails, left me no choice of what was proper and advisable to do.

The spirited conduct of vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland, vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, and the captains of the fleet, supported by their officers and men, deserves much commendation.

A list of the killed and wounded is herewith inclosed.

I send captain Faulkener, captain of the Victory, with this account to their lordships, and am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And very humble servant,

A. KEPPEL.

Philip Stephens, *Esq; Secretary to the Admiralty.*

List of men killed and wounded, in the action with the French fleet, the 27th of July, 1778.

Ships names.	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*	*Ships names.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Monarch	2	9	Prince George	5	15
Exeter	4	6	Vengeance	4	18
Queen	1	2	Worcester	3	5
Shrewsbury	3	6	Elizabeth	—	7
Berwick	10	11	Defiance	8	17
Stirling Castle	2	11	Robuste	5	17
Courageux	6	13	Formidable	16	49
Thunderer	2	5	Ocean	2	18
Vigilant	2	3	America	1	17
Sandwich	2	20	Terrible	9	21
Valiant	6	26	Egmont	12	19
Victory	11	24	Ramillies	12	16
Foudroyant	5	18			
			Total	133	373

No. XXI. (P. 425.)

LIST of the BRITISH FLEET at ſailing.

LINE OF BATTLE.

Monarch to lead on the ſtarboard tack—Ramillies on the larboard tack.

Rates.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.	Frigates.	Guns.	
3	Monarch	74	600	Capt. Rowley			
	Shrewſbury	74	600	Sir John Lockhart Roſs			
	Hector	74	600	Sir John Hamilton			
	Exeter	64	500	Captain Nott			
	Centaur	74	600	Coſby			
2	Duke	90	750	Brereton			
1	Queen	90	772	Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Vice-admiral of the Red, Commander in 2d poſt. Capt. Preſcot	Fox	28	Hon.—Windſor
3	Cumberland	74	500	Peyton			
	Berwick	74	600	Hon. Keith Stewart			
	Stirling Caſtle	64	500	Sir Charles Douglas, Bart.			
	Thunderer	74	500	Hon. Boyle Walſingham			
	Courageux	74	600	Right Hon. Lord Mulgrave			
2	Sandwich	90	750	Capt. Edwards			
3	Valiant	74	600	Hon. Leviſon Gower	Proſerpine	28	—Sutton
1	Victory	100	894	Hon. Auguſtus Keppel, Admiral of the Blue, Commander in chief. Rear admiral Campbell Capt. Faulkener	Andromeda Pluto Arethuſa Vulcan Medea	32 32 32	a fire-ſhip —Marſhal a fire-ſhip —Montagu
3	Foudroyant	80	650	Jarvis	Rattle-ſnake		a cutter
2	Prince George	90	750	Sir John Lindſay, K. B.			
3	Bienfaiſant	64	500	Capt. M'Bride			
	Vengeance	74	600	Clements			
	Vigilant	64	500	Kingſmill			
	Worceſter	64	500	Capt. Robinſon			
	Elizabeth	74	600	Hon. F. Maitland			
	Defiance	64	500	Capt. Goodal			
	Robuſte	74	600	Hood			
2	Formidable	90	772	Sir Hugh Palliſer, Bart. Vice-admiral of the Blue, Commander in 3d poſt. Capt. Bazely	Milford	32	Sir W. Burnaby
	Ocean	90	750	Laforcy			
3	America	64	500	Right Hon. Lord Longford			
	Egmont	74	600	Capt. Allen			
	Terrible	74	600	Sir Richard Bickerton, Bt.			
	Ramillies	74	600	Hon. Robert Digby			

The Reſolution and Defence, of 74 guns each, ſailed afterwards, and joined the fleet.

32 ſhips of the line, mounting 2428 guns, and carrying 19788 men.—6 frigates, and 2 fire-ſhips.

A com-

A complete Liſt of the French fleet under the command of M. d'Orvilliers, admiral, Compte du Chaffault, vice-admiral, and the Duc de Chartres, rear-admiral.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*
La Bretagne,	110	1200	La Dauph. Royale,	74	800
Ville de Paris,	90	950	Reflechi,	64	650
St. Eſprit,	80	920	Vengeur,	64	650
Couronne,	80	920	Triton,	64	650
D. de Bourgogne,	80	920	Alexandre,	64	650
Diademe,	74	800	Sphinx,	64	650
Glorieux,	74	800	Solitaire,	64	650
Conquerant,	74	800	St. Michel,	64	650
Zodiac,	74	800	Artiſien,	64	650
Intrepide,	74	800	Eveillé,	64	650
Palmier,	74	800	Actionnaire,	64	650
L'Actif,	74	800	Rolande,	64	650
Fendent,	74	800	Indien,	64	650
Orient,	74	800	Amphion,	50	500
Magnifique,	74	800	Fier,	50	500
Robuſte,	74	800	13 frigates, and 4 ſtore-		
Bien Aimé,	74	800	ſhips.		

32 ſhips of the line mounting 2270 guns, carrying 24,110 men.

N. B. The above ſhips were all in the action of the 27th of July, except the Duc de Bourgogne and the Alexandre, who were ſeparated from the fleet in a gale of wind on the 25th.

No. XXII. (P. 446.)

Admiralty-Office, March 24, 1779.

Copy of a letter from the Honourable Rear-admiral Barrington to Mr. Stephens.

Prince of Wales, in the Grand Cul de Sac, in the Iſland of St. Lucia, December 23, 1778.

SIR,

IN my letter of the 24th of laſt month, from Barbadoes, (No. 21.) I informed you of the Venus's arrival there with an account of commodore Hotham's being on his way to join me: and you will now be pleaſed to acquaint my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that the commodore arrived there the 10th inſtant, with his majeſty's ſhips the Nonſuch, St. Alban's, Preſton, Centurion, Iſis, and Carcaſs, and fifty-nine tranſports, having on board 5000 troops, under the command of major-general Grant.

To ſave time, and prevent the confuſion naturally ariſing from a change of ſignals among the tranſports, I adopted thoſe of the commodore; and, directing him to lead with the landing diviſion, put to ſea the 12th in the morning, in order to carry into execution their Lordſhips ſecret inſtructions; and, about three o'clock on the day following, anchored here with the whole ſquadron, except the Ariadne, Ceres, Snake, Barbadoes, and Pelican, which I had ſtationed along the coaſt, to intercept any veſſels attempting to eſcape.

More than half the troops were landed the ſame evening, under the direction of the commodore, aſſiſted by the captains Griffith, Braithwaite, and Onſlow, and the remainder the next morning, (the 14th), when they immediately got poſſeſſion of the Carenage; and it was my intention to have removed the tranſports thither as ſoon as poſſible, had not that meaſure been prevented by the appearance of the French fleet under the command

mand of Count d'Eſtaing, of which I received notice in the evening by ſignal from the Ariadne.

It therefore became neceſſary to ſecure the tranſports as well as we could in the bay; and the whole night was accordingly employed in warping them within the ſhips of war, and diſpoſing of the latter in a line acroſs the entrance, in the order they ſtand in the margin *; the Iſis to windward, rather inclining into the bay, and the Prince of Wales, being the moſt powerful ſhip, the outermoſt, and to leeward, and the Venus, Aurora, and Ariadne, flanking the ſpace between the Iſis and the ſhore, to prevent the enemy forcing a paſſage that way.

Almoſt all the tranſports had fortunately got within the line before half paſt eleven in the morning of the 15th, when the Count thought proper to bear down and attack us with ten ſail of the line, happily without doing us any material injury; and at four in the afternoon he made a ſecond attack upon us with twelve ſail of the line, with no other ſucceſs, however, than killing two men, and wounding ſeven, on board the Prince of Wales, and wounding one alſo on board the Ariadne, who is ſince dead. But I have reaſon to believe the enemy received conſiderable damage, as their manœuvres betrayed great confuſion; and one of their ſhips in particular, which fell to leeward, ſeemed diſabled from carrying the neceſſary ſail to get to windward again.

The next day (the 16th) the Count ſhewed a diſpoſition to attack us a third time; but on the appearance of a frigate ſtanding for his fleet, with ſeveral ſignals flying, he plied to windward, and in the evening anchored off Gros-Iſlet, about two leagues from us, where he ſtill continues with ten frigates, beſides his twelve ſail of the line; and, notwithſtanding this ſuperiority of force, he has been accompanied from his firſt appearance by ſeveral American privateers, one of them commanded by the outlaw Cunningham, who laſt winter infeſted the coaſt of Portugal.

* Iſis,	50	Centurion,	50
St. Alban's,	64	Preſton,	50
Boyne,	68	Prince of Wales,	74
Nonſuch,	64		

That

That night and the next day the enemy landed a large body of troops from a number of ſloops and ſchooners which had anchored in Du Choc bay, and the 18th made a ſpirited attack, both by land and ſea, on our poſt at the Carenage, but met with a very ſevere check, having been repulſed, with great carnage, by a ſmall detachment of our troops under brigadier-general Meadows.

They have attempted nothing of conſequence ſince, and what may be their future plan of operations I cannot conjecture: but their continuance at anchor has afforded us an opportunity not only of getting in all the cruizers except the Ceres, and all the tranſports except one (with only the baggage of the officers of three companies on board), which has fallen into the enemy's hands, but alſo of ſtrengthening ourſelves by warping the ſhips of war farther into the bay, and making the line more compact, removing the Venus a-ſtern of the Prince of Wales to flank that paſſage, and erecting batteries at each point of the bay; that to the northward under the direction of the captains Cumming and Robertſon, and that to the ſouthward under captain Ferguſon.

This being the ſituation of the ſquadron, and the army being in poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong holds in the neighbourhood of the bay, ſuch a ſpirit of chearfulneſs, unanimity, and reſolution, actuates the whole of our little force both by land and ſea, (notwithſtanding the amazing fatigue they have undergone), that we are under no apprehenſions for any attempts the enemy may meditate: and from the accounts which have been tranſmitted to me from captain Linzee of the Pearl, who arrived at Barbadoes the 13th inſtant, that vice-admiral Byron was to ſail from Rhode Iſland for Barbadoes the 19th of laſt month, with ſixteen ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates, there is every reaſon to hope he will ſoon be here; in which caſe affairs in this country muſt take a very deciſive turn in favour of his majeſty's arms.

Should any unforeſeen accident, however, prevent the vice-admiral's arrival, their lordſhips will nevertheleſs be pleaſed to aſſure his majeſty, that every thing which can poſſibly be done

done by ſo ſmall a body of troops, and ſo few ſhips, againſt a force ſo very ſuperior, will be effected.

I cannot conclude my letter without acquainting you, that, in all probability, our operations here have hitherto ſaved the iſlands of St. Vincent and Grenada, which, we underſtand from ſome officers who are priſoners, were the object of Count D'Eſtaing's expedition, when a ſloop that had eſcaped from this iſland falling in with him, and giving him notice of our being here, directed his attention towards us. I am, *&c.*

SAM. BARRINGTON.

P. S. I have the ſatisfaction to add, that this morning the ſquadron got poſſeſſion of an American privateer of eighteen guns, called the Bunker-Hill, which at day-break was diſcovered within reach of our guns; and having ſtruck, upon finding ſhe could not eſcape, the boats towed her within the line before any of the French fleet could get to her aſſiſtance. She ſailed from Salem the 2d inſtant, and was intended to cruize fifteen leagues to windward of Barbadoes, but had miſſed that iſland and fallen to leeward.

24*th Dec.* 1778. SAM. BARRINGTON.

Extract of a letter from the Honourable Rear-admiral Barrington to Mr. Stephens.

Prince of Wales, in the Grand Cul de Sac, in the Iſland of St. Lucia, Jan. 6, 1779.

SIR,

You will herewith receive the duplicate of a letter I wrote to you the 23d and 24th of laſt month (No. 23.), and diſpatched to Governor Hay of Barbadoes, to be forwarded from thence to England by ſome faſt-ſailing veſſel, that my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty might have it in their power to refute any miſrepreſentation, which Count D'Eſtaing may have tranſmitted to his court, of the ſituation of his majeſty's forces in thoſe ſeas.

From the ſtate of inactivity in which the Count continued for ſeveral days after, I began to conceive it was his intention to form a blockade with a view of ſtarving us into a ſurrender; but,

but, to my utter aſtoniſhment, on the morning of the 29th (having re-embarked his troops during the preceding night) he retired with his whole force towards Martinique, and left us in quiet poſſeſſion of the iſland, which capitulated, whilſt his fleet was ſtill in ſight, upon the terms I have the honour to incloſe *.

I ſhould be very much wanting, were I on the preſent occaſion to omit acknowledging the aſſiſtance I received from major-general Grant and the forces under his command, as well as expreſſing my intire ſatisfaction with the conduct, not only of commodore Hotham, the ſeveral commanders, and the reſt of the officers of the ſquadron, but alſo of the people in general, who never in the leaſt repined at their precarious ſituation and the difficulties they hourly encountered, but ſtill performed their duty with alacrity and ſpirit, and, ſenſible of the additional fatigue the troops underwent in occupying more extenſive poſts for the ſecurity of the ſquadron, than there would otherwiſe have been occaſion for, laboured with the utmoſt chearfulneſs in conveying proviſions, &c. for them, through roads that were almoſt impaſſable, and moſt of them without ſhoes to their feet.

I likewiſe beg leave to mention to their lordſhips the very great aſſiſtance I received from captain Barker, the agent of tranſports, and the ſervices of lieutenant-governor Stuart, of the iſland of Dominica, who has done me the favour of officiating as an honorary aid-de-camp between the general and myſelf, having accompanied me upon this expedition, in hopes that his majeſty's arms might afterwards be employed in recovering that iſland; where, from his perfect knowledge of it, he muſt be particularly uſeful, and therefore offered himſelf as a volunteer.

What has become of the enemy's fleet ſince its departure from hence I have not had it in my power to learn; but I hope vice-admiral Byron, who, I have the pleaſure to acquaint you,

* The articles of capitulation for St Lucia were merely an exchange of ſovereigns. The peaceable inhabitants were ſecured in all their poſſeſſions, and nothing was made capture of but forts, magazines, and military ſtores.

arrived

arrived here this morning, with nine ſail of the line, will very ſoon be able to give their lordſhips that information; and, that rear-admiral Sir Peter Parker and the governor of Jamaica may be upon their guard, in caſe of its appearance in thoſe ſeas, I have ſent the Ariadne to Antigua, with letters to be forwarded to them from thence by ſome faſt-ſailing veſſel, which I have requeſted governor Burt to diſpatch for that purpoſe.

I have great ſatisfaction in hearing, ſince the capitulation, that, when Count D'Eſtaing was directed hither by the ſloop I mentioned in my letter (No. 23.), he was bound firſt of all to Barbadoes, in expectation of finding there only the Prince of Wales, the Boyne, and ſome frigates; of which he had received intelligence from a French flag of truce I had ordered away immediately on the arrival of the Venus.

I am ſorry to add, that the Ceres, which was miſſing when I ſent away that letter, appears, by the Martinique Gazette, to have been taken, after a chace of forty-eight hours, by the Iphigenie, a French frigate of 36 guns; but I have no account of it from captain Dacres, or any of her officers.

I cannot help regretting the loſs of this ſloop, not only as ſhe ſailed remarkably well, but as captain Dacres is an officer of infinite merit. I have, however, in order to replace the Ceres, as the Bunker-Hill privateer has the reputation of being a very faſt ſailer, (which her log-book confirms), commiſſioned her as a ſloop in his majeſty's ſervice, by the name of the Surprize, (being expreſſive of the manner in which ſhe came into our poſſeſſion), and appointed lieutenant James Brine, firſt lieutenant of the Prince of Wales, to be maſter and commander of her, with a complement of one hundred and twenty-five men. She mounts 18 carriage and 8 ſwivel guns.

For further particulars, I beg leave to refer their lordſhips to captain Robertſon of the Weazle, who will have the honour of delivering theſe diſpatches, and whoſe conduct as an officer merits their lordſhips protection, and every favour they can poſſibly ſhew him. I am, *&c.*

SAM. BARRINGTON.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

A NEW MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA, from the best AUTHORITIES. By John Lodge

CARIBBEAN SEA

TERRA FIRMA

NEW GRANADA

GUIANA

AMAZONIA

PERU

CHILI

PARAGUAY

SOUTH SEA

Honduras

Comayagua

Nicaragua

Costa Rica

Veragua

Terrana

Martinico

Barbadoes

Granada

Tabago

Trinidad

Curaçao

Margarita

Caracas

Cumana

Paria

Orinoco River

Wayma

Nassau

Plains

Esquibi

Paramaribo

Surinam

Gallipagos Isles

Quito

Archidona

Tomependa

Manaos

Para R.

Amazon R.

Aracari

Tapayo

Bay of Guayaquil

Guayaquil

Macas

Ixinores

Mayorunas

Roamaynas

Omaguas

Maynas

Laguna

Piros

Cuzco

Arequipa

Lima

Port of Zupe

Tarma

Chuncos

Chuncu

Cayubabas

Tromomas

Reyes

Andes

Cusco

Collao

Mojos

Trinidad

Conception

Baures

Manacicas

Loreto

Concepcion

Ancient Establishm.ts

Chiquitos

Yaibicé M.s

Zamucos

Arica

Paquica

Iquica I.

Camarones

Hormillos

Pt.a Pescadores

Pt.a Coles

Atacama

R. Loro

Bay de Muxillones

Coquimbo

Port Governado

Valparays.o

Mendoza

St. Jago

C. Corcoma

Pt.a de Bairres

Lora

Diamante

Aucaes

Cordillera

Pampas

Puelches

Buenos Ayres

Conception de los Pampas

C.of Humos

Conception

I.s Mary

Tirna

I. Mocha

Baldivia

Point Galera

Point Villiva

Point de Godoy

I. of Chiloe

Point Quillan

I.de Guafo

Pehuenches

Huilliche Mountains

Our Lady of Nanthapi

St. Ildefonso

Chonos I.s

Catalina I.

Wager I.

I. Campana

C. Corzo

York P.t

Fort Innocent

Trinity I.

Katharin Point

C. Fanny

C. Désire

C. Negro

Cessares

Sinsalida I.s

I.s Martin

Patagoons

Str. of Magellan

C. Three Points

C. Blanco

Port Deseado

C. Lookout

Bay S.t Julian

C. de Barreras

Sebalds I.s

Cape Parenas

Falkland Isles

C. de Penas

C. Vincent

C.s John

States I.

Beauchene I.

Staten Land

Terra del Fuego

Le Maire

Str. of Le Maire

C. Horn

I.s Elizabethides

Ramirez I.

Degrees W. fr. Lond. 105 100 95 90 85 80 75 70 65 60 55

ATLANTIC OCEAN

SOUTHERN OCEAN

Martinico
Barbadoes
Tabago
C. Galera
Trinidad
Orinoco River
Wayma
C. Nassau
Surinam
Amanibo
Manemanori
Cayenne I. & T.
Sirinam
C. Orange
Mayez Creek
I.s Maraca
Pirious
North Cape
I.s Curuo
Macapa
Caviana I.
Cape Baros
Manigtuba
I. S.t John
Coroa Grande
Recife
S.t Luis de Maranham
Tupinambas
Arrayal de Perate
Water Falls
BRASIL
Tapayos
Arrayal da Assumption
Portal de S.t Luis
Paraleca
Cardosa
Tapayas
Povoacao velha
Punta Gorda
Jesuit Rocks
Baxos Abrolhos
Reys Magos
Abrolho
Spiritu Santo
Villa Rica
Itambira
R. Doce
Porto Segure
Rosario
Arrayal Meyaponte
Cuyaba
Caravas
Bacayris
Alaimbares
Coriola
Cariapnas
Palma R.
Arrayal de Ana
R. Grand
R. Abugi
Villa Gaba
Taubete
R. Tetay
Maracayu
Yerbates
Altos
Assumption
ARAGUAY
Guarani's
Parana
Ytu
Yaros
Chaeuas
R. Negro
Sacrem.t
Monte Video
Flat Coast
Castillhos B.
Cape S.t Mary
River of Plate
C.S.t Antony
C.S.t Andrew
Anegada
Point
Pepys I.
Falkland Isles
Beauchene I.
Equinoctial Line
Fernandez I.
Cape S.t Roque
Rio Grand
Paraiba
Pernambuc
Tamarica I.
C.S.t Augustin
Cachocira
Ayuda
Itapuama
R. S.t Francis
S.t Isabella
Ilha Grande
S.t Vincent
Gunanea I.
Superabu
Araracari
Tapocoroi R.
S.t Catharine I.
I. Reparo
Tropic of Cancer
Picos I.
Saxemburg I.
Trinidad I.
Tristan de Cunha
Alvarez
Terra Australis
British Statue Miles 69 to a Degree.
100 200 400 600 800 1000
Meridian of London
Longit. E. fr. Lond.n